THE HISTORY OF THE POPES,

FROM THE

Foundation of the SEE of *ROME*,

TO THE

PRESENT TIME.

VOL. VII.

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A

LIST

OF THE

Popes, *or* Biſhops *of* ROME,

Contained in the

SEVENTH VOLUME.

	Year of Chriſt.	Page.
URBAN V. *hundred and ninty-ſeventh Biſhop of* Rome, -	1362	1
Gregory XI. *hd. and ninty-eighth B.*	1370	23
Urban VI. *hd. and ninty-ninth B.*	1378	49
Boniface IX. *two hdth. B.* -	1389	105
Innocent VII. *two hd. and firſt B.* -	1404	137
Gregory XII. *two hd. and ſecond B.*	1406	149
Alexander V. *two hd. and third B.*	1409	182
John XXIII. *two hd. and fourth B.*	1410	195
Martin V. *two hd. and fifth B.* -	1417	288
Eugenius IV. *two hd. and ſixth B.* -	1431	340
Nicholas V. *two hd. and ſixth B.* -	1447	392
Calixtus III. *two hd. and ſeventh B.*	1455	401
Pius II. *two hd. and eighth B.* -	1458	408
Paul II. *two hd. and ninth B.* -	1464	419
Sixtus IV. *two hd. and tenth B.* -	1471	430
Innocent VIII. *two hd. and eleventh B.*	1484	437
Alexander VI. *two hd. and twelfth B.*	1492	462
Pius III. *two hd. and thirteenth B.* -	1501	519
Julius II. *two hd. and fourteenth B.*	1503	521
Leo X. *two hd. and fifteenth B.* -	1513	561

Hadrian

	Year of Christ	Page.
Hadrian VI. *two hd. and ſixteenth B.*	1521	586
Clement VII. *two hd. and ſeventeenth B.*	1523	595
Paul III. *two hd. and eighteenth B.* -	1534	620
Julius III. *two hd. and nineteenth B.*	1549	638
Marcellus II. *two hd. and twentieth B.*	1550	640
Paul IV. *two hd. and twenty-firſt B.*	1555	641
Pius IV. *two hd. and twenty-ſecond B.*	1559	643
Pius V. *two hd. and twenty-third B.*	1562	645
Gregory XIII. *two hd. twenty-fourth B.*	1572	646
Sixtus V. *two hd. and twenty-fifth B.*	1585	651
Urban VII. *two hd. and twenty-ſixth B.*	1590	659
Gregory XIV. *two hd. twenty-ſeventh B.*	1590	659
Innocent IX. *two hd. twenty-eighth B.*	1591	660
Clement VIII. *two hd. twenty-ninth B.*	1592	*ibid*
Leo XI. *two hd. and thirtieth B.* -	1605	662
Paul V. *two hd. and thirty-firſt B.*	1605	662
Gregory XV. *two hd. thirty-ſecond B.*	1621	665
Urban VIII. *two hd. and thirty-third B.*	1623	666
Innocent X. *two hd. and thirty-fourth B.*	1644	669
Alexander VII. *two hd. thirty-fifth B.*	1653	671
Clement IX. *two hd. and thirty-ſixth B.*	1667	675
Clement X. *two hd. and thirty-ſeventh B.*	1669	*ibid.*
Innocent XI. *two hd. thirty-eighth. B.*	1677	677
Alexander VIII. *two hd. thirty-ninth B.*	1689	680
Innocent XII. *two hd. and fortieth B.*	1691	681
Clement XI. *two hd. and forty-firſt B.*	1700	682
Innocent XIII. *two hd. forty-ſecond B.*	1721	690
Benedict XIII. *two hd. forty-third B.*	1725	691
Clement XII. *two hd. forty-fourth B.*	1730	694
Benedict XIV. *two hd. forth-fifth B.*	1740	695

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES, OR BISHOPS of *ROME*.

JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East.* **URBAN V.** CHARLES IV, *Emperor of the West.*

The Hundred and Ninety-ſeventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

INNOCENT dying on the 12th of *September*, the Cardinals performed his Exequies the following Day, and Nine Days after, that is, on the 22d of the ſame Month, ſhut themſelves up according to Cuſtom in the Conclave, being in all Twenty. In the Scrutiny of the 28th of *September*, One of the Cardinals, a Black Monk, that is, a *Benedictine*, a Native of *Limoges*, a Man advanced in Years, and wholly addicted to a ſpiritual Life, was found to have Fifteen Suffrages out of the Twenty, and conſequently

Year of Chriſt 1362.

Year of Christ 1362.

sequently to be lawfully elected. But he declined the offered Dignity before his Election was made public. Thus *Villani*, a contemporary Writer [a]. But he does not name the Cardinal, and there were at this Time Two Cardinals, both Natives of *Limoges*, both Black Monks or *Benedictines*, and both Bishops, *viz.* *Hugh Roger*, Brother to *Clement* VI. and *William de Agrifolio*. However, as the Cardinal, who would not consent to his Election, is said by *Villani* to have been stricken in Years, and *William de Agrifolio* could not be above Forty-five Years of Age, as has been made to appear by *Baluzius*, we may well conclude with *Spondanus* the Pontificate to have been refused by the other [b]. Upon his Refusal the Cardinals, not agreeing among themselves in the Election of One of their own Body, chose with one Consent *William Grimoardi*, Abbot of the *Benedictine* Monastery of *St. Victor* at *Marseilles*. But as he was absent, having been sent by the late Pope to *Naples* with the Character of his Legate on Occasion of the Death of that King, the Cardinals, apprehending that if his Election were publicly known, the *Italians* would not suffer him to depart out of *Italy*, carefully concealed it, and only wrote to him to hasten to *Avignon*, in order to deliver his Opinion concerning an Affair of the utmost Importance. Upon the Receipt of that Letter he set out immediately from *Naples*, and his Election being notified to him upon his Landing at *Marseilles* on the 28th of *October*, he consented to it, and repairing to *Avignon*, entered that City privately on the 31st of the same Month [c]. The Cardinals had agreed to elect him before the 28th of *October*; but as he sent his Consent on that Day, he is said to have been elected on that Day.

Urban V. *elected.*

He

[a] Villani, l. 11. c. 26. [b] Spondan. ad ann. 1362. [c] Auctores primæ et secundæ vitæ Urban.

He was enthroned on the Day of his Arrival at *Avignon*, and on that Occaſion took the Name of *Urban* V. But his Conſecration and Coronation were put off till the following *Sunday* the Sixth of *November*, thoſe Ceremonies being by an ancient Cuſtom performed on *Sundays* only. To ſhew his Averſion to all Pomp and Grandeur, inſtead of riding, as other Popes had done, in ſolemn Cavalcade through the City to ſhew himſelf in the gorgeous Apparel of High Pontiff, he privately withdrew to his Palace [d]. We are told that, though free from all Ambition, he accepted the Pontificate with great Pleaſure, out of the Deſire he had of reſtoring the Apoſtolic See to *Rome*; which he had ſo much at Heart, that when News was brought to him at *Florence* of the Death of *Innocent*, he was heard to ſay, *Could I but ſee a Pope who would return to his own Church at* Rome, *and quaſh the petty Tyrants of* Italy, *I ſhould die with great Satisfaction the next Day* [e].

Year of Chriſt 1362. *Enthroned and crowned at* Avignon.

Urban was the Son of *William Grimoardi*, Lord of *Griſac* in the Province of *Gevaudan* and Dioceſe of *Mende*. He embraced very early a religious Life among the *Benedictines*, ſtudied Civil and Canon Law at *Montpelier*, and afterwards taught both in that Univerſity, at *Avignon*, at *Toulouſe*, and at *Paris*, being reputed One of the beſt Civilians and Canoniſts of his Time. About the Year 1346 he was made Abbot of *St. Germain* of *Auxerre*, and ſoon after preferred to the Abbey of *St. Victor* at *Marſeilles*. While Abbot of that Monaſtery he was ſent by *Innocent* VI. who entertained a high Opinion of his Abilities, with the Character of Apoſtolic Legate in the Kingdom of the *Hither Sicily* or of *Naples*, as has been ſaid above.

His Birth, Education, &c.

[d] Idem ibid. [e] Villani, l. 11. c. 27.

Year of Christ 1362.

Prefers his Brother to the See of Avignon.

The See of *Avignon* had remained vacant ever since the Year 1349, the Two preceding Popes, *Clement* VI. and *Innocent* VI. having applied to their own Uſes the Revenues of that Church. But *Urban* ſoon after his Promotion, that is, on the 12th of *December*, preferred to the vacant See *Anglic Grimoardi*, his own Brother, Canon Regular of *St. Rufus*, and at the Time of his Promotion, Prior of *Die* [f].

Is viſited by Three Kings.

The new Pope was honoured, in the Beginning of his Pontificate, with a Viſit from three Kings in Perſon. *John* King of *France*, happening to paſs the Autumn in the Neighbourhood of *Avignon*, went on the 20th of *November* to congratulate his Holineſs upon his Advancement to the Pontifical Throne, and dined that Morning, ſays the Hiſtorian, with our Holy Father. On the 26th of *January* of the following Year 1363 came to *Avignon Waldemoris*, King of *Denmark*, but what Buſineſs brought him thither Hiſtory does not inform us. On the 29th of the following *March* arrived from *Cyprus Peter Luſignan*, King of that Iſland, come to ſollicit the Aſſiſtance of the Pope and the Weſtern Princes againſt the *Turks* threatening his Kingdom with an Invaſion. In that Affair *Urban* engaged with great Warmth, and as the *French* King ſtill continued in the Neighbourhood of *Avignon*, his Holineſs prevailed upon him, and likewiſe upon the King of *Denmark*, to take the Croſs, and they both took it, as well as the King of *Cyprus*, at the Pope's Hands on *Good Friday* the 31ſt of *March*, binding themſelves to paſs into the Eaſt againſt the Infidels in the Term of Two Years. The *French* King was appointed by the Pope Commander in Chief, and Cardinal *Talayrandus*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, was nominated to attend him with the Character

Whom he engages in a Cruſade againſt the Turks.

Year of Chriſt 1363.

[f] Auctores primæ et ſecundæ vit. Urban. apud Baluz.

Character of Legate *a latere*. But while the neceſſary Preparations were carrying on throughout the whole Kingdom of *France*, in Spite of the repeated Remonſtrances of the Nobility, apprehending, and not without Reaſon, that the King of *England* would invade the Kingdom in his Abſence, the King died in *April* 1364: And thus to the great Joy of the *French*, and Grief of the Pope, the intended Expedition came to nothing g. Year of Chriſt 1363.

Barnabo Viſconti, Lord of *Milan*, and at this Time One of the moſt powerful Princes, or rather Tyrants of *Italy*, had ſeized in the late Pontificate on ſeveral Cities belonging to the Church, and on that Account had been over and over again excommunicated. However, upon the News of *Innocent*'s Death, and the Promotion of *Urban*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Avignon* to treat of a Peace with the new Pope. But as *Urban* inſiſted upon his reſtoring all the Places he had taken, and giving the Church Satisfaction for the many enormous Crimes which he was charged with, the Treaty was broken off as ſoon as begun. Upon the Departure of the Ambaſſadors the Pope publiſhed a Bull on the 28th of *November* 1362, and cauſed Copies of it to be diſperſed all over *Italy*, enumerating the many Crimes charged upon *Barnabo*, and ſummoning him to appear by the 1ſt of *March* of the following Year at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See, and hear his Sentence. The Bull contains many Charges of a very extraordinary Nature againſt *Barnabo*. For he is there ſaid to have countenanced and protected condemned Heretics; to have One Day ſent for the Archbiſhop on Occaſion of his refuſing to ordain a worthleſs Monk whom he had recommended to him, and to have addreſſed that Prelate, when he appeared before him, in the following Terms, *Doſt thou*

Bull againſt Barnabo Viſconti.

Crimes laid by the Pope to his Charge.

g Auctor. ſecundæ vit. Raymund. ad ann. 1363. num. 14. et 1364.

Year of Christ 1363.

thou not know, thou old Fornicator, that I am King, Pope, and Emperor in my own Dominions; that the Pope has no Power over me, nor any of my Subjects; that it is my Part to command, and yours blindly to obey? Many other ſtill more heavy Charges are brought againſt *Barnabo* in *Urban*'s Bull, *viz.* that he practiſed unheard-of Cruelties upon the Clergy and the Religious of all Orders, who did not readily obey his Commands, how repugnant ſoever to Reaſon, Juſtice, and Religion; that he had cauſed ſome to be burnt alive in an Iron Cage, and others to be tortured to Death; that he had ordered the Ears of a holy Minorite to be pierced with a red hot Iron; that he had prohibited all his Subjects, on Pain of being burnt alive, to entertain any Correſpondence with the Pope or his Legates, to lend them any Aſſiſtance, or receive from them any Favours or Preferments, and that Prohibition he had cauſed to be notified to all by the public Crier; and laſtly, that he had obliged a Prieſt of *Parma* to anathematize from the Top of a Tower the late Pope and all his Cardinals [h].

Cruſade preached againſt him.

As *Barnabo* did not appear at the Time appointed, the 1ſt of *March*, to clear himſelf from theſe Imputations, or to plead guilty, and give what Satisfaction ſhould be required, *Urban* in a full Conſiſtory, held on that Day, excommunicated him with great Solemnity, and all who ſhould any-ways aid or aſſiſt him, or even keep him Company; deprived him of all Privileges, Honours, Dignities, and Titles, whatſoever; interdicted his Dominions, and forbad Divine Service to be any-where performed in his Preſence. *Urban*, beſides, ordered a Cruſade to be preached againſt him with the ſame Indulgences as were granted to thoſe who went againſt the Infidels.

But

[h] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1362. num. 12, 13.

But in the mean Time the *French* King, whoſe Daughter *Barnabo* had married, interpoſing, a new Treaty was begun, and a Peace at laſt concluded between *Barnabo* and the Church upon the following Terms: I. That *Barnabo* ſhould renounce all Claim to the City of *Bologna*. II. That he ſhould reſtore all the Caſtles and ſtrong Holds that he had ſeized in *Romagna*, and in the Diſtricts of *Modena* and *Bologna*. III. That he ſhould not perſecute nor moleſt thoſe of the *Guelph* Party in his Dominions. IV. That the Pope, on his Side, ſhould abſolve *Barnabo* from the Cenſures he had incurred, ſhould reſtore him to all his Privileges and Dignities, and pay him, in the Term of Eight Years, Five Hundred Thouſand Florins of Gold for the Caſtles and ſtrong Holds, which he had built in the Territories, that he was by the preſent Treaty to reſtore to the Church. Theſe Articles being agreed to and ſigned, in the Month of *February* 1364, by *Barnabo*, and Cardinal *Androinus de Rocha* the Pope's Legate, he was abſolved by the Cardinal from all Cenſures on what Account ſoever incurred, was reſtored to the Communion of the Church, to all the Privileges, Dignities, and Honours he ever had enjoyed, and the Interdict was taken off that had been laid on all his Dominions [i].

Year of Chriſt 1364.

A Peace concluded between him and the Church, and upon what Terms.

Peace being thus concluded with the powerful Family of the *Viſconti*, and moſt of the rebel Cities brought again under Subjection by the Legate *Alvarez*, the *Romans* ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to congratulate the Pope upon theſe Events, and at the ſame Time invite him to come and reſide at his own Church, as the moſt effectual Means of maintaining the Peace of *Italy*. *Urban* received the Ambaſſadors with extraordinary Marks of Kindneſs, aſſured them that he had nothing ſo much at

Urban invited by the Romans to Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1365.

[i] Spondan. ad ann. 1364. et Villani, l. 11. c. 41.

Year of Christ 1365.

Heart as to reſtore his See to the Place of its Foundation, and promiſed to comply, in due Time, with their Requeſt as well as his own Inclination [k]. *Urban*, ſays one of the Authors of his Life, had reſolved to leave *Avignon*, and reſtore the Apoſtolic See to *Rome* before the Arrival of the *Roman* Ambaſſadors, and would have carried his Deſign into Execution immediately after his Election, had not the Roads been infeſted by numerous Companies of Banditti, who robbed and often murdered all the Travellers they met with. Theſe Companies conſiſted chiefly of the diſbanded Soldiery. For a Peace being concluded at *Bretigni* on the 8th of *May* 1360, after a moſt bloody War between *France* and *England*, many, who had ſerved in that War, wanting Bread, and not caring to return to their former Occupations, formed themſelves into different Companies under different Leaders, and laid not only Villages, but large Cities and whole Provinces under Contribution. From one of *Petrarch*'s Letters it appears, that they beſieged and kept the Pope himſelf ſhut up in *Avignon*, till he purchaſed his Liberty with a large Sum of Money [l].

Urban, in a Letter to the Emperor, had expreſſed a great Deſire of conferring with him in Perſon about ſome Affairs of the utmoſt Importance. That Letter *Charles* no ſooner received than, *like a true Son of the Church*, he flew to *Avignon*, and arrived there on the 23d of *May* of the preſent Year. The Emperor of the *Romans*, ſays One of the Authors of *Urban*'s Life, who lived at this Time, came to Pope *Urban* at *Avignon*, attended by a great Number of *German* Princes and Noblemen, and was received by his Holineſs and the Cardinals with all the Marks of the higheſt Reſpect

The Emperor at Avignon.

[k] Auctor primæ vit. Urban. apud Baluz. [l] Petrarch. rer. ſenil. l. 7.

ſpect and Eſteem [m]. The Pope and the Emperor frequently conferred; but what was the Subject of thoſe Conferences Hiſtory has not informed us. The Continuator of *Nanginus* ſuppoſes the Pope to have invited the Emperor to *Avignon*, in order to communicate to him the Plan he had formed of a Cruſade againſt the *Turks*, and perſuade him to engage in that Undertaking. Others ſay that the Pope wanted to conclude an Alliance with the Emperor againſt the Tyrants of *Italy*, and utterly extirpate them. But the above-mentioned Writer of *Urban*'s Life ſays no more than that the Pope and the Emperor had frequent Conferences about the State of the Church and the Empire [n]; and he knew no more, nor indeed did any body elſe; what paſſed at thoſe Conferences being kept inviolably ſecret [p]. *Charles* arrived, as has been ſaid, at *Avignon* on the 23d of *May*, aſſiſted in his Imperial Robes at high Maſs celebrated by the Pope with great Solemnity on *Whitſunday*, the 1ſt of *June*, and the next Day went to *Arles* to be crowned there King of that Kingdom, which then belonged to the Empire. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed on the 4th of *June* by the Archbiſhop of *Arles* in the Preſence of the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Bourbon*, of the Seneſchal of *Provence*, and a great many Biſhops. On the 7th of *June* he returned to *Avignon*, continued there conferring privately with the Pope till the 29th of *June*, when he took Leave of his Holineſs, and returned to *Germany* [q].

Year of Chriſt 1365.

Urban had reſolved, from the Beginning of his Pontificate, to reſtore the Apoſtolic See to *Rome*, and this Reſolution he publicly declared ſoon after the Departure of the Emperor, ordering his Palaces at *Viterbo* and at *Rome* to be got ready for his

The Pope reſolves to go to Rome.

[m] Auctor primæ vit. [n] Idem apud Baluz. [p] Idem ibid. [q] Auctor ſecundæ vit. et Albert. Argentin.

Year of Christ 1366.

his Reception againſt *Eaſter* of the following Year 1366. He likewiſe wrote to the *Venetians* and the *Genoeſe* for their Gallies to convey him and his Court to *Italy* [r]. In the mean Time he created Three new Cardinals, *viz. William Sudre*, a *Dominican* Friar, and Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, *Marcus* of *Viterbo*, General of the *Minorites*, and his own Brother *Anglicus Grimoardi*, Biſhop of *Avignon*, whom he is ſaid to have preferred to that Dignity at the earneſt Requeſt of the whole College of Cardinals, being a Man of an unexceptionable Character, but of no great Learning [s].

Creates Three new Cardinals.

Sets out for Italy.

Year of Chriſt 1367.

On the 7th of *January* of the following Year the Pope went to *Montpelier*, to viſit a Monaſtery which he had built there in Honour of St. *Benedict* and St. *Germanus*, and richly endowed. He continued there till the Month of *March*, when he returned to *Avignon*, and on the laſt Day of *April* ſet out from thence for *Italy*, *to the great Grief*, ſays *Petrarch*, of many of the Cardinals and the whole *Roman* Court, as if they were not going to *Rome*, the Head Quarters of Chriſtianity, but were dragged by the *Saracens* to *Cteſiphon* or *Memphis* [t]. Five Cardinals only, according to ſome, choſe to remain at *Avignon*, and according to others only Four; but One of the Authors of *Urban*'s Life, who lived at this Time, writes, that no more than Five attended the Pope into *Italy*, the reſt all preferring *Avignon* to *Rome* [u]. From *Avignon* the Pope went to *Marſeilles*, in order to embark there for *Italy*. He remained at *Marſeilles* in the Monaſtery of *St. Victor*, of which he had been Abbot, till the 20th of *May*, and on the 12th of that Month conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon *William de Agrifolio*, though then but Twenty-eight Years of Age. *Urban* had lived from his tender Years in the greateſt Friendſhip

His Journey.

[r] Auctor primæ vit. [s] Aymericus de Peyr. in vit. Urban.
[t] Petrarch, l. 9. p. 2. [u] Auctor ſecundæ vit.

Friendſhip and Intimacy with Cardinal *William de Agrifolio* the elder, and owed chiefly to his Intereſt, as he was a Man of great Weight in the Sacred College, his Promotion to the Papacy. Thus One of the Authors of *Urban*'s Life accounts for his creating his Friend's Nephew, though yet ſo young, a Cardinal, eſpecially as he was already in holy Orders, had been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Canon Law, and was Notary of the Apoſtolic See [u]. Year of Chriſt 1367.

The Pope embarking on the 20th of *May* on board a *Venetian* Galley, ſet ſail the ſame Day for *Genoa* with Twenty-three Gallies, and a great Number of other Veſſels ſent by the *Genoeſe*, the *Venetians*, the *Piſans*, and by *Joan* Queen of *Naples*. He landed ſafe at *Genoa* on the 23d of the ſame Month, was received at his Landing by the Doge and the People with the greateſt Reſpect and Eſteem, and attended by them to the Houſe of the *Knights Hoſpitalers*, where he choſe to lodge during his Stay in that City. As he arrived on the *Sunday* preceding *Holy Thurſday* he reſolved to paſs the *Rogation Days* and celebrate there the Feſtival of the *Aſcenſion*, which he did accordingly, performing Divine Service on that Day with great Solemnity in the Church of the *Knights Hoſpitalers* [w]. The Day after the *Aſcenſion*, the 28th of *May*, the Pope re-imbarked, leaving Cardinal *Mark* of *Viterbo* at *Genoa*, to compoſe ſome Differences between *Barnabo Viſconti* and the *Genoeſe*. On the 4th of *June* the Pope landed on the Coaſt of *Corneto*, a City ſubject to the Apoſtolic See, and about Fifty Miles diſtant from *Viterbo*, where he deſigned to reſide ſome Time before he went to *Rome*. On his Landing he cauſed Maſs to be celebrated in his Preſence under a magnificent Pavilion prepared on the *Arrives at* Genoa.

[u] Auctor primæ vit.. [w] Auctores primæ & ſecundæ vit.

Year of Christ 1367.

the Shore for his Reception, and then, taking ſome Refreſhment, ſet out for *Corneto* on Horſe-back, and reached that Place about Noon. He received there the Deputies of the *Romans*, who delivered to him the Keys of the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, which they had hitherto kept. At *Corneto* he celebrated the Feſtival of *Whitſunday* in the Church of the *Minorites*, with whom he lodged, and the next Day, on the 7th of *June*, he purſued his Journey to *Viterbo*, and arrived there on the 10th, was viſited a few Days after by moſt of the *Italian* Biſhops, of the Nobility, and the Deputies of the Communities, all come to congratulate him upon his ſafe Arrival in *Italy*.

Arrives at Viterbo.

Tumult raiſed in that City.

The Pope had been but a few Days at *Viterbo* when a Quarrel aroſe between the Inhabitants and the Domeſtics of the Cardinals; and the Inhabitants prevailing, not only the Domeſtics of the Cardinals, but the Cardinals themſelves, were moſt groſly inſulted by the enraged Multitude; their Houſes were plundered, and they obliged to fly for Shelter to the Pope's Palace. The Tumult laſted Three Days, but was quelled in the End by the Magiſtrates; and the People, returning to themſelves, expreſſed great Sorrow for the Outrages they had committed, and carried all their Arms to the Pope's Palace. But as Four Domeſtics of the Cardinals had been killed, Ten of the Ring-leaders of the People were hanged at their own Doors, and a general Pardon was granted to the Reſt [a]. Of this Tumult Mention is made by *Petrarch*, who calls it *Motiunculam*, a ſmall Commotion; and adds, that ſome flattered themſelves that the Pope would take Occaſion from thence to return to *France* [b].

Urban,

[a] Auctores primæ & ſecundæ vit. apud Baluz. [b] Petrarch Senil. l. 9. epiſt. 1.

Urban, leaving *Viterbo* in the Month of *October* of the preſent Year, ſet out for *Rome*, and on the 16th of the ſame Month made his public Entry into that City, being met at the Gate by the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Magiſtrates in a Body, and attended by them amidſt the loud Acclamations of the Multitude to the Church of *St. Peter*. He prayed there ſome Time at the Tombs of the holy Apoſtles, and then bleſſing the Multitude diſmiſſed them and retired to the *Vatican* Palace, where he choſe to reſide.

Year of Chriſt 1368.

Urban's *Arrival at* Rome.

His firſt Care was to repair ſeveral Churches in the City, and rebuild others quite gone to Decay. On the 1ſt of *March* of the following Year he went in ſolemn Proceſſion from *St. Peter*'s to the *Lateran Baſilic*, and entering the Place called the *Sancta Sanctorum*, where the ſuppoſed Heads of the Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* were kept, he ſhewed them from a Balcony to the immenſe Multitude aſſembled in the Square. As the Caſes of thoſe Reliques were but coarſe, and of very little Value, the Pope ordered new ones to be made of Gold and Silver, and adorned them with a great Number of Jewels and precious Stones, to the Value of Thirty Thouſand Florins [c].

Adorns the Heads of the Apoſtles St. Peter and St. Paul.

While the Pope was thus engaged, *Joan*, the celebrated Queen of *Naples*, came to *Rome*, to congratulate his Holineſs upon his Arrival in that City. She was met at ſome Diſtance by *Peter*, King of *Cyprus*, who happened to be then at the Pope's Court, was received at the Gate by all the Cardinals and the *Roman* Nobility in a Body, and attended by them to the Church of *St. Peter*, where the Pope waited for her on the Steps of that *Baſilic*, and conducted her to the Tombs of the Apoſtles. As the Queen was ſtill in *Rome* on the Fourth *Sunday* of *Lent*, when the Pope uſed to ſend

Queen Joan *at* Rome.

Extraordinary Honours beſtowed on her by the Pope.

[c] Auctores primæ & ſecundæ vit.

Year of Chriſt 1368.

ſend the Golden Roſe, which he bleſſed and wore that Day, to ſome Perſon of high Rank and great Merit, he gave it to her as ſhe ſtood near him, preferring her to the King of *Cyprus*, who was likewiſe preſent; which, we are told, did not at all pleaſe ſome of the Cardinals. The Popes uſed to bleſs at High Maſs on *Eaſter-day* a Sword, and ſend it to ſome Prince or Perſon of diſtinguiſhed Merit, and that Sword too *Urban* beſtowed upon the Queen, who with his Holineſs's Permiſſion gave it to the King of *Cyprus* [d]. The Sword and with the Sword a Cap, called the Cap of Liberty and Juſtice, were originally bleſſed by the Pope on *Chriſtmas-day*, and ſent to ſome Prince or chief Commander, who had diſtingulſhed himſelf in War againſt the Infidels, and gained a ſignal Victory over them. When, or by what Pope, this Cuſtom was firſt introduced Authors are at a Loſs to determine. But it ſtill obtains: For both the Sword and Cap were ſent by *Innocent* XI. to *John Sobieſki*, King of *Poland*, for obliging the *Turks*, with great Slaughter, to raiſe the Siege of *Vienna*, and by *Clement* XI. to Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, for the ſignal Victory he gained over the *Turks* at *Waradin* in 1716.

Urban *retires to* Montefiaſcone, *and erects it into a Biſhopric.*

The Pope, ſoon after the Departure of the Queen, left *Rome*, apprehending that the exceſſive Heat of that Climate, in the Summer Seaſon, might hurt his Conſtitution, and retired to the pure and wholeſome Air of *Montefiaſcone*. The Popes had a Palace there, which he cauſed to be repaired, and at the ſame Time he ordered a Well to be dug in the Middle of the Place, as the Inhabitants had no other than Rain-water. He continued there from *May* till *October*, with a few Cardinals and a very ſmall Number of Attendants, the Reſt of his

[d] Auctor primæ vit. & Chron M S. regni Siciliæ, apud Baluz. ad ann. 1368.

his Court reſided, for Want of Room at *Viterbo*, but Eight Miles diſtant from *Monteſiaſcone*. *Urban* during his Stay in that Place erected their Collegiate Church into a Cathedral, and the Place itſelf into an Epiſcopal See, withdrawing it from the Juriſdiction of the See of *Bagnarea*, to which it was ſubject [e]. Year of Chriſt 1368.

On the 22d of *September* of the preſent Year *Urban* made at *Monteſiaſcone* a Third Promotion of Cardinals, adding Seven new Ones to the College, and among them *Simon de Langham*, an *Engliſhman*, of the Order of *St. Benedict*, and then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* [f]. On the 9th of *October* the Pope removed from *Monteſiaſcone* to *Viterbo*, and there received on the 17th of the ſame Month the Emperor *Charles*, who, at his earneſt Requeſt, had entered *Italy* the preceding Month at the Head of an Army of 20,000 Men, chiefly with a Deſign to keep in awe the *Viſconti*, who, notwithſtanding the Peace concluded with the late Pope, had ſeized upon ſome Territories belonging to the Church. The Emperor ravaged all the *Milaneſe*, and even laid Siege to *Milan*, which he was obliged to raiſe, and turn his Arms againſt the leſs powerful Tyrants. Moſt of theſe he ſubdued, and arriving at *Viterbo* on the 17th of *October*, gave the Pope an Account of his Exploits, and ſet out the next Day for *Rome* to attend his Holineſs at his Entry into that City. The Pope arrived at *Rome* on the 21ſt of *October*, and was attended from the *Collina* Gate near the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, to the Church of *St. Peter*, by the Emperor walking on Foot and holding his Bridle. On the 29th of the ſame Month came to *Rome* the Empreſs *Elizabeth*, the Emperor's Fourth Wife; and on the 1ſt of *November* ſhe was anointed at the Altar of *St. Peter* by the Cardinal Biſhop

The Emperor invited by the Pope into Italy.

Urban *returns to* Rome, *and crowns the Empreſs.*

[e] Auctor primæ vit. [f] Auctor ſecundæ vit. & Continuator Nangii, ad ann. 1368.

Year of Chriſt 1368. Biſhop of *Oſtia* and crowned by the Pope. The next Day the Emperor took his Leave of the Pope and returned to *Germany*. But the Empreſs remained at *Rome*, and was magnificently entertained by the Pope, the Cardinals, and the *Roman* Nobility till the 23d of *November* g.

Repairs ſeveral Churches in Rome. Year of Chriſt 1369. The following Year was employed by the Pope, during his Stay at *Rome*, in repairing and embelliſhing ſeveral Churches, thoſe eſpecially of *St. John Lateran* and *St. Paul*. The latter he repaired with the Money of the Abbot, who ſupplied him with a very large Sum for that Purpoſe, hoping, ſays the Abbot *Peter de Herentals*, that the Pope would reward his Generoſity with the Red Hat. But the Pope, adds that Writer, did with the Abbot's Money what the Abbot himſelf ought to have done, and left him as he found him h. On the 15th of *April Urban* canonized with the utmoſt Solemnity Count *Elzearius de Sabrano*, who died at *Paris* in 1323, and was ſaid to have wrought many ſtupendous Miracles after his Death. The Pope had no ſooner performed that Ceremony than he left *Rome* and returned to *Monteſiaſcone*, where he ſtaid till the 8th of *Auguſt*, when he went to *Viterbo*, and remained there till the 13th of *October*. During his Reſidence in that City he excommunicated the People of *Perugia*, and interdicted their City. They had not only withdrawn their Obedience to the Apoſtolic See, and declared themſelves a free People, but ſent out Parties to inſult the Pope himſelf under the very Walls of *Viterbo*. A Cruſade therefore was by the Pope's Order preached againſt them, with the ſame Indulgences as were granted to thoſe who went to the Holy Land. Thus was the Rebellion ſoon ſuppreſſed, and

Canonizes Count Elzearius.

Subdues the Perugians.

g Auctor primæ & ſecundæ vit. h Herentals in vit. Urban, apud Baluz.

and the Authors of it, says the Historian, came to an unhappy End [h]. Year of Christ 1365.

On the 13th of *October* the Pope returned to *Rome*, where *John Palæologus*, the *Greek* Emperor, waited for him. That Prince, no longer able to withstand the *Turks*, who had already over-run several Provinces of the Empire, came in Person to solicit the Assistance of the Pope and the Western Princes. *Urban* received him with all possible Marks of Friendship and Esteem, and ordered the same Honours to be paid to him as to the *Roman* Emperor. On the 18th of *October* the Emperor made a solemn Confession of the Faith held, taught, and professed by the *Roman* Church, declaring, in particular, that he held the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son; that he believed in Purgatory; that he owned the Primacy of the *Roman* Church, and the Authority of the *Roman* Pontiff over all Bishops and Patriarchs. This Profession the Emperor made in the Presence of Three Cardinals, of all the Notaries of the *Roman* Church, and a great many Persons of Distinction, and delivered it, signed with his own Hand, and sealed with a Golden Seal or Bull, to the Pope, swearing on that Occasion perpetual Obedience to the *Roman* Church and the Apostolic See. The same Profession that was delivered to the Pope by the Emperor is still preserved in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, and has been translated out of the original *Greek* into *Latin* by *Bzovius* and *Raynaldus* [i]. The Emperor now reconciled to the *Roman* Church, went to *St. Peter*'s, where the Pope received him, and attending him to the High Altar, performed Divine Service in his Presence. He was still at *Rome* on the 20th of *January* 1370, as appears from a Diploma of his dated that Day at *Rome*, where-

The Greek *Emperor* John Palæologus *at* Rome.

Is reconciled to the Roman *Church.*

[h] Auctor primæ vit. [i] Bzovius & Raynald. ad ann. 1370.

Year of Christ 1369.

whereby he declared, in order to avoid all Ambiguity, that by the *Roman* Church he meant that Church over which preſided at preſent Pope *Urban*, and his Predeceſſors had preſided [k]. *Palæologus* frequently viſited *Urban* during his Stay at *Rome*, and, being taken with his affable Manner and inſtructive Converſation, he often dined with him though not invited. The Pope uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to form an Alliance in his Favour, but without Succeſs, the Chriſtian Princes being then all at War, or at the Eve of a War, with one another.

Urban *reſolves to return to* Avignon.

Year of Chriſt 1370.

Urban remained at *Rome* to celebrate there the Feſtival of *Eaſter*; but the following *Wedneſday*, the 17th of *April*, he ſet out for *Monteſiaſcone*, the Place of his Summer Reſidence, and going, after a ſhort Stay there, to *Viterbo*, he notified to the Court, what greatly ſurpriſed them all, his Intention of returning very ſoon to *Avignon*, and ordered them to prepare, without Loſs of Time, for the Journey. Whether it was to transfer his See again to *Avignon*, or to mediate a Peace in Perſon between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and then return to *Italy*, is uncertain. He indeed gave out, that it was to procure an Interview between thoſe Two Princes, at which he himſelf intended to be preſent, and to lay hold of every Opportunity that offered of interpoſing his good Offices, that he removed to *Avignon*. But moſt Authors ſuppoſe that to have been a mere Pretence for leaving *Italy*, and enjoying that Tranquillity at *Avignon* which he deſpaired of being ever able to enjoy at *Rome*. *Ægidius* of *Viterbo* tells us, that *Urban* had no Reaſon to complain of the *Italians*; that he never thought of ſettling at *Avignon*; but was, on the contrary, reſolved to return to *Rome* as ſoon as he had compoſed

[k] Apud Raymund. ibid.

poſed the Differences lately ariſen between *France* and *England*, which he had above all Things at Heart [m]. Had he really intended to return, he would have naturally declared it; the rather as the *Romans*, and indeed the Subjects of the Church in general, expreſſed great Concern when they firſt heard of his intended Departure, and took it for granted that he deſigned to reſtore the See to *Avignon*. But from none of the contemporary Hiſtorians does it appear, that he ever ſo much as mentioned his Return. St. *Bridget*, ſo famous for her Revelations, hearing, as ſhe happened to be at this Time in *Italy*, that the Pope was preparing to repaſs the Mountains and return to *France*, ſent *Alphonſus*, her Confeſſor, or, as others write, *Nicholas*, Count of *Nola*, to let him know, that if he undertook his intended Journey he never would complete it. But *Urban* paying no Regard to that Revelation or Prophecy, continued unalterable in the Reſolution he had taken: A plain Proof that he entertained no great Opinion of the Saint's Revelations, though received as Goſpel by the Reſt of the World.

Year of Chriſt 1370.

Whether with a Deſign to ſettle there.

From *Viterbo* the Pope returned to *Monteſiaſcone*, and continued there till the 26th of *Auguſt*, when he ſet out for *Corneto*, on his Return to *Avignon*, leaving his Brother, Cardinal *Anglicus*, Biſhop of *Albano*, and Cardinal *Peter de Stagno*, whom he had lately raiſed to that Dignity, with the Character of his Legates in *Italy*. At *Corneto* he found a numerous Fleet of Gallies and other Veſſels ſent by the Kings of *France* and *Arragon*, and Queen *Joan* of *Sicily* to attend him. He embarked on the 5th of *September*, and landing at *Marſeilles* on the 16th, he remained there till the 24th of the ſame Month,

Leaves Italy.

[m] Viterb. in notis ad Ciacon.

Year of Christ 1370.

when he made his public Entry into *Avignon* amidst the loud Acclamations of the People [n].

Arrives at Avignon.

Urban, a few Days after his Arrival, sent to acquaint the Kings of *France* and *England* with the Motives of his Journey, and at the same Time to propose an Interview between them, at which he intended to assist in Person, having nothing in View but the public Good, and the Welfare of both. But while he was wholly intent upon the Means of composing their Differences to the Satisfaction of both Parties, he was taken dangerously ill, and his Illness daily increasing, he laid aside all Thoughts of the Things of this World, and employed his Time wholly in preparing for another. He frequently confessed, and finding his End approached, he caused his Bed to be placed before the Altar of St. *Peter*, and there declared, in the Presence of his Chamberlain, of his Confessor, and of many Persons of Distinction, that he held and firmly believed whatever the holy Catholic Church held and believed, and that he had never *knowingly* departed from her Definitions; which, by the way, was tacitly owning, that he might have departed from them unknowingly, and consequently was not infallible. He then caused himself to be clad in his monastic Habit, and the Doors being thrown open by his Order, he expired in the Sight of all, holding a Cross in his Hand, and recommending, with his last Breath, his departing Soul to the Mercy of the just Judge, at whose Tribunal he was going to appear [p]. His Death happened on the 19th of *December*, after a Pontificate, reckoning from his Coronation, of Eight Years One Month and Fourteen Days. His Remains were deposited in the great Church of *Avignon*,

Is taken dangerously ill.

His Death.

[n] Auct. primæ et secund. vit. [p] Auctores vit. apud Baluz. p. 302. 412.

non, but Two Years after tranſlated to the Church of the Monaſtery of *St. Victor* at *Marſeilles*, of which he had been Abbot. Year of Chriſt 1370.

The Contemporary Writers, all to a Man, ſpeak of this Pope with the higheſt Commendations, extolling him for his humane Diſpoſition, his univerſal Benevolence, his Generoſity, and his indefatigable Endeavours utterly to extirpate the many Abuſes that had been introduced by ſome of his Predeceſſors, and connived at by others. He made it his Buſineſs to encourage Learning, to reward Virtue, and reſcue Merit from Obſcurity [q]. He looked upon Pluralities as an intolerable Abuſe, would ſuffer no Clergyman to hold more Benefices than were neceſſary to ſupport him according to his Condition and Rank in the Church, and obliged thoſe, who were poſſeſſed of more, to reſign them, nay, and publiſhed Two Conſtitutions, the One beginning with the Words *Conſueta ſollicitudo*, and the other with the Word *Horribilis*, both calculated to baniſh that *horrid Cuſtom*, as he called it, from the Church [r]. As upon his Acceſſion to the Pontificate a great many Biſhops and other Dignitaries had flocked from all Parts, ſome even from the Kingdom of *Naples*, where he had been Legate, to court his Favour, he ordered them all to return to their reſpective Sees and Churches, and to reſide there; nor would he ſuffer any to remain at *Avignon*, unleſs upon urgent Buſineſs, which he took care to diſpatch with the greateſt Expedition [s]. *Anglicus Grimoardi*, his own Brother, a Man of eminent Probity, was the only Relation he preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal during the Eight Years of his Pontificate, and it was at the preſſing Inſtances of the whole College of Cardinals that he *His Character.*

[q] Auct. primæ vit. [r] Idem ibid. et tom. 2. Concil. p. 1938. [s] Auctor. tertiæ vit.

Year of Christ 1370.

conferred upon him that Dignity. Far from enriching his Relations, as moſt other Popes had done, with the Wealth of the Church, he would not allow his Father, who lived to the Fourth Year of his Pontificate, and died in the Hundredth of his Age, to accept of a very conſiderable Penſion which the *French* King had ſettled upon him. He lived in the Pontifical Palace with the Pope, but never received any Thing from him, except Indulgences at the Point of Death. Inſtead of procuring great Alliances for his Family, he perſuaded his only Nephew to marry one much inferior to him in Rank, the Daughter of a Merchant of *Montpelier*, whom he would not have married even before his Uncle had attained to any Preferment in the Church [t]. He was a generous Encourager of Learning, maintained and furniſhed with Books a Thouſand Students in different Univerſities during the whole Time of his Pontificate. At *Montpelier* he founded and endowed a College for Twelve Students in Phyſic, that Place being then famous for that Study [v]. To conclude, *Urban* V. is ranked by all the Writers, who ſpeak of him, amongſt the beſt Popes; and after his Death Endeavours were uſed by *Waldemar*, King of *Denmark*, by *Charles* V. King of *France*, by *Lewis*, King of *Sicily*, and above all by the City of *Marſeilles*, to procure him a Place in the Kalendar. But the dreadful Schiſm that aroſe in the Church upon the Death of his immediate Succeſſor diverted the ſucceeding Popes from attending to Matters of that Nature.

[t] Auctor. primæ vit. [v] Auctores ſecundæ et tertiæ vit.

GRE-

JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East.* **GREGORY XI.** CHARLES IV. *Emperor of the West.* Year of Christ 1370.

The Hundred and Ninety-eighth BISHOP *of* Rome.

URBAN died, as has been said, on the 19th of *December*, and the Cardinals, Nineteen in Number, shutting themselves up in the Conclave on the 29th of the same Month, chose with one Consent, the very next Day, *Peter Roger*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Mary the New*, who was ordained Priest on the 4th of *January* 1371, and on the 5th consecrated Pontiff, and crowned with the usual Solemnity, *Lewis*, the *French* King's Brother, who happended to be then at *Avignon*, performed the Office of Equerry as he rode in his Pontificals through the City [w]. He acquainted the *French* King with his Election by a Letter dated the 3d of the Calends of *January*, that is, the 30th of *December*, the very Day on which he was elected. At his Coronation he took the Name of *Gregory*.

Gregory XI. *elected.*

Year of Christ 1371. *Consecrated and crowned.*

Gregory was the Son of *William Roger*, Lord of *Beaufort*, and Brother to *Clement* VI. was born at *Maumont* in the Diocese of *Limoges*, and preferred by his Uncle to the Dignity of Cardinal in *May* 1348, when he had not yet completed the Seventeenth Year of his Age. He afterwards applied himself wholly to the Study of the Civil and Canon Law, as well as of Divinity, and by constant Application became one of the ablest Civilians, Canonists, and Divines of his Time.

His Birth, Education, &c.

The new Pope, treading in the Footsteps of his Predecessor, dispatched immediately after his Consecration Two Legates to mediate a Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England*, and wrote

Endeavours to mediate a Peace between France *and* England.

[w] Auctor. primæ vit. apud Baluz. p. 255, et seq.

Year of Christ 1371.

a long Letter to both Princes, ſetting forth with great Eloquence the Calamities of War, and exhorting them to ſpare the Blood of their Subjects, and compoſe their Differences in a Chriſtian and amicable Manner. But the inveterate Hatred thoſe Kings bore to each other did not allow them to hearken to any Terms of Accommodation whatever. Beſides, the Legates themſelves could not agree; but as the one, Cardinal *Simon de Langham*, had been Chancellor to the King of *England*, and the other, Cardinal *John de Dormannis*, to the King of *France*, inſtead of acting as Mediators, they made themſelves Parties, and thus rather exaſperated the Two Kings ſtill more than reconciled them [a].

Creates Twelve Cardinals.

In the preſent Year, on the 6th of *June* according to ſome, on the 8th according to others, and according to ſome on the 30th of *May*, the Pope created Twelve Cardinals, Eight Peſbyters and Four Deacons. He created ſo many at once, ſays one of the Authors of his Life, in order to oppoſe them to the old Cardinals who had elected him, and upon that Merit pretended he ſhould pay greater Regard to their Counſels, and grant them more Favours than was fit he ſhould [b]. It was cuſtomary for the new Cardinals to receive the Red Hat immediately from the Pope. However, as *Bertrandus de Caſnaco*, Biſhop of *Cominges*, promoted on this Occaſion by *Gregory*, was abſent, being employed in mediating a Peace between *Ferdinand*, King of *Portugal*, and *Henry*, King of *Caſtile*, the Pope diſpatched a Nuncio to him with the Red Hat on the very Day of his Promotion. In the the Promotion of Cardinals made by *Innocent* VI. in 1356, was preferred to that Dignity amongſt the reſt *Nicholas Roſelli*, Inquiſitor-General for the Kingdom

[a] Auctor. primæ vit. [b] Idem ibid.

Kingdom of *Arragon*. As the new Cardinal was in *Arragon* at the Time of his Promotion, the King wrote to *Innocent*, begging he would be pleaſed to ſend the Red Hat to him, and not oblige him to leave the Kingdom, where his Preſence was ſo neceſſary, even for a ſhort Time. The Pope anſwered, that by an ancient Cuſtom the Red Hat was delivered to the new Cardinal with the Pope's own Hand, but nevertheleſs, being deſirous to gratify the King, he had conſulted the Cardinals, who had all oppoſed his diſpenſing with the ancient Cuſtom. Yet *Innocent* himſelf was afterwards prevailed upon to diſpenſe with that Cuſtom in Favour of *Peter de Foreſta*, Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, and Chancellor to the *French* King; and his Example was followed by *Gregory* in ſending the Hat to the Biſhop of *Cominges*. In the *Ordo Romanus* it is ſaid, *The Red Hat is not regularly ſent by the Pope to a new Cardinal, but ſometimes only by a ſpecial Favour, when the newly created Cardinal has been ſent with the Character of Nuncio or Legate to treat of a Peace between Kings or Princes; and it is ſent then, that his Dignity may add Weight to his Counſels, and his Negociations may, by that Means, be attended with the wiſhed for Succeſs*[c]. The Red Cap, or *Biretum*, which in *Gregory*'s Time was not yet uſed by Cardinals, is now ſent to every new Cardinal who is abſent, but the Red Hat to Perſons only of a very high Rank. Thus it was ſent by *Paul* V. to *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, the Son of *Philip* III. King of *Spain*. But others muſt all go to *Rome*, and receive it immediately from the Pope himſelf. With the Red Hat the new Cardinal receives his Title, taken from ſome Church in *Rome*. But his being nominated to that Dignity gives him a Right to vote in the Election of a new Pontiff,

Year of Chriſt 1371.

The Red Hat ſometimes ſent to abſent Cardinals.

[c] Ordo Roman. apud Mabillon. Muſæi Italici, tom. 2. p. 433.

Year of Christ 1371.

Pontiff, though he may not have yet received either his Hat or his Title.

The Island of Sicily *yielded by Queen* Joan *to* Frideric *of* Arragon.

A Peace had been concluded in 1302 between *Frideric* of *Arragon*, who had ſeized on the Iſland of *Sicily*, and *Charles* II. of *Anjou*, upon the following Conditions among the reſt, that upon the Death of *Frideric* the Iſland of *Sicily* ſhould revert to *Charles* and his Heirs upon their paying to *Frideric* or his Heirs an Hundred Thouſand Ounces of Gold, and that in the mean Time *Frideric* ſhould not be ſtiled King of *Sicily*, but of *Trinacria*, the ancient Name of that Iſland. But notwithſtanding theſe Conditions, *Frideric* was ſucceeded by his Son *Peter* in 1337, *Peter* by his Son *Lewis* in 1342, and *Lewis* by his Brother *Frideric* II. in 1355. In *Frideric*'s Reign *Lewis* of *Taranto*, Queen *Joan*'s Second Huſband, undertook the Reduction of *Sicily*, and had already made himſelf Maſter of great Part of that Iſland. But he dying in the mean Time, the Queen, who foreſaw that his Death would be attended, as it was, with great Diſturbances, thought it adviſeable to conclude a Peace with *Frideric*. A Treaty was accordingly ſet on Foot, and after ſeveral Conferences between *John*, Biſhop of *Gravina*, the Queen's Confeſſor, and *Ubertin* of *Corillon*, King *Frideric*'s Firſt Chaplain, a Peace was concluded upon the following Terms. I. That *Frideric* and his Succeſſors ſhould hold the Iſland of *Sicily* immediately of the Queen and her Succeſſors. II. That they ſhould pay yearly to the Queen and her Succeſſors the Sum of Fifteen Thouſand Ducats, as an Acknowlegement of their holding the Crown of her and her Heirs. III. That they ſhould yearly furniſh the Queen and her Heirs with Ten Gallies, and an Hundred able and well-armed Men. To theſe the Pope added the following Conditions, that the Kings of *Sicily* and *Trinacria* ſhould do Homage to him and his Succeſſors,

Year of Christ 1372.

And erected by Gregory *into a ſeparate Kingdom.*

ceſſors, as holding their reſpective Kingdoms of the Apoſtolic See; that *Mary*, the Daughter of *Frideric*, ſhould ſucceed to the Crown if he died without Male Iſſue, and likewiſe the Daughters of all the ſucceeding Kings of *Trinacria*; and that all the Rights, Privileges, and Immunities of the Clergy ſhould be for ever inviolably maintained, eſpecially the Right of appealing to the Apoſtolic See. Theſe Conditions were all received and ſworn to by *Frideric* on the 2d of *March* 1373, in the Preſence of *John de Revellone*, Biſhop of *Sarlat*, ſent by the Pope for that Purpoſe into *Sicily*, and by the Queen on the laſt Day of the ſame Month, in the Preſence of *Bernard de Rovergue*, Archbiſhop of *Milan*, whom the Pope had appointed to receive her Oath. The Biſhop of *Sarlat* continued ſome Time in *Sicily*, abſolved the *Sicilians* from the Interdict that had been laid upon the Iſland on Account of their having baniſhed ſome Biſhops, and *Frideric* marrying in the mean Time *Antonia del Balzo*, the Duke of *Andria*'s Daughter by the late King *Lewis*'s Siſter, the Biſhop performed the Ceremony by the Pope's Order, and ſoon after crowned both with great Solemnity at *Palermo* [d]. Thus was the Iſland of *Sicily* erected by *Gregory* into a diſtinct Kingdom under the Name of *Trinacria*, Queen *Joan* renouncing for herſelf and her Succeſſors all Claim to that Iſland. The learned *Giannoni* obſerves in his *Civil Hiſtory of Naples*, that though by One of the Articles of the above-mentioned Treaty the Kingdom of *Naples* was to be called the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and that of *Sicily* the Kingdom of *Trinacria*, yet none of the Kings of *Sicily* ever took that Title in their Diplomas, but ſtiled themſelves conſtantly Kings of *Sicily ultra Pharum*, and the Kings of

Year of Chriſt 1372.

Year of Chriſt 1373.

[d] Auctor. primæ vit. Greg. apud Baluz. Bzovius ad ann. 1373. et Raynald. ad ann. 1372.

Year of Christ 1373.

of *Naples* Kings of *Sicily citra Pharum.* Thus were the Two Kingdoms distinguished in all public Writings till the Time of *Alphonsus* I. of *Arragon*, who, upon both Kingdoms being united in his Person, took the Title of *King of both Sicilies* [e]; the Title used to this Day by all the Kings of *Sicily* and *Naples.*

Year of Christ 1374.

Gregory *invited by the* Romans *to* Rome.

The following Year 1374 the *Romans* sent a solemn Embassy to *Gregory*, inviting him, with great Promises and Protestations of Obedience and Subjection, to come and reside with his Court at *Rome*, where the Apostle St. *Peter*, the Founder of his See, and so many of his holy Predecessors, had chosen to reside and to die. At the Head of this Embassy were *Philip*, Bishop of *Tivoli*, and *James*, of the illustrious Family of the *Ursini*, and Canon of *St. Peter*'s. *Gregory* received them in a most friendly Manner, and having communicated their Message to the Cardinals, he expressed, in a Letter to the *Roman* People, a great Desire of complying with their Request, which he said he had entertained ever since his Accession to the Chair, and hoped he should soon be able to carry into Execution. This Letter is dated the 20th of *March* in the Fourth Year of his Pontificate, that is, in 1374 [f].

Acquaints the Christian Princes with his Resolution of removing to that City.

On the 18th of *October* of the same Year he wrote to the Emperor, to the Kings of *Hungary* and *Trinacria*, to Queen *Joan* of *Sicily*, to the Dukes of *Austria* and *Bavaria*, to the *Venetians*, to the *Genoese*, and to all the Prelates and Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, to let them know that he had, upon the most mature Deliberation, resolved to remove from *Avignon* to *Rome*, and there to reside with his Court. In his Letter to the Emperor he fixed the Time of his Departure to the Month of *September*

Fixes the Time of his Departure.

of

[e] Giannoni, l. 23. c. 2. [f] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1374. num. 23.

of the following Year 1375. On the 6th of *January* of that Year he wrote to the *French* King, *Charles* the 5th, to acquaint him with the Reſolution he had taken of removing with his whole Court to *Rome* the following Autumn, expreſſed great Concern at his parting with his Highneſs, and leaving the Country where he was born, where he was educated, and where he enjoyed, quite undiſturbed, all the Comforts this Life could afford; but at the ſame Time alleged the abſolute Neceſſity of his reſiding at *Rome*, or in the Neighbourhood of that City, in order to awe with his Preſence the Tyrants of *Italy*, taking Occaſion from his Abſence to ſeize on the Patrimony of the Church, which it was incumbent on him to defend and maintain. Purſuant to his Reſolution of ſetting out on his intended Journey in the Autumn of the preſent Year 1375, he wrote to *Joan*, Queen of *Sicily*, to *Frideric*, King of *Trinacria*, and to *Andrew Contareni*, Doge of *Venice*, deſiring them to ſend their Gallies by that Time to *Marſeilles*, where he intended to embark. This Letter is dated at *Avignon* the 8th of *July*. But on the 28th of the ſame Month he wrote again to inform them that, being engaged in mediating a Peace between the Kings of *France* and *England*, he had put off his Departure to the Spring of the following Year 1376 g.

Year of Chriſt 1375.

But puts it off.

In the mean Time *Gregory*, to remove the Evil of Non-Reſidence ſo often complained of by his Predeceſſors, and looked upon by him as an inſufferable Abuſe, iſſued a Conſtitution on the 29th of *March*, ordering all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Heads of Orders to return, in the Term of Three Months, to their reſpective Sees, Churches, and Abbies, and reſide there. From this general Injunction the Cardinals, the Legates, the Nuncios were

Enjoins Reſidence.

g Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1375. num. 21, et ſeq.

Year of Christ 1375.

were excepted, and with them such as bore any Employment in the Court, and the Patriarchs whose Sees were in *Partibus Infidelium* [h]. The rest were all ordered to reside at their Churches, on Pain of being excluded from all further Preferment.

Creates Nine new Cardinals.

On the 20th of *December* of the present Year *Gregory* made a new Promotion of Nine Cardinals, so that there were now no fewer than Twenty-one Cardinals of his creating. Amongst those of the present Promotion was *Peter de Luna*, of whom we shall have Occasion to speak at Length in the Sequel under the Name of *Benedict* XIII.

The Florentines *invade the Dominions of the Church.*

The *Florentines*, entering into an Alliance with the *Visconti* of *Milan*, broke this Year unexpectedly into the Territories of the Church, made themselves Masters of several Cities, demolished the strong Holds, drove every-where out the Officers of the Pope, and setting up a Standard with the Word *Libertas* in capital Letters, encouraged the People to shake off the Yoke, and resume their Liberty: At their Instigation *Bologna*, *Perugia*, and most of the chief Cities in the Pope's Dominions openly revolted, and joining the *Florentines*, either imprisoned, or barbarously murdered those whom the Pope had set over them. *Gregory* was no sooner informed of that general Revolt, and the unheard of Barbarities committed by the *Florentines*, and those who had joined them, than he wrote to the People and Magistrates of *Florence*, exhorting them to withdraw their Troops forthwith out of the Dominions of the Church, to forbear all further Hostilities, to satisfy those whom they had injured, and revoke the many Decrees they had issued, absolutely inconsistent with the Ecclesiastical Immunity as established by the Canons. As they paid no

[h] Apud eund: num. 29.

no Regard to the Pope's Exhortations, he ſummoned the Magiſtrates to appear in Perſon, and the People by their Repreſentatives, at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See by the laſt Day of *March* 1376, to anſwer for their Conduct. The *Florentines*, far from complying with that Summons, inſulted the Pope's Meſſengers in the groſſeſt Manner, and continuing their Hoſtilities, laid waſte the greater Part of the Patrimony, deſtroying all before them with Fire and Sword. *Gregory* therefore, provoked beyond all Meaſure, iſſued the moſt terrible Bull againſt them that had ever yet been iſſued by any Pope. For by that Bull the Magiſtrates were all excommunicated; the whole People and every Place and Perſon under their Juriſdiction were laid under an Interdict; all Traffic, Commerce, and Intercourſe with any of that State, in any Place whatever, were forbidden on Pain of Excommunication; their Subjects were abſolved from their Allegiance; all their Rights, Privileges, and Immunities were declared forfeited; their Eſtates real and perſonal, in what Part ſoever of the World, were given away, and declared to be the Property of the firſt who ſhould ſeize them *Primi Occupantis*; all were allowed, and even exhorted and encouraged to ſeize on their Perſons, where-ever found, as well as their Eſtates, and reduce them to Slavery; their Magiſtrates were declared inteſtable, and their Sons and Grandſons incapable of ſucceeding to their paternal Eſtates, or to any Inheritance whatever; their Deſcendents to the Third Generation were excluded from all Honours, Dignities, and Preferments both Civil and Eccleſiaſtic; all Princes, Prelates, Governors of Cities, and Magiſtrates were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to harbour any *Florentine*, or to ſuffer any in the Places under their Juriſdiction in any other State or Condition than that of a Slave.

Year of Chriſt 1375.

Sentence pronounced by Gregory *againſt them.*

Year of Chriſt 1376.

This

Year of Christ 1376.

This Bull is dated in the Palace of *Avignon* in ſome Copies the 30th of *March*, and in ſome the 20th of *April*, in the Sixth Year of *Gregory*'s Pontificate, that is, in 1376 [i]. *Walſingham* writes, that upon the Publication of this Bull the *Florentine* Traders, who had ſettled in *England*, delivered up all their Effects to the King, and themſelves with them for his Slaves; and One of the Author's of *Gregory*'s Life tells us, that in all other Countries, eſpecially at *Avignon*, they abandoned their Effects, and returned, being no-where elſe ſafe, to their own Country [k].

No Regard had by the Florentines to the Pope's Cenſures.

The Pope's Bull ſerved only to exaſperate ſtill more the People and Magiſtrates of *Florence*. Being now determined to keep no Meaſures with *Gregory*, as he kept none with them, they committed more dreadful Ravages than ever, baniſhed all whom they ſuſpected to favour the Pope's Cauſe, and confiſcated their Eſtates, obliged the Clergy to perform Divine Service, notwithſtanding the Interdict, impriſoning and treating with the utmoſt Severity ſuch as declined it. They even attacked the Character of the Pope, publiſhing and cauſing to be diſperſed all over *Italy* a great Number of defamatory Libels againſt him [l]. *Gregory* therefore, finding that they were not to be reſtrained by the Spiritual Arms alone, reſolved to add the Temporal to the Spiritual. Having accordingly raiſed in the different Provinces of *France* a Body of Six Thouſand Foot and Four Thouſand Horſe, he ſent them under the Command of *Robert*, Cardinal of the Twelve Apoſtles, with Orders to protect ſuch Places as had not yet ſubmitted to the *Florentines*, and recover, with the Aſſiſtance of their Allies, thoſe

An Army ſent againſt them.

[i] Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. num. 1. et ſeq. et Bzovium, num. 15. [k] Auctor primæ vit. Gregor. [l] Apud Baluz. p. 435.

those that had. The Cardinal put a Stop to the Ravages and Incursions of the Enemy, but had not a sufficient Force to attempt the Reduction of any of the Places they had seized [m]. Year of Christ 1376.

In the mean Time the *Florentines*, who were great Traders, finding their Trade was entirely ruined by the Pope's Bull, forbidding all Intercourse with them, resolved in the End to conclude a Peace with the Apostolic See, and the Person they employed for that Purpose was the celebrated St. *Catherine* of *Siena*, whom they knew to be held in great Esteem by the Pope for her eminent Sanctity. At their Request the Saint flew to *Avignon*, and being received by *Gregory* with the greatest Marks of Esteem, she acquainted him with the Motives of her Journey, begging his Holiness, how justly soever provoked, to hearken to an Accommodation with the *Florentines* upon such Terms as he should think reasonable. The Pope replied, *To shew to the whole World how desirous I am of Peace, I leave the concluding of it, my dear Daughter, entirely to you, only recommending to you the Honour of the Church.* *Catherine*, being thus declared the Pope's Plenipotentiary, returned to *Florence*. But the *Florentines* refusing to give any Satisfaction to those whom they had injured, or to yield up the Places they had seized, the Treaty was soon broken off, and Hostilities recommenced on both Sides [n]. *St.* Catherine *of* Siena *chosen by the* Florentines *to mediate a Peace.* *Her Negotiations unsuccessful.*

From the deplorable State of the Ecclesiastical Territories at this Time in *Italy*, the *Romans* took Occasion to invite the Pope by a Second Embassy to *Rome*, promising to assist him to the utmost of their Power against all the Enemies of the Apostolic See, and assuring him that his Presence alone was *Gregory resolves to restore the Apostolic See to* Rome.

[m] Apud Baluz. p. 436. et seq. [n] Acta vitæ Sanctæ Catherin. apud Bolland. ad 30 April. et Instit. c. 14. tit. 23.

Year of Christ 1376.

wanting to reſtore the long wiſhed for Peace and Tranquillity. Being at the ſame Time preſſed by St. *Catherine* of *Siena*, whom he looked upon not only as a Saint, but a Propheteſs, to haſten his Departure, he reſolved to delay it no longer. One of the Author's of *Gregory*'s Life tells us, that having one Day aſked a Biſhop why he did not repair to his See, the Biſhop returned Anſwer, *And you, Holy Father, why do you not repair to your See?* The Author adds, that his Holineſs, ſenſible of the Juſtice of that Reproach, reſolved to practiſe himſelf what he recommended to the Practice of others [p].

To what that Reſolution was chiefly owing.

As *Gregory* put off his Departure from Time to Time, the *Romans*, ſuſpecting that he only amuſed them with fair Words, diſpatched *Luke de Sabellis*, a *Roman* Prince, and another to *Avignon*, to repreſent to him, that being *Roman* Pontiff, and as ſuch ſtiled and acknowleged by the whole Chriſtian World, he ought to reſide with his Court at *Rome*; that the *Romans* were determined to have a Pope who would reſide among them; and that if his Holineſs did not chuſe it, they had determined to provide themſelves with one who would. They therefore earneſtly entreated him, as he tendered the Peace and Unity of the Church, to haſten his Departure, and obviate, by that Means, the Scandal that would certainly attend a further Delay. Some Authors write, that the *Romans* had ſeveral Conferences among themſelves relating to the Election of another Pope, that they even ſent Ambaſſadors to the Abbot of *Monte Caſſino* to offer him the Papal Dignity, in caſe *Gregory* did not ſpeedily comply with their Requeſt; and that the Abbot returned Anſwer, that he was a *Roman* Citizen, and thought himſelf bound in Duty to obey their Commands [q].

One

[p] Auctor tertiæ vit. [q] Apud Baluz. p. 1194.

Year of Chriſt 1376.

One of the Authors of *Gregory*'s Life tells us, that while the See was yet vacant he bound himſelf by a Vow to go to *Rome*, and reſide there, ſhould he be elected; and that mindful of his Vow he overcame all the Obſtacles that were thrown in his Way. That Writer adds, that the Pope's Mother, proſtrating herſelf acroſs the Threſhold as he went out on his Journey, endeavoured to ſtop him, ſhewing him her naked Breaſt, and crying out bathed in Tears, *My dear Son I ſhall never ſee you again*; but that the Pope unaffected with her Tears, ſtept over her, repeating the Words of the *Pſalm*, *Thou ſhalt walk over the Aſp and the Baſiliſk, thou ſhalt trample upon the Lion and the Dragon*[r]. But this is all a mere Invention, it being ſaid in *Gregory*'s laſt Will, that his Mother died and was buried in the Cathedral of *Avignon* in 1346, that is Thirty Years before the preſent Time[s]. However in this all Authors agree, that the Pope's Father, who was ſtill living, that all his Relations, and with them all the Cardinals, nay and the *French* King, *Charles* V. left nothing unattempted to deter him from the Reſolution he had taken. *Charles* even wrote to his Brother, *Lewis*, Duke of *Anjou*, who was then at *Toulouſe*, to repair to *Avignon*, and prevail upon his Holineſs, if by any Means he could, to lay aſide all Thoughts of his intended Removal to *Rome*, or at leaſt to ſuſpend it. The Pope received the Duke with the greateſt Marks of Friendſhip, thanked him for the Trouble he had taken and the Concern he expreſſed for his Safety; but, unalterable in his Reſolution, he even fixed the Day of his Departure before the Duke left *Avignon*, the 13th of *September* of the preſent Year, and gave Notice thereof to the Cardinals and the

Gregory perſiſts in it in ſpite of all Oppoſition.

[r] Auctor quartæ vit. apud Baluz. col. 1234. [s] Idem ibid.

Year of Christ 1376.

Reſt of the Court, that they might be ready by that Time to attend him [t].

Recommends to the French *King the aboliſhing of an unchriſtian Cuſtom.*

A Cuſtom had long obtained all over *France* of denying Confeſſion and Abſolution to Criminals condemned to Death for their Crimes. Againſt that unchriſtian Practice the Pope wrote to the King before he left *France*, entreating him, as he tendered the Salvation of the Souls of thoſe unhappy Men and that of his own, not to ſuffer even the greateſt Criminals to be excluded from the Benefit of Repentance when they repented of their Sins [a]. What Anſwer the King returned we know not; but the Cuſtom complained of was not, it ſeems, aboliſhed by him, but by *Charles* VI. his Son and Succeſſor: For we have a Conſtitution of that Prince, ordering even the moſt notorious Criminals, though ſentenced to Death for their Crimes, to be admitted to Confeſſion, if they deſired it, and aboliſhing the contrary Cuſtom [b].

Gregory *ſets out for* Rome.

Gregory, perſiſting in his Reſolution of re-eſtabliſhing the Apoſtolic See to *Rome*, ſet out on his Journey to that City on the Day appointed, *Saturday* the 13th of *September* 1376, with his Court, and all the Cardinals but Six, who choſe to remain at *Avignon*. The *French* Writers pretend the Departure of the Pope out of *France* to have been diſpleaſing to and diſcountenanced by Heaven, and alledge ſeveral Inſtances to prove it. They tell us, that his Horſe, on all other Occaſions remarkably tame and gentle, ſeemed on this Occaſion to have changed his Nature, would ſcarce ſuffer his Holineſs to mount him, and became ſo ungovernable that he was obliged to quit him. The ſtormy Weather, and the Danger to which the Pope was expoſed by Sea, are likewiſe conſtrued by thoſe Writers into manifeſt

[t] Apud Baluz. ibid. [a] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1375. num. 28. [b] Apud Spond. ad ann. 1375.

manifeſt Tokens of the Diſpleaſure of Heaven [c] *Gregory* on his Way to *Marſeilles*, where he was to embark, paſſed through *St. Maximinus* to viſit the Reliques of St. *Mary Magdalen* preſerved in that Place, and on the 22d of *September* entered the City of *Marſeilles* on Horſe-back. He lodged with the *Benedictines* in the Monaſtery of *St. Victor*, and remained there till the 2d of *October*, when he embarked with his whole Court, on board the Fleet ſent by the Queen of *Sicily* and other Princes to attend him. He did not reach *Genoa*, on Account of the tempeſtuous Weather and contrary Winds, till the 18th of that Month, and having ſtaid there Eleven Days, he put to Sea again, and after touching at ſeveral Places arrived at *Leghorn*, then ſubject to the Republic of *Piſa*: And there died of the Fatigues of the Voyage, *maris fractus laboribus*, Cardinal *Peter de Judicis*, the Pope's Couſin-german, preferred by him the preceding Year to that Dignity. From *Leghorn* the Fleet ſailed to *Piombino*, to *Port Ercole*, and from thence to *Corneto*, in the Dominions of the Church. He kept there his *Chriſtmas*, and having been, to his great Mortification, detained in that uncomfortable Place Five whole Weeks by the boiſterous Weather and contrary Winds, he put to Sea again on the Thirteenth of *January*, and arrived the next Day at *Oſtia*. From thence he proceeded to *St. Paul's* on the *Oſtian* Way, and remained there till the Seventeenth, when he made his public Entry into *Rome* with Thirteen Cardinals, who had ſet out with him from *Avignon*. He was received at the Gate by the Clergy in a Body, by the Magiſtrates, and all the Nobility, and attended by them to *St. Peter's* amidſt ſuch Demonſtrations of Joy from People of all Ranks, Ages, and Conditions, as till

Year of Chriſt 1376.

His Itinerary.

His Arrival at Rome and the Reception he met with.

Year of Chriſt 1377.

[c] Auctor ſecundæ vit. Greg. ibid.

Year of Christ 1377.

that Time had never been known in *Rome*. *Peter Amelius*, Biſhop of *Sinigaglia*, who attended the Pope from *Avignon* to *Rome*, and has given us his Itinerary, tells us, as an Eye-witneſs, that *Gregory*'s Entry into *Rome* was the moſt glorious Triumph mortal Eye could behold, and that the *Romans* ſeemed to be all mad with Joy, *amentes præ gaudio* [d].

The Romans *perform none of the Promiſes they had made.*

Thus was the Apoſtolic See, or, to ſpeak more properly, the Pope's Court, reſtored to *Rome* by *Gregory* XI. after it had been kept for the Space of Seventy-two Years at *Avignon*. But the *Romans* for all the Joy they expreſſed on that Occaſion, and the extraordinary Honours they paid to his Holineſs on his Arrival, fulfilled none of the mighty Promiſes they had made to entice him to *Rome*. The *Bannerets*, that is, the Heads of the different Wards of the City, ſo called from their different Banners, had uſurped the Government, and governed without Controul, but had promiſed to reſign all their Power into the Pope's Hands as ſoon as he arrived at *Rome*. They did ſo, but in a few Days reſumed, in ſpite of the Pope, their former Authority, governing the City with the ſame abſolute Authority as they had done before; which greatly alarmed *Gregory*, as he was not in a Condition to oppoſe their arbitrary Proceedings, and thought it dangerous to attempt it. The *Romans* had promiſed to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their Power againſt the *Florentines*, but yet declined, under various Pretences, to lend him the leaſt Aſſiſtance [e].

A Treaty of Peace between him and the Florentines *begun, and ſoon broken off.*

However the *Florentines*, tired of a War that proved ſo prejudicial to their Trade, ſent Ambaſſadors

[d] Petrus Amel. Itinerarium Gregor. apud Ciacon. et apud Bzovium, num. 31. [e] Auctor primæ vit. Greg. apud Baluz. p. 436, et ſeq.

ſadors to *Rome* to treat of an Accommodation with the Church. Some write, that the Pope, finding himſelf diſappointed with Reſpect to the Aſſiſtance he expected from the *Romans*, applied the firſt for Peace, and that the Ambaſſadors were ſent, at his Requeſt, to *Rome*. Be that as it may, *Gregory* received them with all poſſible Marks of Friendſhip, admitted them to the Kiſs of Peace, and, abſolving them from the Excommunication and Interdict, allowed Divine Service to be performed in their Preſence ſo long as they remained at *Rome*. But as they inſiſted upon ſuch Terms as *Gregory* could not in Honour and in Conſcience grant, the Treaty was ſoon broke off, the Ambaſſadors were recalled, and Hoſtilities begun anew. Upon the Departure of the Ambaſſadors the Pope diſpatched *Catherine* of *Siena*, with an unlimited Power to treat with the leading Men of the Republic. But the Populace riſing againſt her, notwithſtanding the high Opinion the Reſt of the World entertained of her Sanctity, ſhe narrowly eſcaped (we are told by a Miracle) with her Life. Thus was the War carried on with various Succeſs between the Church and the *Florentines*, and the Eccleſiaſtical State miſerably harraſſed ſo long as *Gregory* lived [f].

Year of Chriſt 1377.

In the mean Time, the hot Seaſon approaching, *Gregory* left *St. Peter*'s in the *Tranſtyberin* City, the loweſt Part of *Rome*, where he had hitherto reſided, and went to *St. Mary the Greater*'s, on *Mount Exquilin*, on the 16th of *May*, with a Deſign to repair from thence, as the Heat increaſed, to *Anagni*, and paſs the Summer there. He remained at *St. Mary the Greater*'s till the 30th of *May*, when he ſet out for *Anagni*, which City he entered on the 2d of *June*, having paſſed Two Days at a *Greek* Monaſtery pleaſantly ſituated on the Road [g].

Writes ſeveral Letters into England againſt John Wickliff.

[f] Aretin. lib. 8 Antonin. tit. 22. c. 1. num. 5. et vit. St. Catherin. p. 3. c. 8. [g] Petrus Amel. in Itiner. Greg.

Year of Christ 1377. It was during his Stay at *St. Mary the Greater*'s, and on the 22d of *May* that *Gregory* wrote the ſeveral Letters, that have reached our Times, againſt the famous *John Wickliff*, whoſe Doctrine was at this Time received by many with great Applauſe in *England*. By one of theſe Letters, addreſſed to the Chancellor and the Univerſity of *Oxford*, the Pope ſeverely reprimands them for ſuffering the Doctrine of *Wickliff*, which he calls peſtilential Errors, to take root in *England*, to the Diſgrace of the Catholic Faith; and orders them to ſeize him and deliver him up to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the Biſhop of *London*, or to either of them. He wrote the ſame Day Letters to theſe Two Prelates, enjoining them by One of them to inform themſelves privately concerning the Doctrine of *Wickliff*, and, if they found it to be ſuch as it had been repreſented to the Apoſtolic See, to keep him carefully and cloſely confined till further Orders. By the other they were required, in caſe they could not apprehend him, to ſummon him by an Edict, publiſhed at *Oxford* and other frequented Places, to appear in the Term of Three Months at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See. By a Third Letter *Gregory* charged the Two Prelates to inform the King, *Edward* III. his Children, and the Grandees of the Kingdom, of the Errors taught by *Wickliff*, and exhort them to concur with them in extirpating the ſaid Errors [h].

His Doctrine. In the laſt of theſe Letters the Pope ſent incloſed Sixteen Propoſitions, which *Wickliff* had been accuſed to him of holding and publicly maintaining; and theſe were, I. That the Euchariſt is not the real Body of *Chriſt*, but only the Figure or Repreſentation of it. II. That the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remain after Conſecration. III. That

[h] Concil. Labbei. tom. 11. p. 20. & ſeq.

That the Accidents of the Bread and Wine cannot possibly subsist without a Subject, or the Substance. IV. That *Christ* is not present really, identically, and corporally in the Eucharist. V. That the *Roman* Church is no more the Head of all Churches than any other. VI. That the Pope has no more Authority than any other Priest. VII. That the Temporal Princes may, nay and are bound, on Pain of Damnation, to deprive a delinquent Church of its Temporalities. VIII. That the Gospel alone is sufficient to direct every *Christian*. IX. That no Ecclesiastic ought to have Prisons for punishing Delinquents. X. That Excommunications, Interdicts, and other Ecclesiastical Censures, when employed for the Temporalities of the Church, are in themselves null. XI. That every Priest, lawfully ordained, is sufficiently impowered to absolve from any Sin whatever. XII. That the Sacraments administered by bad Priests are null. XIII. That Tithes are mere Alms, and the Parishoners may retrench them, if their Priest misbehaves or neglects his Duty. XIV. That those who forbear to preach the Word of God, to perform Divine Service, or assist at it, on Account of any Excommunication or Interdict, incur thereby the Excommunication. XV. That the Institution of the *Mendicant* Order is repugnant to the Gospel; and, lastly, that it is encouraging Idleness, and therefore sinful to relieve them.

Year of Christ 1377.

As many had embraced the Doctrine of *Wickliff* at *Oxford*, neither the Chancellor nor the University seemed inclined to comply with the Pope's Injunction. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *London* sent them a peremptory Order to summon *Wickliff*, a Member of their University, to appear in the Term of Thirty Days before them, or their Delegates, in the Church of *St. Paul* at *London*, and there answer for the Doctrine which he

Silenced by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.

Year of Christ 1377.

he had been accuſed at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See of holding and publicly maintaining. They ſummoned him accordingly, and he appeared, purſuant to the Summons, at the Time and Place appointed. But being protected by the Miniſters of King *Richard* II. who had ſucceeded *Edward* III. on the 22d of *June* of the preſent Year 1377. being then in the Eleventh Year of his Age, by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and by the greater Part of the Nobility as well as by the Citizens and People of *London*, no longer able to bear the daily Encroachments and Impoſitions of the Court of *Rome*, the Biſhops dared not arreſt nor impriſon him, but were obliged to content themſelves with only ſilencing him. *Walſingham*, who flouriſhed in 1440, writes, that *Wickliff* on this Occaſion ſoftened, and, in ſome Degree, retracted ſuch of his Aſſertions as had given moſt Offence, and thus eſcaped all Puniſhment for the preſent [i]. Of *Wickliff* we hear no more during the Pontificate of *Gregory*. But we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of him more than once under the ſucceeding Pontiffs.

Will ſuffer no new Taxes upon the Churches of France.

And now to return to *Gregory*, whom we left at *Anagni*. Being informed, during his Stay there, that the Biſhop of *Maguelon*, his Treaſurer at *Avignon*, knowing he had contracted great Debts, and was daily importuned by his Creditors, had laid a new Tax on the *French* Clergy, to deliver him from that Trouble, he immediately wrote to the Biſhop, and likewiſe to the Archbiſhop of *Rouen*, his Nuncio in *France*, declaring that upon no Conſideration whatever he would ſuffer the *French* Clergy to be loaded with any new Taxes, it not being reaſonable, happen to him what would, that they ſhould be put to any extraordinary Expences on his Account. He therefore ordered an immediate

[i] Walſingham in Edward III.

diate Stop to be put to the new Impoſition, and the Money to be reſtored that had already been collected, though he wanted at that Juncture very large Sums to carry on the War againſt the *Florentines*, who would hearken to no Terms of Peace, and to ranſom his Brother and his Nephew, taken Priſoners in the War by the *Engliſh* [k]. Year of Chriſt 1377.

Refuſes to exempt the See of Paris *from the Juriſdiction of the See of* Sens.

Gregory before he left *Anagni* received a Letter from the *French* King, *Charles* V. entreating him to exempt the Biſhop of *Paris* from all Subjection to the Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and to grant him the Uſe of the Pall. For though the City of *Paris* was now become the Metropolis of the Kingdom, yet the Biſhop of that City was ſtill ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Sens* as his Metropolitan, and the King wanted the Church of his Metropolis to be independent of any other. But *Gregory*, notwithſtanding the great Obligations he owed to the King, could not be prevailed upon to conſent to the withdrawing of the See of *Paris* from all Subjection to that of *Sens*, alledging in his Anſwer to the King, that *Sens* was a very ancient and noble City, that it had been, what *Paris* was then, the Metropolis of the Kingdom; that his Uncle, *Clement* VI. had been Archbiſhop of that City; that he himſelf had held One of the chief Dignities of that Church; and, laſtly, that the Archbiſhop ſcarce had already what was ſufficient to ſupport his Dignity. However, to gratify the King, and confer ſome Mark of Diſtinction upon the Metropolis of his Kingdom, and ſo renowned an Univerſity, he granted to the Biſhop the Uſe of the Pall for ever. But for all his Pall he continued ſubject to the Archbiſhop of *Sens* till the Year 1622, when, at the Requeſt of *Lewis* XIII. the See of *Paris* was exempted from all Subjection to that of *Sens*, and erected

[k] Vide Spondan. ad ann. 1377. num. 18.

Year of Christ 1377.

erected by *Gregory* XV. into an Archiepiscopal See [l]. *Henry Gondi*, called Cardinal *de Retz*, was the last Bishop of *Paris*, and his Brother, *Francis Gondi*, the first Archbishop.

Gregory *resolves to return to* Avignon.

Gregory continued at *Anagni* till the 5th of *November*, when he left that Place and returned to *Rome*. But finding he could not prevail upon the *Romans* to lend him any Assistance against the *Florentines*, nor persuade the *Bannerets* to resign their usurped Power, which they exercised quite independent of him, not suffering him any-ways to interfere in the Government of the City, he began seriously to think of leaving *Rome* and returning to *Avignon*. We are told, that he even writ into *Spain* for a sufficient Number of Gallies to convey him and his Court to *Marseilles* [m]. But in the mean Time the Illness with which he was seized soon after his Return from *Anagni* to *Rome* increasing daily, he laid aside all Thoughts of his Removal to *Avignon*, and spent his whole Time in consulting with the Cardinals concerning the most effectual Means of hastening the Election of his Successor, in case he should not recover, and prevent the Divisions which he foresaw would probably arise at so critical a Juncture in the Conclave. In order to that he suspended some of the Regulations established by his Predecessor *Gregory* X. with respect to the Conclave. For by the Constitution of that Pope the Conclave was to be held in the Place where the Pope happened to die; the Cardinals were not to enter into the Conclave till Ten Days after his Decease, that the absent Cardinals might have Time to repair to the Place of the Election; and he alone was to be deemed lawful Pope who was elected by Two Parts in Three of the Cardinals.

Year of Christ 1378.

Is taken ill.

Suspends the Constitution of Gregory X. *concerning the* Conclave.

But

[l] Spondan. ibid. [m] Thesaur. Anecdot. tom. 2. col. 1081.

But by the preſent Conſtitution the Cardinals were not confined to any particular Place, but allowed to meet for the Election of a new Pope in the Place that ſhould be thought by the greater Part of them the moſt proper and convenient, whether in *Rome* or out of it; they were to wait for the abſent Cardinals as long or as ſhort a Time as ſhould be judged moſt expedient by the greater Part, or, if judged expedient, not wait at all; and he ſhould be received as lawful Pope who ſhould have the Majority however ſmall. Theſe Regulations were eſtabliſhed by *Gregory* with reſpect to the next Election only, or to the Election of his immediate Succeſſor. This Bull is dated at *St. Peter*'s the 19th of *March*, that is, Nine Days before *Gregory*'s Death [n]. Year of Chriſt 1378.

He propoſed making ſome other Regulations, calculated to prevent the Diſturbances which he apprehended would ariſe upon his Death, and retard the Election of his Succeſſor; but in the mean Time a violent Fit of the Stone, a Complaint which he had been long liable to, put an End to his Life. He died on the 27th of *March* of the preſent Year 1378, after a Pontificate (reckoning from the Day of his Conſecration) of Seven Years Two Months and Twenty-three Days, when he had not yet completed the Forty-ſeventh Year of his Age [o]. The celebrated *John Gerſon*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Paris*, who flouriſhed in the Beginning of the following Century, tells us, that *Gregory*, when at the Point of Death, holding the Body of our Lord in his Hand, warned all about him to beware of thoſe, whether Men or Women, who under Colour of Religion paſſed upon *His Death.*

[n] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1378. num. 2. [o] Auctor primæ vit.

Year of Christ 1378.

upon others the Visions of their own Brains for divine Revelations, since he, seduced by Persons of that Character, contrary to the Advice of all his Friends, had brought the Church into imminent Danger of a Schism [p]. Some suppose the Pope to have meant by these Visionaries *Peter* of *Arragon*, *Bridget* of *Sweden*, and *Catherine* of *Siena*, who had all persuaded him, that it was the Will of God, revealed to them, that he should go and reside at *Rome* [q]. But *Natalis Alexander* pretends *Gerson* to have been misinformed, and alledges the following Reasons to prove it. I. No Notice is taken of what *Gerson* writes, though worthy of particular Notice, by the Author of *Gregory*'s Life, who lived at that very Time. II. *Gregory* was not originally induced by any Revelations to translate his See to *Rome*, but by other Motives, *viz.* to restore and maintain the Tranquillity of *Italy*, to recover the Dominions of the Church, seized and held by several petty Tyrants, and to engage the *Romans* to assist him, pursuant to their Promise, against the *Florentines*. III. *Gregory* could not think that he exposed the Church to any Danger of a Schism by restoring his See to *Rome*; but on the contrary knew, that if he continued at *Avignon* a Schism would certainly ensue, the *Romans* being determined in that Case to have a Pope of their own, One who would reside among them. Thus *Natalis Alexander* in his Life of *Gregory*; but whether these Reasons sufficiently evince the Falsity of what *Gerson* wrote, I shall, with Father *Pagi*, leave the Reader to determine.

His Learning and Character.

Though he had not completed the Eighteenth Year of his Age when he was preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal by his Uncle *Clement* VI. and consequently

[p] Gerson de Examinatione Doctrinar. parte 2. Consideratione 3. [q] Spondan. ad ann. 1378. num. 2.

Year of Christ 1378.

ſequently could not yet be well acquainted with any Branch of Literature, he nevertheleſs became by conſtant Application, being endowed with very uncommon Parts, One of the beſt Civilians, Canoniſts, Divines, and Philoſophers of the Age[r]. We are told, that his Deciſions in Point of Juſtice and Equity were univerſally looked upon as ſo many Oracles; nay, that the famous *Baldus*, Profeſſor of Civil Law at *Perugia*, in his Explanation of the Laws, frequently quoted him while he was yet living[s]. In this all agree who mention *Gregory* XI. that in moſt Branches of Literature he was equalled by few and ſurpaſſed by none; that he took great Delight in converſing with learned Men, and by Choice preferred no other. He is no leſs commended by the contemporary Writers for his Piety, his Prudence, his Generoſity, chiefly to the Poor, and his Humanity and Good-nature, than he is for his Learning. He left no Writings behind him that we know of beſides ſome Letters and Conſtitutions, which I have had Occaſion to ſpeak of in the Courſe of his Hiſtory. He is charged even by his Panegyriſts with too great an Attachment and Partiality to his Relations, eſpecially to his Father, his Brothers, and his Nephews. He did not indeed confer any new Honours upon them, as they had been all raiſed by his Uncle *Clement* to the firſt Dignities, and the moſt lucrative Employments. But he removed none of them to make Room for others, perhaps, more deſerving; kept them conſtantly about him; adviſed with them, and followed their Advice in moſt Matters of Moment; and in the Diſpoſal of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Preferments had ſome Times more Regard to their Recommendations than to the Merits

[r] Auctor primæ vit. [s] Auctor tertiæ vit.

Year of Chriſt 1378.

Merits of the Perſons whom they recommended. Thus the contemporary Author of *Gregory*'s Life.

The Lateran *Church declared the Firſt of all Churches.*

Gregory, by a Conſtitution dated at *Avignon* the 23d of *January* 1372, the Second Year of his Pontificate, declared the Church of *St. John Lateran* to be the See of the *Roman* Pontiff, and the Firſt Church, *St. Peter*'s not excepted, in the whole World.——In the ſame Year he ordered the Feſtival of the *Preſentation of the Virgin Mary* (when ſhe was preſented to the Temple in the Third Year of her Age) which had been obſerved in the *Eaſt* Time out of Mind, to be yearly kept as a Holiday in the *Weſt* on the 21ſt of *November*, and it has been ſo kept from *Gregory*'s Time to the preſent.——It is obſerved of this Pope, that he carefully avoided all Conteſts with any of the Chriſtian Princes, chuſing to diſſemble in their Conduct what moſt other Popes would have highly reſented.

URBAN

Year of Christ 1378.

JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, MA. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperors of the East.* **URBAN VI.** CHARLES IV. WENCELAUS, *Emperors of the West*

The Hundred and Ninety-ninth BISHOP *of* Rome.

The Death of Gregory *followed by* The Great Weſtern Schiſm.

THE Death of *Gregory* was followed by a moſt dreadful Schiſm, commonly called in the Hiſtory of the Church *The Great Weſtern Schiſm.* It began in the preſent Year 1378, by the Election of *Clement* VII. in Oppoſition to *Urban* VI. and laſted till the Council of *Conſtance*, held in 1414. There were, during that Time, two Popes, the one reſiding at *Rome* or in *Italy*, and the other at *Avignon*. But which of the Popes was the true one, and which the Antipope, has not yet been decided. St. *Antonine*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*, who wrote not long after an End was happily put to the Schiſm, ſpeaks of it thus: "This Matter has been the "Subject of many Diſputations; and many Books "have been publiſhed in Defence of the One and "the other Party. Both not only had Men tho-"roughly acquainted with the Scriptures and the "Canon Law, but moſt religious Men, nay and "ſome who even wrought Miracles. Yet the "Queſtion could never be ſo decided as not to "remain in the Opinion of many ſtill doubtful. "For though it is neceſſary to believe, that as "there is but one Catholic Church, ſo there is but "one Paſtor, *Chriſt*'s Vicar, upon Earth; yet if "more than one ſhould be created at the ſame "Time, it ſeems not neceſſary to Salvation to be-"lieve, that this Man in particular, or that, was "lawfully elected, but only that one of them was. "Which of them was canonically elected, no "Man is bound to know, and the People may "therein follow their Betters or their Prelates[i]."

[i] Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 1.

Year of Christ 1378.

Wernerus Rollewink, Author of the *Faſciculus Temporum*, who flouriſhed in 1480, declares, that from *Urban* VI. to *Martin* V. raiſed to the See in 1417, he knew not who was Pope. Two General Councils, thoſe of *Piſa* and *Conſtance*, were aſſembled, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel, to put an End to this Schiſm; yet neither would take upon them to declare whether *Urban* and his Succeſſors, or *Clement* and his, were canonically elected; but, leaving that Point undetermined, they were for having both reſign. That Uncertainty was owing to the different and contradictory Accounts of the double Election, that were publiſhed at the Time, or ſoon after. Theſe Accounts I ſhall here lay before the Reader, and leave him to determine, if he can, which of the two Competitors had the beſt Right.

Account of the Election of Urban *by an anonymous and contemporary Writer.*

I ſhall begin with the Account of the anonymous Author of *Gregory*'s Life, who was then, as he declares, in *Rome*, ſaw with his own Eyes what happened out of the Conclave, and learnt of ſeveral Cardinals what happened in it; and his Account is as follows: While *Gregory* lay dangerouſly ill, the *Bannerets* or *Bandereſians*, who preſided over the different Wards or Quarters of the City, frequently met to deliberate about the Means of retaining the Apoſtolic See in *Italy*; and that they thought they could by no other Means more effectually procure than by getting a *Roman*, or at leaſt an *Italian*, elected in the room of *Gregory*. They therefore reſolved to apply, upon his Death, to the Cardinals, and leave nothing unattempted to prevail upon them to fill the See, when it became vacant, with a Native of *Rome*, or at leaſt of *Italy*. They were encouraged therein by ſeveral *Italian* Prelates, who, aſpiring at the Pontificate, aſſiſted at all their Conferences to court their Intereſt and Favour. Amongſt theſe was *Bartholomew Pignano*, Archbiſhop of *Bari*, a Man of an unbounded Ambition,

tion, of very uncommon Parts, of great Addreſs, and generally reputed one of the moſt learned Men of the Age. In the mean Time *Gregory* died, as has been ſaid, on the 27th of *March*, 1378, and the *Bandereſians* waiting upon the Cardinals as ſoon as they heard of his Death, earneſtly entreated them to elect a *Romon*, or at leaſt an *Italian* for his Succeſſor, adding, that if they complied not with their Requeſt, there was Reaſon to believe that the *Roman* People, provoked at their being ſo long deprived of their Paſtor, would reſent it in a Manner not pleaſing to them. They therefore deſired to know, before they entered into the Conclave, what the People might expect from them. Thus they applied to the Cardinals when aſſembled together, and to each of them in particular at his Houſe. The Cardinals anſwered, that ſuch Matters were not to be treated of out of the Conclave, and that in the Conclave they ſhould act agreeably to their Conſcience, without Exception to any Perſon or Nation, having nothing in View but the Good of the Church, and the Chriſtian Religion; and that if any Violence were offered, or Menaces uſed, the Perſon thus elected would not be Pope, but an Intruder. The *Bandereſians*, however, ſtill preſſed them to grant them their Requeſt, and conſult their own Safety, by promiſing to elect a *Roman*, or an *Italian*. As they could extort no ſuch Promiſe from them, they placed Guards at all the Gates, Bridges, and Avenues to the Town, both by Land and Water, to prevent their retiring to ſome other Place; and holding the Conclave there, drove out all the Nobility, leſt they ſhould undertake the Defence and Protection of the Cardinals, and introduced in their Room Multitudes of Peaſants, who ſtuck at nothing, and were entirely at their Devotion. Theſe being ſupplied with Arms, continued running up and down the Streets Day

Year of Chriſt 1378.

Year of Chriſt 1378.

and Night, threatening the Cardinals, and inſulting ſuch of their Domeſtics as they happened to meet. Beſides, they committed the Guard of the Conclave, which Perſons only of the firſt Diſtinction uſed to be charged with, to the very Scum of the People. As the Cardinals were entering into the Conclave, the Peaſants and the Populace attending them, cried out aloud, with dreadful Menaces, we will have a *Roman* Pope, *Romano lo volemo lo Papa, Romano lo volemo.* Many of them even entered the Conclave with the Cardinals, while others ſurrounded the Palace on all Sides. When the Cardinals were ready to ſhut themſelves up in the Conclave, the *Bandereſians*, breaking into the Palace, told them in plain Terms, that they muſt chuſe a *Roman*, or, at leaſt, an *Italian*; that ſuch was the Deſire and Requeſt of the *Roman* People; and that if they did not comply with it, it was not in their Power to ſcreen them from the Fury of the enraged Multitude. The Cardinals anſwered, that the Election ought to be free; that it was null if not free; and that where Menaces intervened, there could be no Freedom. They deſired them therefore to reflect that ſhould they, intimidated by their Menaces, elect a *Roman* or an *Italian*, he would not be true Pope, how unanimouſly ſoever elected, but an Uſurper of the Apoſtolic See. With this Anſwer the *Bandereſians* withdrew, and the Cardinals ſhut themſelves up in the Conclave. But the Populace continued all Night making dreadful Noiſes, and crying out aloud, *A* Roman, *at leaſt an* Italian *Pope, or immediate Death*, which kept the Cardinals awake and in great Fear all that Night, the Night between the 7th and the 8th of *April*; for they entered into the Conclave on the 7th of that Month. Early next Morning, the 8th of *April*, while the Cardinals were aſſiſting at the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, in order to proceed afterwards

terwards to the Election, the Bells of St. *Peter* and the Capitol were ſuddenly rung, as upon the Irruption of an Enemy, for the People to take Arms. They flew to Arms accordingly, and flocking from all Parts of the City to the Pontifical Palace, ſurrounded it, crying out, as before, *A* Roman, *at leaſt an* Italian *Pope, or certain Death.* They even began to break down the Door of the Conclave; but in the mean Time the Window being opened, they deſired to ſpeak with the Cardinals; and the Deans of the Three Orders, *viz.* of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, being ſent them by the reſt to hear and appeaſe them, they inſiſted upon their electing, without further Delay, a *Roman*, or an *Italian*, threatening them with immediate Death if they complied not with this their Requeſt. Upon the Report of the three Cardinals, the reſt, apprehending themſelves to be in imminent Danger of their Lives, ſent one of the Officers of the Conclave to aſſure them, that the next Day they ſhould have a *Roman* or an *Italian* Pope, and beg them to retire. *We will have a* Roman, *at leaſt an* Italian *Pope, this Moment*, replied the Multitude with one Voice; *nor will we depart from hence till you have complied with our Demand: Immediate Compliance, or immediate Death.* The Cardinals finding that there was no Medium, that they muſt gratify the People, or fall a Sacrifice to their Fury, reſolved to gratify them. Having therefore firſt proteſted againſt the Violence that was offered them, they caſt their Eyes, in that Hurry and Conſternation, upon *Bartholomew Pignano*, Archbiſhop of *Bari*, a Native of *Naples*. As he was better acquainted with the Canons than moſt Men of his Time, he knew that his Election was not free, and was conſequently null, they took it for granted that he would ſoon reſign the Dignity, which they had only conferred upon him

Year of Chriſt 1378.

Year of Christ 1378.

to save their Lives; and that the rather, as he was reputed a Man of Conscience, and had on several Occasions distinguished himself by his Zeal for the Observance of the Canons. Upon these Considerations they declared him Pope, and at the pressing Instances of the *Romans*, immediately enthroned him; on which Occasion he took the Name of *Urban* VI. Thus the contemporary Writer of *Gregory*'s Life [k].

Deposition of the Ultramontaine *Cardinals.*

The Cardinals, by whom *Urban* was thus elected, not daring, so long as they continued in *Rome*, to question the Validity of his Election, outwardly acknowledged him for true Pope, nay, and wrote to the Cardinals, who had remained at *Avignon*, that they had unanimously placed *Bartholomew Pignano*, Archbishop of *Bari*, in the Chair of St. *Peter*. But retiring afterwards from *Rome* to *Anagni*, twelve of them declared upon Oath, before Cardinal *Peter de Cros*, Chamberlain of the Holy *Roman* Church, and Judge in Ordinary, that it was to avoid immediate Death, which they were threatened with, that they elected the Archbishop of *Bari*, whom they never would have thought of electing, had no Violence been offered. They added, that being in all sixteen, *viz.* twelve *Ultramontaines* and four *Italians*, they had all agreed to elect one of the College; but they disagreed in this, that the *Ultramontaines*, that is, those on this Side the *Alps*, were for having an *Ultramontaine* and not an *Italian* Pope, and the *Italians* contended for an *Italian*. In this Disposition they entered into the Conclave, and the *Ultramontaines* would certainly have carried their Point, but for the Violence that was offered them by the *Roman* People, threatening them with immediate Death if they chose not an *Italian*. They further attested, upon Oath, that some of the

[k] Apud Baluz. tom. 2. p. 442.

the *Italian* Cardinals declared that, ſhould they be elected, they would not conſent to their Election, as it would be owing to Violence, and conſequently null; that when the Archbiſhop of *Bari* was unexpectedly nominated, they agreed to that Nomination only becauſe they durſt not oppoſe it; that ſome did not abſolutely agree to it, but only upon Condition that he ſhould be freely re-elected in ſome other Place; but that the People, in the mean Time, impatient of any further Delay, broke into the Conclave, and would in their Fury have cut them in Pieces, had not one of the Cardinals, to ſave his own Life, and the Lives of his Brethren, told them that they had elected Cardinal *Thebaldeſchi*, who was by Birth a *Roman*, and Archprieſt of St. *Peter*'s, but had not been able to prevail upon him to conſent to his Election, and that they would have what they wanted, a *Roman* Pope, if they could but perſuade him to accept the Dignity which had been conferred on him to gratify them. Hereupon the People, crowding round Cardinal *Thebaldeſchi*, placed him, notwithſtanding his ſolemnly proteſting againſt it, on the Pontifical Throne. While the People were thus employed, the Cardinals in the Conclave made their Eſcape, ſome of them retiring privately to their own Houſes, others to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and ſome in Diſguiſe out of *Rome*. The People, finding that they had been impoſed upon, grew more outrageous than ever; but being informed that the Archbiſhop of *Bari*, a Native of *Italy*, was really elected, the Tumult ceaſed, and the News of his Election was received with the loudeſt Acclamations. The Archbiſhop remained in the Pontifical Palace, and from thence ſent the next Day a peremptory Order to the Cardinals, who had withdrawn to the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, or to their own Houſes, to repair to the Palace, and

Year of Chriſt 1378.

Year of Christ 1378.

assist at his Inthronation. They refused at first to comply with that Order; but finding he had the *Roman* Magistrates, and the whole Body of the People on his Side, they thought it adviseable to yield for the present, and he was placed by them with the usual Ceremonies on the Pontifical Throne. The Cardinals, who had fled into the Country, likewise returned, apprehending that in their Absence their Houses would be plundered by the enraged Multitude, and together with the rest outwardly acknowledged the Archbishop of *Bari* for Pope, under the Name of *Urban* VI. intending that he should thereby acquire no better Right than he had by his Election. All this the twelve *Ultramontaine* Cardinals attested, upon Oath, before Cardinal *Peter de Cros*, Chamberlain of the Apostolic See, at *Anagni*, on the 2d of *August*, 1378[l]. This Attestation was copied by *Spondanus*, from an authentic Manuscript in the Library of St. *Victor* at *Paris*; and in the same Library is lodged, as that Writer informs us, a Treatise written by *Simon de Cramand*, Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, where he declares that one *Pontius Veraldi*, who had lived in great Intimacy with the Archbishop of *Bari*, told him upon Oath, that being with the Archbishop, in the Church of St. *Peter*, during the Tumult, he (the Archbishop) addressed him thus: *You see what Methods are used; but he, who shall be thus elected, will not be Pope; for my own Part, I would not obey him, nor ought he to be obeyed by any good Catholic*[m]. He little imagined then that he himself *should be thus elected.*

St. Antonine's *Account.*

Antonine, Archbishop of *Florence*, speaking of this Election, tells us, that the Cardinals apprehending, before they entered into the Conclave, that

[l] Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1378. [m] Idem ibid.

that their Lives would be in great Danger if they chose not a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian*, charged One of their Brethren, a *Limosin*, or Native of *Limoges*, deemed more sagacious than the Rest, to contrive some Means of appeasing the Multitude; that the Cardinal communicated the Affair to his Friend the Archbishop of *Bari*, knowing him to be a Man of great Craft and Address; that the Archbishop advised them to elect Two, One in Earnest, to be afterwards nominated in some other Place, where they might with Safety publish his Election; the other with no Intention that he should be really Pope, but only to deceive the People, and thus escape the present Danger; and that the Cardinals, applauding this Device, nominated the Archbishop himself, with a Design to nominate another when free from all Restraint; but the People, placing him in the Pontifical Throne, acknowledged him for lawful Pope, nor could he ever afterwards be prevailed upon to resign the Dignity thus conferred on him [n]. This Account of the Archbishop's Election *Antonine* copied from the History of *Peter Boninsegni*, a Citizen of *Florence*, who lived at this Time [o]. Year of Christ 1378.

Accounts favourable to Urban.

Gobelinus Persona, a contemporary Historian, writes in his History entitled *Cosmodromium*, that the Election of *Urban* was free and unanimous; that the *Romans* indeed surrounded the Pontifical Palace and the Conclave, crying out, *We will have a* Roman, *or at least an* Italian *Pope*, but used no Menaces; that when the Cardinals, who had retired to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, to their own Houses, or into the Country, met to enthrone him, he conjured them, by all that was sacred, to declare whether they had elected him freely, and that all to a Man answered, that they had elected him of their own

[n] Antonin. tit. 22. c. 1. [o] Pagi, Vol. 4. p. 244.

Year of Christ 1378.

own Free-Will; that since that of St. *Peter* no Election had ever been more canonical [p]. These Reports commonly prevailed, the Cardinals, while in *Rome*, not daring to contradict them. But One of them, Cardinal *de Aigrefeuille*, gave private Notice to the King of *France* to pay no Regard to any thing they wrote from thence.——*James de Seva*, a Native of *Provence*, who lived at this Time, gives us the following Account of *Urban*'s Election under the Title of *Factum Jacobi de Seva*. Upon the Death of *Gregory* the *French* Cardinals, says that Writer, disagreed among themselves before they entered into the Conclave, as well as with the *Italian* Cardinals. The *French* Cardinals were Sixteen in Number, and the *Italians* only Four. But the greater Part of the *French* Cardinals being of the Province of *Limoges*, they were for electing One of the same Province. As there had been in the Course of a few Years Three Popes of that Province, namely, *Clement* VI. *Innocent* VI. and *Gregory* XI. who had filled the College with their Countrymen, the other *French* Cardinals joined the *Italians*, chusing rather to have an *Italian* Pope than a *Limosin*. Hereupon the *Limosin* Cardinals agreed among themselves to concur with the *Italians* in electing an *Italian*, if they could not carry the Election in Favour of One of their own Province. Pursuant to this Agreement the *Limosin* Cardinals, finding the Election of One of the same Province opposed in the Conclave by the other, *French* as well as *Italian*, Cardinals, unexpectedly proposed the Archbishop of *Bari*. As the Archbishop had spent great Part of his Life at *Avignon*, and was besides a Native of *Naples* then in the Hands of the *French*, the other *French* Cardinals, looking upon him as a *Frenchman*, readily consented to his Election. Of the Four *Italian* Cardinals, Cardinal *Ursini*

[p] Gobelin. in Cosmodrum. ætat. 6, c. 74.

ni alone oppoſed the Election of the Archbiſhop, Year of Chriſt 1378.
ſpiring himſelf at the Pontificate, as he was a
Native of *Rome*, and the People wanted a *Roman*.
To ſatisfy the Multitude for the preſent, he pro-
poſed their ſending for ſome *Franciſcan* Friar, for
their ſhewing him to the People in the Attire of
High Pontiff, and retiring out of *Rome*, while the
Romans were buſied in paying their Adorations to
the mock Pope, proceed to the Election of a true
One in ſome other Place. This Propoſal was re-
jected by the Reſt of the Cardinals, declaring that
they would not be acceſſary to the Idolatry of the
People, and damn their own Souls. As the Arch-
biſhop therefore had a Majority, he was declared
duly elected, and, before his Election was publiſhed,
ſent for by the Cardinals, apprehending that if his
Election were publicly known, the People might
fall upon him as he was not a *Roman*, and prevent
his Promotion. Upon his Arrival at the Palace he
was again freely elected by a great Majority, and
the *Ultramontaine* Cardinals, dreading the Fury of
the People as they had not elected a *Roman*, began
to retire before the Election was made public. But
the People and Magiſtrates inſiſting upon their not
going out of the Conclave till the Elect was pub-
licly named, they prevailed on Cardinal *Thebaldeſ-*
chi, by Birth a *Roman*, to perſonate the Pope, and
while the People, tranſported with Joy, were
wholly taken up in congratulating him upon his
Promotion, they got in great Haſte out of the
Crowd, Five to their own Houſes, Six to the
Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and Three out of Town,
leaving the pretended Pope alone in the Palace.
Upon their Departure the Cardinal declared that
the Archbiſhop of *Bari* was Pope, and not he, and
the People, pleaſed with the Election of an *Italian*,
diſmiſſed him unhurt, and immediately paid all due
Honours to the Archbiſhop as Pope. But he de-
clined

Year of Christ 1378.

clined them till the Cardinals, meeting again, freely and unanimously confirmed his Election; and it was at their Desire and earnest Request that he submitted and accepted at last a Dignity, to which he thought himself altogether unequal q. This Writer dissembles the Violence that was used; but that Violence was used sufficiently appears from his own Account.——The famous *Theodoric* of *Niem*, who was at this Time in *Rome*, and afterwards Secretary to *Urban*, has betrayed no less Partiality in his Account of this Election than *de Seva*. For according to him the Election was entirely free and unanimous, the *Roman* People used no Menaces, but, like Suppliants, only begged the Cardinals to elect a *Roman*, or at least an *Italian*, if they thought it consistent with the public Welfare, and the Good of the Church. He owns however great Disturbances to have been raised by the People, but ascribes them to a Mistake of theirs. For being told by the Cardinals when the Election was over, that the *Barese* was elected, meaning the Archbishop of *Bari*, they imagined that *John de Barre*, a *Limosin*, the late Pope's Chamberlain, who by his insolent and haughty Behaviour had rendered himself odious to all Ranks of Men, was elected Pope; and that Report being spread all over the City, the enraged Populace, threatening the Cardinals, committed great Disorders, but were appeased as soon as undeceived r.

Urban's *Election deemed by some valid, though not quite free.*

These Three Historians, *Gobelinus Persona*, *James de Seva*, and *Theodoric* of *Niem*, are the only Writers who have pretended the Election of *Urban* to be quite free. The other Historians, even those who acknowleged *Urban* for lawful Pope, all allow

q Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1378. et Hist. Universitat. Paris. tom. 4. r Theod. de Niem de Schis. l. 1. c. 1.

Year of Christ 1378.

allow his Election to have been owing to Violence. Among these *Leonardus* of *Arezzo*, commonly known by the Name of *The Artin*, who was Chancellor and Historian of the Republic of *Florence*, and wrote about the Year 1440, owns the Election of *Urban* to have been the Effect of Violence; but adds, that the Cardinals, when free from all Fear, obeyed him as lawful Pope, which, says he, was confirming his Elections [s]. *Baldus*, as famous a Civilian as any in his Time or since, owned the Cardinals to have elected *Urban* out of Fear, but yet looked upon him as lawful Pope, since he had been obeyed as such by all the Cardinals for the Space of Three Months [t]. St. *Catherine* of *Siena*, espousing with great Zeal the Cause of *Urban*, wrote a great Number of Letters to different Persons, all calculated to shew that the Endeavours, used by the *Roman* People to get a *Roman* or an *Italian* Pope, were not sufficient to render the Election of *Urban* null. Innumerable Treatises have been written upon this Schism by different Authors, some maintaining, and others impugning the Validity of *Urban*'s Election. In the *Vatican* Library alone are lodged, in Manuscript, no fewer than Thirty-two Volumes upon this Subject, containing all the Arguments that have been alleged on either Side. But which of the Competitors was the true Pope, and which the Antipope, has never been determined by the Church. Leaving therefore that Point undecided, I shall proceed to the History of *Urban*'s Pontificate, and that of his Rival *Clement* VI.

Bar-

[s] Aretin. Hist. Florent. [t] Bald. de Schis. tit. *si quis aliquem.*

Year of Christ 1378.

Urban's *Birth, Preferments, and Character before his Election.*

Bartholomew, Archbiſhop of *Bari*, elected in the Manner we have ſeen, was a Native of *Naples*, deſcended from the illuſtrious Family of the *Prignani*, originally from *Piſa*, was reputed one of the beſt Civilians, as well as Canoniſts of his Time, and univerſally eſteemed for his Probity, whether real or pretended. As Cardinal *de Monteruco*, Vice Chancellor of the Holy *Roman* Church, choſe to remain at *Avignon* when *Gregory* removed with his Court to *Rome*, *Bartholomew* was appointed by that Pope to act as Vice Chancellor in his Stead. In that Office he acquitted himſelf to the Satisfaction of *Gregory*, and was by him, on that Account, preferred to the Archbiſhopric of *Otranto*, and ſoon after tranſlated to that of *Bari*. An anonymous Writer, who lived with him, gives us the following Account of his Manner of Life. "This "Man," ſays that Author, "for many Years, "while I was with him, when he withdrew at Night "to Reſt, cauſed the Bible to be read to him till "he fell aſleep, and while awake very ſeldom or "ever paſſed idly any Part of his Time, but em-"ployed it in Study, in the Diſcharge of his Of-"fice, or in Prayer. He conſtantly wore Night "and Day a Hair-cloth next to his Skin. He "never appeared in the Streets but upon ſome ur-"gent Buſineſs, and then rode on a Mule, being "only attended by one Domeſtic on Horſeback. "He patiently bore his own Misfortunes, and was "greatly affected with thoſe of others. He moſt ſtrict-"ly obſerved all the Faſts of the Church, and added "to them that of the Advent. He was a great "Friend to the Religious, and took particular "Delight in their Company. He encouraged "Learning in others, being a Man of great Learn-"ing himſelf [u]. Before his Promotion he was remarkable,"

[u] Apud Oldoin, in notis ad Ciacon.

" markable," ſays his Secretary *de Niem*, " for his " Love of Juſtice, his Abhorrence of Simony, for " his Piety, Modeſty, and Benevolence to all, eſ- " pecially to Men of Learning and Virtue. But " after his Promotion, one would have thought," " adds *Papirius Maſſonus*, " that he never had " been endowed with any of thoſe Virtues, or had " at once forfeited them all when he ſtood moſt in " need of them[w]." He was elected on the 8th, and inthroned on the 9th of *April*, taking on that Occaſion for his Motto, the Words of the *Pſalm*, *Ariſe, O Lord, and judge my Cauſe*. On the 18th of the ſame Month, *Eaſter-Day*, he was crowned with the uſual Solemnity by Cardinal *Urſini*, in the Preſence, and with the Approbation, of all the Cardinals then at *Rome*, being at that Time in the ſixtieth Year of his Age.

Year of Chriſt 1378.

Urban, thus elected, inthroned, and crowned, cauſed a ſolemn Maſs to be ſaid the Day after his Coronation, in the Pontifical Chapel, for the deceaſed Pope, at which all the Cardinals aſſiſted. On the ſame Day, the 19th of *April*, the Cardinals at *Rome* wrote to the ſix who had remained at *Avignon*, to acquaint them with the Election of the Archbiſhop of *Bari*, which they ſolemnly declared, in their Letter, to have been entirely free, and deſired thoſe Cardinals to give no Credit to any who ſhould aſſert or write the contrary. " Our late " Father *Gregory*, of holy Memory," ſaid the Cardinals, " having left us, to our unſpeakable " Concern, on the 27th of *March*, we entered " into the Conclave on the 7th of *April*, to deli- " berate about the Election of a new Pontiff. The " next Day, being enlightened by the Rays of " that Sun that never ſets, about the Hour when " the Holy Ghoſt deſcended upon the Apoſtles, " we

Letter from the Cardinals at Rome *to thoſe at* Avignon.

[w] Anonym. et Papirius Maſſon. apud Ciacon.

Year of Christ 1378.

" we all freely and unanimouſly elected for High " Pontiff our Reverend Father and Lord in Chriſt, " *Bartholomew*, Archbiſhop of *Bari*, a Man en- " dowed, in an eminent Degree, with every Vir- " tue becoming ſo high a Station. The News of " his Election was received with loud Acclama- " tions by an innumerable Multitude of People. " On the 9th he was placed in the Apoſtolic Throne, " taking on that Occaſion the Name of *Urban* VI. " On the Day of the Reſurrection of our Lord, " he was ſolemnly crowned, according to Cuſtom, " in the Baſilic of St. *Peter*. We have thought " it neceſſary to tranſmit to you this Account, " containing the Truth, and nothing but the " Truth, of what has paſſed within theſe few Days " in the *Roman* Church. You may ſafely rely " upon what we write; and it is incumbent upon " you to contradict, as abſolutely falſe, all Reports " to the contrary [x]." Thus the Cardinals at *Rome* to their Brethren at *Avignon*, and likewiſe to all the Chriſtian Princes, apprehending, as they afterwards owned, that had they wrote the Truth, their Letters would probably have been intercepted, and they cut in Pieces by the enraged *Romans*.

Urban *diſobliges the Cardinals with his unſeaſonable Severity.*

The Cardinals, ſo long as they remained at *Rome*, paid all the Obedience to *Urban* that was due to a lawful Pope; and moſt Authors are of Opinion, that, to avoid a Schiſm, and the dreadful Conſequences attending it, they would have continued to obey him, but for his unſeaſonable Severity. For in a Conſiſtory held immediately after his Coronation, he reprimanded the Cardinals very ſeverely, and in very coarſe Terms, taxing them with Pride, Avarice, and Venality, with engroſſing to themſelves all the beſt Benefices of the Church, and inſolently

[x] Oldoin. in novis additionibus ad Ciacon. et Raymund. ad ann. 1378, num. 19.

ſolently lording it over the reſt of the Clergy. At the ſame Time he commanded them to retrench all unneceſſary Expences, to leſſen the Number of their Attendants, to forbear all public and expenſive Banquetting, threatening to cut off the Means of ſupporting their Extravagance, if they did not reform it of their own Accord. He forbad them to accept of any Preſents or Penſions from ſecular Princes, on Pain of being looked upon as Betrayers of the Rights of the Church, and treated accordingly. While he thus behaved to the Cardinals, he was all Complaiſance to the *Romans*, made it his Study to gratify them in all their Demands, and even diſtinguiſhed with particular Marks of his Favour ſuch of them as had been the moſt active in the late Diſturbances. Year of Chriſt 1378.

His haughty Behaviour to Otho, Duke of Brunſwick.

The News of his Election no ſooner reached *Naples*, than *Otho*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, Queen *Joan*'s third Huſband, came to *Rome* to congratulate him upon that Occaſion, and do him Homage, in the Queen's Name, for her Kingdom, a Fief of the Apoſtolic See. *Otho* was a Prince endowed with every princely Virtue; had in the latter-end of *Gregory*'s Pontificate negotiated, and happily concluded a Peace between the Church and the *Florentines*, after a long and deſtructive War, and had been publickly thanked on that Account by the Pope and the whole College. Yet *Urban* received him with great Haughtineſs, ſcarce deigned to return him an Anſwer when he congratulated him in the Queen's Name and his own upon his Promotion, and treated him with great Contempt during the whole Time he ſtayed at *Rome*. Of this *Theodoric de Niem*, *Urban*'s Secretary, gives us the following Inſtance. The Pope happening to dine one Day in public, the Duke deſired the Honour of waiting upon him at Table, and ſtanding behind his Chair, when he called for Drink, offered it

Year of Christ 1378.

to him on his Knees; and in that Posture the Pope suffered him to remain, discoursing with those about him of different Matters, till one of the Cardinals took upon him to tell his Holiness, that it was Time for him to drink.

The Ultramontaine *Cardinals resolve to proceed to a new Election, and retire with that View to* Anagni.

Many such like Instances are recorded by the contemporary Historians of his haughty and imperious Behaviour to all, more especially to the Cardinals, whom he looked upon as his Enemies, knowing that he owed not his Promotion to them, but to the *Roman* People, whose Favour he therefore courted, while he treated the Cardinals, the *Ultramontaine* Cardinals, with the utmost Contempt; which so provoked them, that they came to a private Resolution among themselves to declare his Election uncanonical and null, as being entirely owing to Violence, and proceed in some other Place to a new Election. Pursuant to that Resolution, the sixteen *Ultramontaine* Cardinals retired with *Urban*'s Permission, who entertained not the least Suspicion of their Design, to *Anagni*, not all together, but one after the other, and at different Times, under Colour of avoiding the excessive Heats of *Rome*, to which they were not accustomed. They all met at *Anagni* about the latter-end of *June*, *Urban* himself repairing at the same Time with the four *Italian* Cardinals for the Benefit of the Air to *Tivoli*. The Cardinals, being now out of all Danger, and free from all Fear, assembled at the House of *Peter de Cros*, Chamberlain and Judge in Ordinary of the Apostolic See, who had likewise retired with many other Prelates to *Anagni*, and in his Presence attested, upon Oath, all the Particulars mentioned above concerning the Election of the Archbishop of *Bari*, and the Violence to which it was owing. They then sent some Religious to acquaint *Urban* with what they had done, and exhort him, as he tendered the Peace and

Exhort Urban *to resign.*

and Welfare of the Church, to resign a Dignity to which he himself could not but know that he had no legal Title. The Cardinals, finding after repeated Exhortations and Admonitions, that he was determined to maintain himself, at all Events, in the Pontifical Chair, resolved to proceed to another Election. But, in the first Place, to guard against any Violence that might be offered them by *Urban*'s Friends, they sent an Order to a Body of Troops, quartered at *Viterbo* under the Command of *Bernard de la Sale*, a *Gascon*, to repair to *Anagni*, in order to protect the *Ultramontaine* Cardinals, assembled there to provide the Church with a true Pastor, instead of a ravenous Wolf. As they passed near *Rome*, the *Romans*, who by this Time had heard of the Proceedings of the Cardinals at *Anagni*, sallying out in great Numbers, attempted to stop them, but were repulsed with great Loss; which so enraged them, that upon their Return to the City they massacred all the Domestics of the *French* Cardinals, who had the Misfortune to fall into their Hands. Year of Christ 1378.

Letter written at this Time to the University of Paris.

These Particulars we learn from a Letter of *Marcellus* or *Marcellinus Inghen*, formerly Rector of the University of *Paris*, to that University, dated at *Tivoli* the 27th of *July*. "The Church," says he in his Letter, "is at this present Time in "greater Danger of being divided by a Schism, "than it has been for these hundred Years. The "Pope resides here with the Cardinals of *Florence*, "of *Milan*, of St. *Peter*, and *Ursini*. The other "Cardinals are all at *Anagni*; and it is reported "that the four *Italian* Cardinals, the *Roman* Peo-"ple, and the greater Part of *Italy*, acknowledge "*Urban* for true and lawful Pope, while the rest "will have his Election to be null on Account of "the Violence used by the *Roman* People. The "Cardinals at *Anagni* have sent for some Troops

Year of Christ 1378.

" to protect them; and by those Troops many " *Romans* have been killed as they passed by " *Rome*. Their Death the *Romans* have revenged " upon the *French* in *Rome*, of whom they have " massacred great Numbers; and the Foreigners " were all in great Danger of their Lives. How " the Cardinals intend to employ those Troops is " not certainly known. Some say that they de- " sign to proceed to a new Election, and have " with that View sent for the Cardinals at *Tivoli*. " I beg you will lay your Commands upon me, " that I may execute them without Delay; for I " am here in great Danger, and at a much greater " Expence than I can bear. Yesterday the Pope " confirmed, in a public Consistory, the Election " of the King of the *Romans*. The Queen of " *Sicily* has sent two hundred Horse and a great " Body of Foot to guard and defend the Pope. " It is said that he will return in a Week's Time to " *Rome* y."

Manifesto sent by the Cardinals at Anagni *to* Urban.

The Cardinals, soon after the Arrival of the Troops at *Anagni*, drew up a Manifesto, and sent it to the *Italian* Cardinals, to be communicated by them to *Urban*. In that Manifesto, addressed to *Urban* himself, with no other Title but that of Archbishop of *Bari*, they solemnly declared, that the Danger to which they were exposed of being massacred by the *Roman* People, if they chose not an *Italian*, had induced them to chuse him; that they had elected him in that Fright and Confusion, flattering themselves, that as he was so well acquainted with, and pretended to be so strict an Observer of, the Canons, he would not avail himself of an Election which he could not but know to be null by the Canons; but that as he, nevertheless, trampling upon all Laws, and regardless of his own

y Hist. Universitat. Paris, tom. 4. p. 468.

own Salvation, had the Aſſurance to impoſe himſelf upon the World for true and lawful Pope, they thought it indiſpenſibly incumbent upon them to undeceive thoſe who received him as ſuch, by declaring him an Apoſtate from the Church, and an Uſurper of the Apoſtolic See. At the ſame Time *Peter de Cros*, by Order of the Cardinals at *Anagni*, ſent him a formal Summons to appear at his Tribunal, and there anſwer what was urged by the Cardinals, who had elected him, againſt the Validity of his Election. The Summons was directed *To Bartholomew, Archbiſhop of Bari, intruded into the Apoſtolic See:* Which was, in Effect, ſummoning him to maintain the Validity of his Election, and at the ſame Time declaring it to be null. The Four *Italian* Cardinals, who had attended *Urban* to *Tivoli*, were likewiſe ſummoned to *Anagni*, in order to proceed with the Reſt, as the See was vacant, to the Election of a lawful Pope [a]. Upon this Summons the *Italian* Cardinals left *Urban*; but, inſtead of repairing to *Anagni*, went to *Sueſſa*, ſituated between *Gaeta* and *Capua*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. St. *Catherine* of *Siena*, who had eſpouſed with great Warmth the Cauſe of *Urban*, did all in her Power to perſuade them to return to *Tivoli*, reproaching them, in a very ſharp Letter ſhe wrote to them on that Occaſion, with forſaking One whom they themſelves had proclaimed to the whole World for lawful Pope. But no more Regard was had by them to her Reproaches and Exhortations, than to the repeated Invitations of the Ultramontaine Cardinals at *Anagni*, preſſing them to come and proceed jointly with them to the Election of a new Pope, ſince they had ſufficiently ſhewn, by their abandoning the Archbiſhop of

Year of Chriſt 1378.

They ſummon him to appear before them.

Urban *forſaken by the* Italian *Cardinals.*

[a] Apud Bzovium ad ann. 1378.

Year of Christ 1378.

Bari, that they looked upon him as an Uſurper.

The Election of Urban *declared null by the Ultramontaine Cardinals.*

The Ultramontaine Cardinals therefore, making more than Two Parts in Three of the College, reſolved to proceed by themſelves; and aſſembling accordingly on the 9th of *Auguſt*, in the great Church of *Anagni*, they firſt aſſiſted at the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, celebrated with great Solemnity by *James*, the *Latin* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and then cauſed the Sentence, which they had drawn up, declaring the Archbiſhop of *Bari* an Uſurper and Intruder, to be publicly read, and Copies of it to be ſent to all the Chriſtian Princes, ſetting forth the Violence to which alone he owed his Election. The next Step was to elect another in his Rome. But leſt any Violence ſhould be offered them at *Anagni*, in the Territories of the Church and at no great Diſtance from *Rome*, they reſolved to remove from thence, and hold the Conclave at *Fondi*, a City in the Kingdom of *Naples*, or, as it was then called, the *Hither Sicily*, ſubject to Queen *Joan*, who of a moſt zealous Friend to *Urban*, was become his moſt bitter Enemy. As he was a Native of *Naples* the Queen expreſſed great Joy at the News of his Promotion, had eſpouſed his Cauſe with uncommon Warmth, had ſent a Body of Troops, upon whom he could depend, for his Guard, and beſides aſſiſted him with large Sums of Money. But ſhe was in the mean Time informed, that a Treaty was privately carried on between him and *Charles* of *Durazzo*, her Couſin-German by the Father, and that the Queen was by that Treaty to be depoſed, and *Charles* raiſed to the Throne in her Room, upon Condition of his yielding the Principality of *Capua* to *Urban*'s Nephew. The Queen, provoked, and very juſtly, at ſuch Treachery and Ingratitude, reſolved to oppoſe *Urban*, and ſupport the Cardinals to the utmoſt of her Power. She therefore

Who retire to Fondi, *under the Protection of Queen* Joan.

therefore very readily granted them Leave to hold the Conclave at *Fondi*, and assured them of her Protection [b]. Year of Christ 1378.

Urban in the mean Time, leaving *Tivoli*, returned to *Rome*, and the Ultramontaine Cardinals, removing from *Anagni* to *Fondi*, wrote most pressing Letters to the Three *Italian* Cardinals at *Suessa* (the Fourth Cardinal, *Thebaldeschi*, being dead) to come to *Fondi*, and provide the Church, left to the Mercy of a furious Wolf, with a lawful Pastor. But the *Italian* Cardinals shewing themselves more disposed to hearken to St. *Catherine* of *Siena* and return to *Urban*, than to have any Hand in the electing of another, the Ultramontaines, to entice them to *Fondi*, wrote to each of them in particular, that they had agreed among themselves to elect him, provided he carefully concealed this their Agreement from the other Two, to obviate the Difficulties which they, aspiring at the same Dignity, might raise. There wanted no more; they flew all Three to *Fondi*, each of them looking upon himself as already placed in the Pontifical Throne. But (the cruel Disappointment!) the Ultramontaine Cardinals, entering a few Days after their Arrival into the Conclave, chose with One Voice *Robert* of *Geneva*, Cardinal Presbyter of the Title of the Twelve Apostles. He was Brother to *Peter*, Count of *Geneva*, was allied to most of the Christian Princes, had been Notary of the Apostolic See, and Bishop first of *Terrouane* and afterwards of *Cambray*, was raised in 1371 by *Gregory* XI. for his distinguished Merit to the Dignity of Cardinal, and was at the Time of his Promotion to the Pontificate but Thirty-six Years of Age. The *Italian* Cardinals neither voted for him nor opposed his Election; but, finding they had been made the

Artfully entice the Italian *Cardinals to join them.*

Cardinal Robert *of* Geneva *elected.*

[b] Vit. Urban apud Baluz.

Year of Christ 1378.

Dupes of the Ultramontaines, they left *Fondi* as ſoon as the Conclave broke up, and returned no leſs confuſed than mortified to *Sueſſa*. *Robert* was elected on the 20th of *September*, and crowned, according to the moſt probable Opinion, the very next Day in the Preſence of *Otho*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, and the chief Nobility of the Kingdom; and on that Occaſion he took the Name of *Clement* VII. The Cardinals immediately notified his Election to all the Chriſtian Princes, giving them a particular and diſtinct Account of the Violence to which alone that of the Archbiſhop of *Bari* was owing, and exhorting them to look upon him as an Uſurper, and receive *Clement*, whom they had freely and canonically elected, for lawful Pope. Theſe Letters were written and ſent to all the Chriſtian Princes and Biſhops the Day after *Clement*'s Coronation, that is, the 22d of *September* [c].

Who takes the Name of Clement VII.

Urban acknowleged by ſome Princes and Clement *by others.*

The Election of *Clement* divided the whole Chriſtian World, nay and even private Families, ſome adhering to one of the Competitors and ſome to the other. *Urban* was received as lawful Pope in *Italy* and almoſt all over *Germany*, in *England*, *Portugal*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Pruſſia*, and *Norway*, while *Clement* was acknowleged in *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Sicily*, and in the Iſlands of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*. As nothing could be certainly determined in Favour of either of the Pretenders, ſome ſided at one Time with the one, and at another with the other, as their Intereſt directed them. Indeed both had amongſt their Partizans ſome of the moſt eminent Men of the Age for their Integrity, as well as their Knowlege in the Civil

[c] Apud Spond. ad ann. 1378. Niem de Schiſm. Auctor primæ vit. Clement, & ſecundæ Greg. & Bzovius an hunc ann.

Civil and Canon Law, and by thoſe of one Party new Pieces were daily publiſhed, and anſwered by thoſe of the other. Year of Chriſt 1378.

Urban, finding himſelf abandoned by all the Cardinals, made a new Promotion on the 18th of *September* of no fewer than Twenty-nine, the moſt numerous that had ever yet been made. Of the Twenty-nine, whom he nominated to that Dignity, Three declined receiving it at his Hands, and were afterwards preferred to it by *Clement*. They were all Men of Merit, moſt of them *Italians* and of great Families, whom *Urban* wanted to gain to his Party. On the other Hand, *Clement* on the 17th of *December* added Six new Members to his College of Cardinals, of whom Three were Natives of *Italy* [c]. Urban *creates* 29 *Cardinals and* Clement *ſix.*

As the *Romans* ſupported *Urban* to the utmoſt of their Power, the *Gaſcons* under *de la Sale*, whom *Clement* had taken into his Pay, committed moſt dreadful Ravages in their Territories, and threatened *Rome* itſelf with a Siege; inſomuch that *Urban* had reſolved to retire from thence and abandon the City to his Rival. But *Clement*'s Troops being in the mean Time defeated, and moſt of them cut in Pieces by a Body of Adventurers under the Command of an *Engliſhman*, whom Authors call *Haucut*, *Clement*, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe at *Fondi*, removed from thence to *Splonata* in the Dioceſe of *Gaeta*, and ſoon after from *Splonata* by Sea to *Naples*. The Queen, who had, for very juſt Reaſons, abandoned *Urban*, as we have ſeen, received *Clement* with extraordinary Marks of Honour and Reſpect, acknowleged him for lawful Pope, and entertained him with the greateſt Magnificence in the Caſtle *dell'Ovo*. But the Populace mutinying and loudly complaining of the Queen, of the Duke Clement *retires to* Naples. *Is received and treated as lawful Pope by Queen* Joan.

[c] Apud Baluz. col. 1261.

Year of Christ 1378. Duke her Husband, and the Nobility, for supporting a foreign Pope against an *Italian* and a Native of *Naples*, nay and flying Night and Day about the Streets and crying out aloud, *Viva Papa Urbano*, God save Pope *Urban*, *Clement* thought it adviseable to leave *Naples* and return to *Splonata*. He had not been long there when he was informed, that *Urban* was contriving the Means of getting him into his Power, which so alarmed him, as he was well acquainted with the cruel and savage Temper of his Antagonist, that, distrusting the *Italians*, he resolved to throw himself into the Arms of the *French*. Pursuant to that Resolution he embarked, in the Month of *May* 1379, with his whole Court and all his Cardinals on board some Gallies and other Vessels that accidentally put into *Gaeta*, and on the 10th of *June* landed safe at *Marseilles*. From thence he pursued his Journey to *Avignon*, and was there received with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy, not only by the Inhabitants of all Ranks, but by the Cardinals, who had remained in that City, when the late Pope went with the rest to reside at *Rome* [d].

Goes from thence to reside at Avignon

Year of Christ 1379.

France declares upon the most mature Deliberation for Clement.

When the Election of *Clement* was known in *France*, the King, *Charles* V. not to proceed rashly in an Affair of such Importance, dispatched some Persons, in whom he could confide, to *Rome*, to enquire upon the Spot into all the Circumstances of both Elections. They returning to the King assured him, that the Election of *Urban* was owing to Violence alone, giving him at the same Time a minute Account of the outrageous Behaviour of the *Roman* People, threatening the Cardinals in the Conclave with immediate Death, if they chose not an *Italian*. What they attested was confirmed upon

[d] Auctor vit. Clement apud Surita. Annal. Arragon. l. 20, c. 24.

upon Oath by ſeveral Eye-witneſſes, and among the reſt by Cardinal *John de Cros*. Upon this Information the King aſſembled all the Prelates and learned Men of the Kingdom in the Caſtle of *Vincennes*, and having firſt obliged them to ſwear upon the Body of our Lord that they would diveſt themſelves of all Partiality, and judge according to their Conſciences, he cauſed all the Atteſtations, relative to the one and the other Election, to be laid before them. All that had been or could be urged for or againſt either of the Pretenders was ſtrictly examined by that learned Aſſembly according to the eſtabliſhed Laws or Canons of the Church; and it was upon the moſt mature Deliberation determined on the 16th of *November* of the preſent Year 1379, that the Election of *Urban* was null, as being intirely owing to Fear, and that *Clement*, freely elected by more than Two Parts in Three of the Cardinals, ought alone to be acknowleged for lawful Pope. This Determination the King immediately communicated to all his Allies, and cauſed it to be publiſhed throughout his Dominions, that his Subjects might all know which of the Two Popes they were to acknowlege, and which to obey. The Univerſity of *Paris* had hitherto acknowleged *Urban*, and ſent *Marcellus de Ingben*, of whoſe Letter to that Univerſity I have ſpoken above, to congratulate him in their Name upon his Promotion; nay they had, it ſeems, eſpouſed his Cauſe with great Zeal, and publicly maintained the Legality of his Election againſt all who queſtioned it: For we have a Letter from him to the Members of that Univerſity, wherein he thanks them for having aſſerted his Right with ſuch ſolid Reaſonings, as had either convinced or ſilenced all who had dared to call it in queſtion. But before the Univerſity received this Letter they had, agreeable to the Deciſion of the Aſſembly at *Vin-*

Year of Chriſt 1379.

Year of Christ 1379.

Vincennes, disowned *Urban* and acknowleged *Clement* e.

Urban revives the old Quarrel between the King o' Hungary and Queen Joan.

In the mean time *Urban*, wholly intent upon being revenged on *Joan*, Queen of *Naples*, for abandoning him and siding with his Rival, revived the old Quarrel between her and King *Lewis* of *Hungary*, whose Brother she had married, and was accused of having treacherously murdered. She had been declared innocent of that Crime by *Clement* VI. in 1347, as has been related above. But nevertheless *Urban*, pretending she was guilty, left nothing unattempted to stir up *Lewis* and his *Hungarians*, who had once invaded the Kingdom, to invade it anew. *Charles* of *Durazzo*, Count of *Gravina*, and next Heir to the Crown of the *Hither Sicily* or *Naples*, served at this Time under *Lewis* of *Hungary*, his Cousin, in the War that Prince was carrying on in the *Trivigiana* against the *Venetians*. *Urban* therefore, thinking he could by no other Means more effectually compass the Ruin of the Queen, than by engaging *Charles* to invade her Kingdom, and the King of *Hungary* to assist him with his Troops, wrote most pressing Letters to that Prince, promising to depose the Queen and bestow the Kingdom upon *Charles*, provided he would allow him to employ the Troops under his Command to conquer it, which he represented as an Undertaking, that could not fail of Success, and was due to the Manes of his Brother. The King readily consented to the Proposal. But *Charles*, mindful of the many Favours he had received at the Queen's Hands, who had brought him up almost from his Infancy as her own Child, had given him her Niece in Marriage, and designed him for her Successor, shewed himself at first inclined not to disturb his Benefactress in the Possession of a King-

Encourages Charles of Durazzo to drive her from the Throne.

e Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1378. num. 61. Continuator Nangii, & Auctor vit Clementis.

Kingdom, that upon her Death, as she had no Children, would fall to him. But being importuned by *Urban*, and at the same time encouraged by *Catherine* of *Siena*, the great Saint of the Age, to forget, on such an Occasion, all Obligations, and embark, without Hesitation, in an Undertaking, which, she assured him, was pleasing to Heaven, and would be crowned with Success, he yielded at last, and acquainted therewith both *Catherine* and her Pope, to the unspeakable Joy of the one and the other [f]. Year of Christ 1379.

Urban, having obtained *Charles*'s Consent, in order to facilitate the Undertaking, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against the Queen for acknowledging, admitting into her Dominions, and honouring as lawful Pope an Apostate, an Intruder, and an Usurper of the Apostolic See; declared her a Schismatic, a Heretic, and guilty of High Treason; deprived her of the Kingdom, of all Fiefs and Possessions which she held of the Empire, of the *Roman* or of any other Church; confiscated all her Estates, her Moveables and Immoveables, bestowing them upon any one who should seize them; and not only absolved her Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, but forbad them, on Pain of Excommunication, to acknowledge or obey her for the future as their Sovereign. This Sentence is dated at *Rome* the 21st of *April*, in the third Year of *Urban*'s Pontificate, or in 1380 [g]. *Queen* Joan *excommunicated by* Urban *and deposed.* Year of Christ 1380.

The Queen being thus excommunicated, anathematized, and deposed, and the Throne thereupon declared vacant, *Urban* gave immediate Notice thereof to *Charles*, pressing him to hasten to *Rome*, in order to receive there the Investiture of his new King- Charles *of* Durazzo *crowned King of* Naples *by* Urban. Year of Christ 1381.

[f] Auctor vit. Clement. apud Baluz. ad eum ann. num. 2. & Niem de Schism. l. 1. c. 9.

[g] Apud Raymund.

Year of Chriſt 1381.

Kingdom at his Hands, and invade it before the perfidious *Joan* could put herſelf in a Condition to oppoſe him. Upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, *Charles* ſet out for *Rome* at the Head of a numerous Body of *Hungarians*, was received on his Arrival in that City with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction by *Urban* and his Cardinals, and on the 1ſt of *June*, 1381, anointed and crowned King of *Sicily*, with the uſual Solemnity, in the Church of St. *Peter*. On that Occaſion *Urban*, not ſatisfied with the Oaths that it was cuſtomary for the Kings of *Sicily* to take at their Coronation, inſiſted upon *Charles*'s ſolemnly promiſing, before he crowned him, to yield to his Nephew *Francis Prignano*, ſurnamed *Butillus*, the Principality of *Capua*, with ſo many other Lordſhips, Territories, Cities, and Caſtles as made near One-third of the Kingdom. We are told by all the contemporary Hiſtorians, that it was not only to be revenged upon Queen *Joan*, for abandoning him and declaring for his Rival, that he deprived her of her Kingdom, but in order to aggrandize his own Family, not doubting but *Charles*, if raiſed by his Means to the Throne, would readily comply with all his Demands; nay, if we may rely upon the Teſtimony of ſome of the moſt credible Writers of the Times, while the Queen was ſupporting him both with Men and with Money to the utmoſt of her Power, he was ſecretly treating with *Charles*, and had even agreed to transfer the Kingdom to him, upon his promiſing to yield the Principality of *Capua*, and ſom other Demeſnes of the Crown, to his Nephew *Butillus*; and it was, according to thoſe Writers, on Account of this his unparalleled Baſeneſs and Treachery, that the Queen of a moſt zealous Friend became his moſt implacable Enemy [k].

Charles

[k] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1381. num. 24.

Year of Christ 1381.

The Churches and Monasteries pillaged by Urban *to support the War.*

Charles came attended by a strong Body of *Hungarian* Troops, but as he brought no Money to pay them, *Urban* was obliged to pay them himself; and in order to raise the necessary Sums for that Purpose, he was forced to lay most exorbitant Taxes upon the Clergy under his Obedience, to alienate or mortgage several Estates of the Churches and Monasteries, to sell the most valuable Ornaments that adorned them, the Gifts of Kings and Emperors, and even to melt down and turn into Money the Chalices themselves, and the Gold and Silver Images of the Saints [l]. Thus were the Churches pillaged, says the Author of *Clement*'s Life, to gratify the Revenge and Ambition of an ambitious and furious Man, whom nothing could satisfy but the Exaltation of his Family to the Rank of Princes, and the Destruction of all who presumed to traverse his wicked Designs [m].

Queen Joan *adopts* Lewis *of* Anjou.

Charles, being thus supplied with the necessary Money to defray the Expences of the intended Expedition, set out from *Rome* on his March for the Kingdom of *Naples*. As the Queen had no other Allies but the *French*, being descended from the Royal Family of *France*, she had, as soon as informed of *Urban*'s Designs, dispatched the Count of *Caserta* to implore the Assistance of that King, *Charles* V. and to engage him more effectually she had adopted, having no Children of her own, his Brother *Lewis* of *Anjou*, and made him her Heir and Successor to all her Dominions both in *Italy* and *Provence*. This Adoption was approved and confirmed by Pope *Clement*, as Lord Paramount of the Kingdom of *Naples*, by a Bull dated at *Avignon* the 22d of *August*, 1380 [n]. Upon this Bull

[l] Niem. l. 1. c. 21. Raynald. ad ann. 1381. num. 24. —— [m] Apud Baluz, p. 501. [n] Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. num. 11.

Year of Christ 1381.

Bull was grounded the Claim of the Second Race of the Princes of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which, in Process of Time, involved that unhappy Country in endless Calamities.

Who is crowned King of Sicily *by* Clement.

Year of Christ 1382.

And now *Lewis*, looking upon the Kingdom of *Naples* as his own, began to make the necessary Preparations to support his Claim against *Charles* of *Durazzo*, Pope *Urban*'s King. With that View he raised a strong Body of Troops in *France*, being upon the Death of his Brother *Charles* V. which happened at this Time, made Regent of the Kingdom, as *Charles* VI. the Son and Successor to the deceased King was but twelve Years of Age. Before he set out for *Italy* he came to *Avignon*, attended by *Amedeus*, Count of *Savoy*, and many other Persons of Distinction, to receive at the Hands of Pope *Clement* the Investiture of his new Kingdom. *Clement* received him with all possible Marks of Esteem and Affection, and on the 30th of *May* of the present Year 1382, crowned him King of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*, blessed his Standard, and declared him Commander in Chief of the Army of the Church against *Bartholomew Prignano*, who stiled himself Pope, and all his Adherents.

Charles *enters the Kingdom, and is joined by many of the Barons.*

In the mean Time *Charles* of *Durazzo*, entering the Kingdom with his *Hungarians*, was welcomed and joined by many of the *Neapolitan* Barons, chusing to have rather for their King one, born and brought up among them, and nearly related to most of the great Families, than a Stranger, who, they apprehended, would bring new *Ultramontaines* with him, whom he could not help rewarding at the Expence of the Natives. *Charles*, encouraged by the Barons who flocked daily to him from all Parts of the Kingdom, advanced without Opposition to the very Gates of *Naples* itself,

ſelf, which obliged the Queen to retire with her Court to the Caſtle *dell'Ovo*. The Duke's Approach occaſioned great Diſturbances in the City, ſome declaring for the Queen, and ſome for *Charles*. But the latter prevailing, the Gates were opened, and *Charles* admitted, who immediately laid Siege to the Caſtle. On the other hand, the Duke of *Brunſwick*, determined to relieve the Queen, or periſh in the Attempt, approached *Naples* with what Troops he had been able to aſſemble. *Charles* met him with his Army in Battle-Array, and an Engagement thereupon enſuing, both Armies fought ſeveral Hours without loſing or gaining one Inch of Ground. But while Victory ſtill remained doubtful, the Duke of *Brunſwick* ruſhing forward with more Courage than Caution to engage *Charles* Hand to Hand, was ſurrounded by the Enemy's Cavalry, and obliged to ſurrender. His Captivity was followed by a total Defeat of his Army; and *Charles* returning triumphant before the Caſtle *dell'Ovo*, ſummoned the Queen to ſurrender, aſſuring her that ſhe ſhould in every Reſpect be treated as Queen, and no Violence ſhould be offered to her, or to any who belonged to her. Upon theſe Conditions ſhe ſurrendered, being reduced to great Straits for Want of Proviſions, and hearing nothing of the Duke of *Anjou*, from whom alone ſhe expected Relief. *Charles* being admitted into the Caſtle, ſaluted and addreſſed her as Queen, renewed all the Promiſes he had made, and allowed her to remain in the Royal Apartment of the Caſtle, and be there attended by her own Servants. But this Kindneſs of *Charles* was very ſhort-lived. For finding the Queen was greatly pitied by the People of *Naples*, and apprehending, as he was well acquainted with their fickle and turbulent Temper, that they might

Year of Chriſt 1382.

The Queen's Troops under the Duke of Brunſwick *defeated, and he taken Priſoner.*

The Queen ſurrenders.

Year of Christ 1382.

attempt to reſcue her out of his Hands, he firſt placed Guards about her, and ſoon after ſent her Priſoner to the City of *Muro*, in the Province called *Baſilicata*, and at the ſame Time ordered her Huſband Duke *Otho* to be conveyed under a ſtrong Guard to the Caſtle of *Altamura* in *Apulia*. He then wrote to the King of *Hungary* to give him an Account of his Succeſs, and to know of him how he ſhould diſpoſe of his Royal Captive. The King anſwered, that he ought to treat her as ſhe had treated his Brother her Huſband. Purſuant to this Sentence ſhe was, according to *Niem*, by *Charles*'s Order, ſtrangled while ſhe was praying in her Chapel, and, according to others, ſmothered in her Apartment with a Bolſter. However that be, certain it is, that on the 22d of *May*, 1382, ſhe was put to Death by *Charles*'s Order, and he is on that Account very juſtly charged by all the contemporary Writers with the utmoſt Ingratitude, Cruelty, and a manifeſt Breach of the Conditions upon which ſhe had delivered herſelf up into his Hands. Her Body was brought to *Naples*, was for the Space of ſeven Days expoſed to public View in the Church of St. *Clare*, and then interred there near the Remains of her Father the Duke of *Calabria*, King *Robert*'s only Son, where her Tomb is to be ſeen to this Day. The Plague that broke out in the City of *Naples* ſoon after her Death, and ſwept off Twenty-ſeven Thouſand Inhabitants, is commonly conſtrued by the Writers of thoſe Times into a Judgment upon them for their Ingratitude to one, who deſerved ſo well of them and the whole Kingdom. With the Queen were taken, upon the Surrender of the Caſtle *dell'Ovo*, her two Nieces, Siſters to the Ducheſs of *Durazzo*, *Charles*'s Wife, and two Cardinals of Pope *Clements*'s Creation. The two young Princeſſes *Charles* ſhut up,

And is by his Order put to Death.

unmoved

unmoved by the Entreaties and Tears of the Ducheſs, in different Priſons, where they ſoon died of the barbarous Treatment they met with. As to the two Cardinals, *James de Itro* and *Leonardus de Giffono*, they were delivered up to Cardinal *Gentilis de Sangro*, who had attended *Charles* in this Expedition with the Character of Legate *a latere* from Pope *Urban*; and by him they were obliged to acknowledge *Urban* publickly, in the Church of St. *Clare*, for lawful Pope, to abjure *Clement* as an Uſurper and Intruder, and to throw the Red Hats they had received from him into a Fire kindled for that Purpoſe in the ſaid Church. All the Biſhops and other Dignitaries, who had adhered to the Queen as their lawful Sovereign, were depoſed by the Legate, and confined, after he had ſtript them of all their Effects, amongſt the common Malefactors, to the public Goals, without any Regard to their Rank, Age, Merit, or Learning. Theſe Cruelties, practiſed by the inhuman Cardinal, as *Urban*'s Legate, upon ſo many innocent Men, we ſhall ſee in the Sequel retaliated upon him by *Urban* himſelf. Such is the Account the Writers, who lived in thoſe Times, or near them, have given us of this Revolution, and the unhappy End of the famous Queen *Joan*[n].

Year of Chriſt 1382.

In the mean Time *Lewis* of *Anjou*, whom *Clement* had crowned, as we have ſeen, King of *Naples*, having croſſed the *Alps* at the Head of a very numerous Army, purſued his March through *Lombardy* with ſuch Expedition, that *Charles*, not having Time to aſſemble his Forces, was obliged to abandon to him great Part of *Apulia*. His Arrival alarmed the *Romans*, and they had determined, ſays the Author of *Clement*'s Life, if *Lewis* ſhould prevail, to deliver up to him *Bartholomew* the Intruder,

Lewis of Anjou *invades the Kingdom.* Year of Chriſt 1383.

[n] Niem. de Schiſm. c. 23. et 26. Nauclerus Generat. 47. Kranzius, l. 10. c. 15. Auctor vit. Clement. apud Baluz.

Year of Christ 1383.

truder, and all his Anticardinals. Of this *Urban* was apprized, and therefore diſtruſting them, he left *Rome* under Colour of avoiding the Infection that raged there, and retired to *Tivoli*, where he ſtayed a Month, and then removed firſt to *Valmontone* in *Campania*, and afterwards to *Ferentino* in his Way to *Naples*. The *Romans*, apprehending that he deſigned to leave them, and ſettle at *Naples*, his native Country, diſpatched Meſſengers after him to invite him back, threatening, if he did not return, to look upon his Flight from his See (for they could call it by no other Name) as a Reſignation, and appoint another in his Room. *Urban* anſwered, that he had ſome Affairs of the utmoſt Importance to tranſact with the King of *Sicily*, *Charles* of *Durazzo*, and would in a very ſhort Time return to *Rome*. *Charles*, it ſeems, loth to part with the Principality of *Capua*, one of the beſt Jewels of his Crown, and the other Lordſhips, which at the Time of his Coronation he promiſed to yield to the Pope's Nephew *Butillus*, delayed, under various Pretences, to put him in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lordſhips; and it was with a Deſign of obliging *Charles* to perform, without further Delay, what he had promiſed, that *Urban* undertook the preſent Journey to *Naples*. The Cardinals, apprehending the Conſequences of a Rupture, which they foreſaw would probably happen on this Occaſion between *Charles* and the Pope, did all they could to diſſuade him from entering the Kingdom, and putting himſelf in the Power of that Prince. But *Urban* proceeding, without hearkening to their Remonſtrances or Reaſons, on his Journey, was met by *Charles* as he approached *Averſa*, and attended by him, leading his Horſe on Foot as his Equerry, into the City.

Urban *repairs to* Naples.

De

De Niem, who was preſent, tells us, that the Pope, diſmounting from his Horſe at a ſmall Chapel not far from the Gate of *Averſa*, attired himſelf in his Pontifical Robes, and then remounting was met by the King, who came clad in Black, not by the high Road, but riding through the Vineyards, *per vineas equitando*. He was attended by a great Number of Peaſants, who proſtrating themſelves before the Pope, kiſſed his Foot after kiſſing Three Times the Ground [p]. Year of Chriſt 1383.

Urban and *Charles* entered *Averſa* together, and were received by the Inhabitants with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy. *Charles* offered him the Caſtle to reſide in, under Colour of doing him Honour, but in Truth to confine him till he renounced all Claim to the Principality of *Capua*, which he was determined to keep, at all Events, annexed to the Crown. *Urban* ſuſpecting his Deſign, declined his Offer, and went to reſide in the Epiſcopal Palace. The next Day he ſent to invite the Pope to the Caſtle, as he himſelf lodged there, and the Invitation was ſo preſſing, that *Urban* thought it adviſeable to comply. *Charles*, having now the Pope in his Power, and in a Manner his Priſoner, obliged him to revoke moſt of the Conditions upon which he granted him the Kingdom. *Charles* then returned to *Naples*, whither he was followed the next Day, the 9th of *October*, by *Urban*. He had cauſed a magnificent Throne to be erected before the Gate, through which the Pope was to paſs, and placing himſelf in it in his Royal Robes, with the Crown on his Head, and the Sceptre in his Hand, he deſcended as the Pope approached, kiſſed his Foot, and attended him, holding his Stirrup, to the Epiſcopal Palace. *Urban* remained there till the Feaſt of *All Saints*, or the 1ſt of *November*, when *Charles*, being *Is ill treated by* Charles.

[p] Niem, l. 1. c. 28.

Year of Christ 1383.

ing informed that he was endeavouring by his Emiſſaries to ſtir up the People againſt him, ſent ſome of his Officers to arreſt him, and bring him to the *Caſtle Nuovo*, where he himſelf reſided. Thus was his Holineſs, ſays *Gobelinus*, carried as a common Malefactor to Priſon; but undaunted even while in the Power of his Enemies, he excommunicated and anathematized all, who were any-ways concerned in ſo wicked an Attempt; and Heaven eſpouſing his Cauſe, he, who firſt laid violent Hands on him, loſt for ever the Uſe of his right Hand 9. *De Niem*, who then attended the Pope, knew nothing, it ſeems, of this Miracle. Be that as it may, *Urban* was by *Charles*'s Order kept Three Days cloſely confined in the Caſtle, and then enlarged, but was not allowed to go out of the Caſtle, nor were any, beſides thoſe of his own Court, ſuffered to come near him. But a Reconciliation being in the End brought about, *Urban* was ſet at Liberty, upon Condition that he did not concern himſelf with the Affairs of the Kingdom. *Charles* even aſked publicly Pardon for his paſt Behaviour; and to court his Favour, as *Lewis* of *Anjou* carried all before him in *Apulia*, he renewed the Promiſe he had made of giving the Inveſtiture of the Principality of *Capua* to his Nephew *Butillus*, a Promiſe, ſays the Hiſtorian, which he never intended to perform. But what above all rivitted him in the Pope's Favour was his pardoning *Butillus*, ſentenced to Death for forcibly entering a Monaſtery, and carrying off and debauching a profeſſed Nun of the Firſt Quality. Of ſuch an Outrage the Relations of the Nun complained to the Magiſtrates, and they to the Pope. But his Holineſs excuſing it, and ſaying, it was but a Sally of Youth, though *Butillus* was at that Time above Forty Years of Age, the Magiſtrates

And confined in a Caſtle.

The Pope and Charles *reconciled.*

9 Gobelin. ætate 6. c. 77.

Magiſtrates brought him to his Trial, and by them he was ſentenced to Death, but pardoned by *Charles* [r]. Year of Chriſt 1383.

As *Lewis* in the mean Time made daily great Progreſs in *Apulia*, *Charles* diſſatisfied with the Conduct of his Generals, reſolved to go and head his Army againſt him in Perſon. Before he ſet out he aſſiſted at high Maſs, celebrated, on the 1ſt of *January* 1384, with great Solemnity by *Urban*. When Maſs was over the Pope thundered out, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Lewis* of *Anjou*, for preſuming to invade a Kingdom that belonged to the Apoſtolic See, and againſt all who any-ways aſſiſted or favoured him in ſo treaſonable an Attempt; granted to all, who ſhould join his beloved Son *Charles* in his preſent Expedition, a plenary Indulgence, with all the Privileges, Immunities, and Exemptions enjoyed by thoſe who went to the Holy Land; preſented him a Standard, repreſenting St. *Peter* and his Keys and bleſſing it, appointed him Standard-Bearer of the Church. However, *Charles* did not ſet out till the Beginning of *April*, the Pope refuſing to grant him any Subſidies, and only ſupplying him with Indulgences and Pardons, upon which, he ſaid, his Army could not ſubſiſt. Upon his Departure the Pope, finding that his Preſence was no-ways acceptable either to the People or the Nobility, retired with his Court to *Nocera*, which had been granted to *Butillus*, and was diſtant but a Day's Journey from *Naples* [a]. Urban *excommunicates the Duke of* Anjou. Year of Chriſt 1384.

In the mean Time *Charles* arrived with his Army in *Apulia*. But though the Duke of *Anjou* offered him Battle upon his Arrival, he wiſely declined it, contenting himſelf with haraſſing the Enemy in their March, with ravaging the Country through *Death of the Duke of* Anjou.

[r] Niem, l. 2. c. 28. [a] Niem, l. 2. c. 28,

Year of Christ 1384. which they were to pass, and intercepting their Convoys. Thus they passed the Summer; and on the 18th of *October*, as some write, or, as others will have it, on the 21st of *September*, *Lewis* of *Anjou* died of the Fatigues he had undergone, and his Army dispersed, some returning to *France*, and some submitting to *Charles*. An End being thus put to the War in *Apulia*, *Charles* returned to *Naples* in the Month of *November*, and entered that City amidst the loud Acclamations of all Ranks of People. As *Urban* was still at *Nocera*, *Charles* soon after his Arrival sent to invite him to *Naples*, pretending he had some Affairs to impart to him of the utmost Importance. *Urban* answered with his usual Haughtiness, that it was customary with Kings, when they had any Business to transact with the Popes, to wait upon them, and not for the Popes to wait upon Kings. He added, that if he desired to live in Friendship with him, he must moderate, or entirely abolish, the oppressive Taxes with which he burdened his Subjects, the Vassals of the Church. *Charles*, having now no Enemy to contend with but *Urban*, returned Answer, that the Kingdom was his own by Right of his Wife as well as by Conquest, and that instead of lessening he would double the Taxes: And he did so accordingly, standing at that Time in great Want of Money to support his Claim to the Crown of *Hungary*, to which he was called, upon the Death of King *Lewis*, by some of the Grandees of that Kingdom [b].

Urban *and* Charles *quarrel anew.*

Urban's own Cardinals were no less dissatisfied with his Conduct than the Rest of the World; and some of them began privately to deliberate among themselves about the Means of controuling the Power which he so much abused. The Author of this

[b] Idem ibid.

this *horrid Plot*, as he called it, was Cardinal *Bartholomew Mezzavacca*, called the Cardinal of *Reate*, now *Rieti*, as he had been Biſhop of that City before his Promotion to the Dignity of Cardinal. Being at this Time in *Naples*, under the Protection of *Charles*, he kept up a private Correſpondence with the Cardinals who had attended the Pope to *Nocera*. The Subject of their Correſpondence was, whether if a Pope neglected his Duty, if he was too much attached and indulgent to his Relations, if he acted arbitrarily without conſulting the Cardinals, and by his Conduct brought the Church into Danger, whether in ſuch Caſes it was lawful to place ſome diſcrete Perſons about him, choſen by the Cardinals, with full Authority to controul him. This Correſpondence was privately diſcovered to *Urban* by One of the Cardinals themſelves, Cardinal *Thomas Urſini*, and a Letter in Cyphers from Cardinal *Gentilis de Sangro* to the Four Cardinals who had withdrawn from *Nocera* to *Naples*, being at the ſame Time intercepted and brought to *Urban*, he called a Conſiſtory on the 11th of *January* 1385, and having acquainted the Cardinals with the horrid Conſpiracy, as he called it, carried on by ſome of them againſt him, and ſhewn the intercepted Letter, he ordered his Nephew *Butillus*, who was preſent, to take Six of them, whom he named, into Cuſtody. Theſe were *Gentilis de Sangro*, who, as *Urban*'s Legate, had, but Four Years before, treated with the utmoſt Barbarity all who did not acknowlege him, *Lewis*, a Native of *Venice*, *Adam de Aſton*, an *Engliſhman*, *Bartholomew*, Archbiſhop of *Genoa*, *John*, Archbiſhop of *Corfinium* or *Valva*, and *Martin*, Archbiſhop of *Taranto*. Theſe *Butillus* immediately ſeized, and, loading them with Irons, ſhut them up in ſeperate Cells, ſo low and narrow that they could neither ſtand upright nor lie at length. The Biſhop of *Aquileia*, who

Year of Chriſt 1385.

Six Cardinals impriſoned and cruelly tortured by Urban's *Command.*

Year of Christ 1385

who lived in great Intimacy with moſt of theſe Cardinals, was taken together with them, was put immediately to the Rack, and tortured till he declared, that the Conſpirators, to his certain Knowlege, had agreed among themſelves to depoſe the Pope, or, if they failed in that Attempt, by ſome Means or other to diſpatch him. Upon the Biſhop's Confeſſion, though extorted by the moſt exquiſite Torments, the Six Cardinals were moſt cruelly tortured for ſeveral Days together, till, finding that they muſt confeſs or die on the Rack, they owned every Article of the Charge brought againſt them. We are told by *Theodoric de Niem*, who was preſent, that *Butillus* aſſiſted in Perſon at the torturing of theſe unhappy Men, and that far from being affected with ſo ſhocking a Spectacle, he ſeemed rather to delight in it, inſulting them with an Inſtance of Barbarity ſcarce to be matched, in the Height of their Torments [c]. Upon their Confeſſion they were carried back to their Cells, and there kept upon Bread and Water for the Space of Seven Months, that is, till the following *Auguſt*, when *Urban* leaving *Nocera* carried them with him in Chains, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

Makes a Promotion of Cardinals.

Urban ſoon after held a Conſiſtory, in which he declared the Six above-mentioned Cardinals deprived of their Dignity, and at the ſame Time promoted others, we are not told how many, in their Room. Among thoſe whom he nominated to that Dignity were the Electors of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, and *Treves*, the Biſhop of *Liege*, and Two other *German* Biſhops; but not One of them could be prevailed upon to accept it at his Hands; and, upon their declining it, he was obliged to confine that Honour to his own Countrymen the Natives of *Naples*; who indeed accepted it, but dared not publicly

[c] De Niem, c. 50, 51. Gobelinus, c. 78.

licly appear in their Robes; the King, says *de Niem*, meaning *Charles* of *Durazzo*, looking upon the Pope's Friends as his Enemies and the Enemies of his Kingdom [d]. Year of Christ 1385.

On the 15th of *January*, *Urban*, having assembled all the Clergy in *Nocera* and the Neighbourhood, acquainted them with the horrid Conspiracy against his Life, contrived, he said, by the Cardinal of *Rieti*; read to them the Confession of the Six Cardinals, but took no Notice of its having been extorted from them upon the Rack; charged *Charles*, stiling him only Duke of *Durazzo*, and his Wife *Margaret* with having been privy to it; inveighed in a long Speech and in most bitter Terms against both, setting forth the many Favours he had bestowed upon them, and the Ingratitude with which they had repaid them, *&c.* When he had done he caused a Cross to be erected and a great Number of Tapers to be lighted, and then, attended by all the Cardinals who had remained with him, he thundered out with great Solemnity the Sentence of Excommunication against *Charles* of *Durazzo*, who stiled himself King of *Sicily*, and his Wife *Margaret*, divested, them, as the Vicegerent of him to whom all Power was granted in Heaven and on Earth, of the Royal and every other Dignity, absolved their Subjects from their Allegiance, and declared them Heretics, Schismatics, and Enemies to the Church, forbad any Obedience to be paid to them, or to any acting in their Name. At the same Time he excommunicated anew the six Cardinals, with the Cardinal of *Rieti*, and all their Accomplices and Abettors, all who had been privy to their wicked Designs and had not discovered them, as being no less guilty than the Authors themselves of so black an Attempt; forbad on Pain of Excommunication all Intercourse with them; and, lastly,

He excommunicates and deposes Charles *and his Wife* Margaret.

[d] Niem, ibid.

Year of Christ 1385.

ly, put the whole City of *Naples* and all its Inhabitants, without Distinction, under an Interdict, declaring such of the Clergy as should perform Divine Service, or exercise any Function of their Office in that City, to be *ipso facto* excommunicated, and deprived of all their Benefices and Dignities. Having pronounced this Sentence, he ordered all the Tapers to be put out and dashed to Pieces on the Ground[e].

The Friends of Urban *treated with great Severity by* Charles.

Charles, provoked beyond all Measure at the unparalleled Insolence and Boldness of the Pope in thus excommunicating and deposing him in his own Kingdom, resolved to treat him no better than he was treated by him. He accordingly forbad all his Subjects under the severest Penalties to maintain any Correspondence with him, to pay any Obedience to him or to any acting in his Name, to have any Intercourse with the Inhabitants of *Nocera*, or to convey any Provisions into their City. Such of the Clergy as observed the Interdict met with the same Treatment from him as the Six Cardinals had done from the Pope. Some of them were by his Order shut up in dark and painful Dungeons, others were most cruelly tortured, and some thrown into the Sea. *Charles* did not stop here; but, determined to keep no Measures with the Pope as the Pope kept none with him, he sent a strong Body of Troops under the Command of the Cardinal of *Rieti*, the Pope's avowed Enemy, to besiege the City of *Nocera*. The Place was soon obliged to surrender at Discretion, was given up by the Cardinal to be plundered by the Soldiery, and then set on Fire. Upon the Surrender of the City the Pope fled to the Castle, where he was closely besieged, and soon reduced, for Want of Provisions, to the utmost Extremity. During the Siege the Pope regularly excommunicated

Urban *besieged in* Nocera.

[e] Niem, c. 49. Walsingham in Richard II. Kranzius Metrop. l. 10. c. 18.

ated Three Times a Day, and curſed with Bell, Book, and Candle, *Charles*'s Army from One of the Windows of the Caſtle. *Charles* was not behind hand with him, for on the 10th of *May* of the preſent Year 1385 he cauſed it to be proclaimed throughout the Army by the public Crier, that whoever delivered up Pope *Urban* VI. dead or alive to any of his Officers, or to any Civil Magiſtrate, ſhould receive 10,000 Florins of Gold as a Reward; and that whoever procured or favoured his Eſcape, publicly or privately, by Day or by Night, ſhould be deemed guilty of High Treaſon and puniſhed as a Traitor[f]. Year of Chriſt 1385.

Urban remained thus cloſely beſieged in the Caſtle and greatly diſtreſſed for Want of Proviſions till the 7th of *July*, when, to the great Diſappointment of *Charles*, expecting hourly the News of his Captivity, he was unexpectedly delivered out of his Hands. Of this remarkable Event the contemporary Writers give us the following Account. *Raymund Urſini*, Son of the Count of *Nola*, either pitying the deplorable Condition of *Urban*, or expecting to be well rewarded by him, ſhould he ſave him from the imminent Danger he was in of falling into the Hands of his moſt implacable Enemies, reſolved, at all Events, to attempt it. With that View he applied to *Thomas Sanſeverino*, a Native of *Naples*, and to a *German* Officer named *Lotharius*, who had both ſerved with him in the Army of the Duke of *Anjou*, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves no leſs by their Courage than their Conduct. Both approved the Undertaking, and readily engaged in it, being encouraged by *Urſini* with the Hopes of great Rewards. *Makes his Eſcape.*

It

[f] Niem, Walſingham, Kranzius, ibid Baluz. in notis ad vit. Pap. Aven. col. 1332.

Year of Christ 1385.

It was therefore agreed between them, that they ſhould with the utmoſt Secreſy aſſemble the diſperſed Troops that had ſerved under them, and, meeting through Bye-ways in a Wood at a Diſtance from *Nocera*, ſhould ſally from thence, and fall unexpectedly upon the Beſiegers. The Day appointed for the Execution of their Deſign was the 10th of *July*, and on that Day it was executed with all the Succeſs they could have wiſhed. For *Charles*'s Troops, ſeeing themſelves attacked when they expected nothing leſs, and knew not by what Enemy, nor by what Force, betook themſelves to a precipitate Flight. *Urſini* would not allow his Men to purſue the Fugitives, but entering the Caſtle, which he found muſt have ſurrendered in a few Days, took from thence the Pope with his Cardinals, even the Priſoners, whom *Urban* would by all Means carry with him, and, travelling through Bye-roads almoſt impracticable, got ſafe to the Plains of *Salerno*. He was there attacked by a Body of *Charles*'s Troops, whom he repulſed with great Loſs on their Side, and then purſuing his March, or rather his Flight, being harraſſed by Parties of the Enemy conſtantly at his Heels, he arrived, by Way of *Benevento* and *Minerbium* in *Apulia*, at a Place between *Trana* and *Barletta*, where ten Gallies, ſent by the Republic of *Genoa*, waited for him: For *Urban*, from the very Beginning of the Siege of *Nocera*, had writ to that Republic, begging they would ſend ten Gallies to convey him out of the Kingdom, in Caſe he ſhould by ſome Means or other make his Eſcape out of the beſieged City. For he expected that his Friends in *Naples*, eſpecially the Relations of thoſe whom he had preferred to the Dignity of Cardinals, would attempt his Reſcue. *Urban* during his whole Journey, carried his Priſoners, the ſix Cardinals, and the Biſhop of *Aquileia*, along with him on Horſeback, and near his

his Perſon, leſt *Urſini*, who could not help ſhewing ſome Compaſſion for them, ſhould connive at their Eſcape. As the Biſhop of *Aquileia*, whoſe Limbs had been all disjointed on the Rack, could not keep up with the reſt, the Pope, ſuſpecting that he only wanted to be left behind and to make his Eſcape, ordered the Soldiers to diſpatch him; and they diſpatched him accordingly with many Wounds, and left his mangled Body unburied on the public Road. *Urban* before he embarked preſented *Raymund Urſini* with 11,000 Florins of Gold, beſides ſome Lordſhips in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and, as he could ſpare no larger Sum for the preſent, he ſolemnly promiſed to pay, as ſoon as he conveniently could, 26,000 more, to be divided amongſt the other Officers and the Soldiery g. Year of Chriſt 1385.

The Fleet with the Pope, his Court, and his Priſoners, ſailed firſt to *Meſſina*, and from thence to *Palermo*, and in both Places he cauſed his Bulls to be publiſhed, excommunicating and depoſing *Charles* of *Durazzo*, and his Wife *Margaret*, as Schiſmatics, Heretics, and Enemies to the Church. The Pope after a very ſhort Stay at *Palermo*, reembarked for *Genoa*, not thinking it ſafe for him to appear at *Rome*, as he was there univerſally hated, and *Charles* had a ſtrong Party in that City. He landed ſafe at *Genoa* on *Saturday* the 23d of *September*, and remained there till the latter-end of the following Year, 1386. His firſt Care and chief Concern after his Arrival in that City, was to have his Priſoners cloſely ſhut up, and carefully guarded in different Jails, all but *Adam*, the *Engliſh* Cardinal, and him he diſmiſſed at the Requeſt of *Richard*, King of *England*, whom he was unwilling to diſoblige. That Cardinal had been no leſs cruelly treated Urban *arrives at* Genoa.

g Gobelinus, Walſingham, Kranzius, Summontius apud Spondan. ad ann. 1385. & Niem, c. 50.

Year of Chriſt 1385.

treated than the other Five; and yet the only Crimes laid to his Charge were his having ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the Pope, and not having diſcovered what the others were machinating againſt him. The Pope in diſcharging him, degraded him from the Dignity of Cardinal, and deprived him of all the Benefices he poſſeſſed: But he was reſtored to his former Condition by *Boniface* IX. the immediate Succeſſor of *Urban* [h].

The French *Clergy burdened by* Clement, *and relieved by the King.*

In the mean Time *Clement*, reſiding conſtantly at *Avignon*, on the 12th of *July* of the preſent Year created ſeven new Cardinals. As he ſtood in great Need of Money to ſupport his own Dignity, and that of his Cardinals, the unſucceſsful Expedition of *Lewis* of *Anjou* againſt *Charles* of *Durazzo* having been, in great Meaſure, carried on at his Expence, he was obliged to load the *Gallican* Clergy with moſt exorbitant Taxes, exacting one Half of all Benefices, as well as of the Revenues of all the Churches and Abbies throughout the Kingdom. But the King, interpoſing upon the Complaints of the Clergy, ordered their Revenues to be divided into three equal Parts, one to be employed in their Maintenance, another in diſcharging the Burdens laid upon them, and the third in repairing the Fabrics. At the ſame Time he forbad any Gold or Silver to be carried out of the Kingdom. The Eccleſiaſtical Revenues were thus to be divided and laid out, not by the Eccleſiaſtics themſelves, but by the King or his Miniſters. To this Ordinance *Clement*, though greatly diſtreſſed for Want of Money, was forced to agree [i].

Urban *puts his Priſoners to Death.*

Year of Chriſt 1386.

Urban, who had remained at *Genoa* from the 23d of *September* to the latter-end of the preſent Year 1386, began now to think of removing to ſome other Place. As he found by Experience that the

[h] Idem ibid. [i] Apud Spond. ad ann. 1385.

the cruel Treatment of his Priſoners prejudiced all, who had any Senſe of Humanity, againſt him, he reſolved to carry them no longer about with him; and accordingly ordered them to be all put to Death a few Days before he left *Genoa*. There is a ſtrange Diſagreement among Authors with reſpect to the Manner of their Death. *De Niem*, who was then abſent from the Pope's Court, ſays it was reported, that by a remarkable Inſtance of Severity or Juſtice, five of them were either ſhut up in Sacks, and thrown into the Sea, or ſtrangled in Priſon, or beheaded, and that their Bodies were privately conveyed from the Priſon to the Pope's Stables, and there conſumed with quick Lime [k]. The Author of *Clement*'s Life, who lived at this Time, writes that, if public Report may be relied on, the unhappy Priſoners were either thrown into the Sea and drowned, or buried alive, or beheaded, being firſt buried in the Ground up to the Chin [l]. *Blondus*, who flouriſhed in 1440, only ſays that they were drowned [m]. *Pietro Giannone* tells us, in his *Civil Hiſtory of Naples*, that *Urban* cauſed the Heads of two of the Cardinals to be ſtruck off, and their Bodies to be dried in Ovens and reduced to Powder, which he ordered to be put into Bags, and carried with their Red Hats upon Mules before him when he travelled, to deter others from conſpiring againſt him [n]. But *Collinuccio*, whom *Giannone* quotes, is a modern Writer, and of what he relates no Notice is taken by any of the Hiſtorians who lived in thoſe Times, or near them. *Boninſegni*, the *Florentine* Hiſtorian, who lived and wrote at this Time, ſays, that with the five Cardinals five eminent Prelates were put to Death in the ſame cruel Manner [p].

Year of Chriſt 1386.

[k] Niem, c. 60. [l] Apud Baluz. [m] Blond. l. 2. decad. 10. [n] Ciannon. l. 24. c. 1. [p] Boninſegn. l. 4.

Year of Christ 1386.

Leaves Genoa, *and repairs to* Lucca.

Two of *Urban*'s favourite Cardinals, shocked at his Cruelty, on this Occasion left him, namely, *Pileus de Prata*, Archbishop of *Ravenna*, formerly his Legate in *Germany* and *England*, and *Galeatto Tarlato de Patramala*, who had hitherto adhered to him with unshaken Fidelity, and had ever been his inseparable Companion. They both declared for *Clement*, and afterwards repaired to *Avignon*. Cardinal *de Prata*, not satisfied with abjuring *Urban*, burnt in the public Market-place at *Pavia*, and in the Presence of Duke *Galeazzi*, Lord of *Milan*, the Red Hat he had received at the Hands of *Urban*, which gave great Pleasure, says the Historian, to the Duke, provoked against *Urban* on Account of his having refused him the Title of King. *Urban* excommunicated both the Cardinals, deprived them of their Dignity, and declared them incapable of holding any Benefice, or being ever raised to any Preferment in the Church. But *Clement* reinstated both in their former Dignity. *Galeatto* adhered to *Clement* and his Successors in *Avignon* to the Hour of his Death. But *Pileus*, upon the Death of *Urban*, changed Sides again, and leaving *Clement*, joined *Boniface* IX. *Urban*'s Successor, whence he was commonly called *Cardinal de Tricarelli*, the Cardinal of Three Hats, having received one from *Urban*, another from *Clement*, and a third from *Boniface* [p].

Urban, having resided at *Genoa* a whole Year and upwards, left that City in the latter-end of *December* of the present Year 1386, either on Account of a Misunderstanding between him and the Doge *Antonio Adorno*, as we read in the History of *Genoa* by *Folieta* [q], or because the *Genoese*, says *Walsingham*, treated him not with due Respect, but insisted

[p] Gobelin. in Persona, c. 81. Auctor vit. Clement. Rubeus Hist. Ravenn. l. 6. p. 591. [q] Folieta Hist. Gen. l. 9.

Year of Chriſt 1386.

inſiſted upon his paying them an immenſe Sum of Money for the Uſe of their Gallies in delivering him out of the Hands of his Enemies; for it was more for the Sake of Money, adds that Author, than the Love of God, that they undertook his Reſcue [r]. From *Genoa* he repaired to *Lucca*, being attended at his Departure by the Gallies of the Republic. At *Lucca* he reſided nine whole Months, and on *Chriſtmas-Night* ſolemnly bleſſed, at High-Maſs, and delivered to the ſupreme Magiſtrate of the City a gilt Sword, richly adorned with Jewels, and the Cap of Liberty, a Mark of Diſtinction hitherto conferred only upon great Princes or Commanders, when they marched againſt the Infidels, or had obtained a ſingle Victory over them.

The Kings of Navarre *and* Arragon *forſake* Urban, *and declare for* Clement.

The two Kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* had hitherto acknowledged *Urban*. But *Charles* of *Navarre* dying the following Year 1387, and *Peter* of *Arragon* ſoon after him, an Aſſembly was convened by their Succeſſors of all the learned Men and Grandees of their reſpective Kingdoms, and the Right of the two Pretenders being ſtrictly examined, the Election of *Clement* was declared canonical, and that of *Urban* null; and it was decreed that *Clement* alone ſhould be thenceforth acknowledged for lawful Pope. This Change is ſaid to have been chiefly owing to Cardinal *Peter de Luna*, a Man of extraordinary Parts, and at this Time *Clement*'s Legate to the Courts of *Spain*. Thus of all the *Spaniſh* Princes the King of *Portugal* alone now adhered to *Urban* [s]. In *Lucca* *Urban* received the Ambaſſadors of ſeveral *German* Princes, ſent to propoſe an Accommodation between him and *Clement*. But to all he returned the ſame Anſwer, that he never would, nor was it reaſonable

[r] Walſingham, in Rich. II.

[s] Bellegard. Hiſt. General. Hiſpan. tom. 3. p. 326.

Year of Chriſt 1386.

that he ſhould ſuffer the Legality of his Election to be called in Queſtion [t].

New Diſturbances in the Kingdom of Naples.

At this Time great Diſturbances and a general Confuſion reigned throughout the Kingdom of *Naples*. For *Charles* of *Durazzo* being gone into *Hungary*, at the Invitation of many of the Grandees, to take Poſſeſſion of that Crown as the next Male Heir, *Lewis* the deceaſed King having left but one Daughter, who was yet very young, he was treacherouſly murdered, as an Uſurper, by one of the young Queen's Friends. By his Wife *Margaret*, Niece to the celebrated Queen *Joan*, he left two Children, *Joan* already a Woman, and *Ladiſlaus*, at the Time of his Father's Death but ten Years of Age. No ſooner was the News of the unhappy End of *Charles* brought to *Naples*, than *Ladiſlaus* was proclaimed King by one Party, and *Lewis*, the Son of *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who died in *Apulia* in 1384, by another. Thus was a moſt cruel and bloody War kindled in the Bowels of the Kingdom. *Clement* ſupported *Lewis* to the utmoſt of his Power, both with Men and Money; but *Urban* would lend no Aſſiſtance to the one or the other, having formed a Deſign, as afterwards appeared, of ſeizing on the Kingdom for himſelf, and beſtowing it, as was ſuppoſed, upon his Nephew *Butillus*, in order to raiſe his Family, by that Means, to the Royal Dignity. Purſuant to this Deſign, he forbore declaring for either of the Competitors, till thinking that both were ſufficiently weakened, and that either would rather ſubmit to him than yield to the other, he notified to all the Biſhops by a circulatory Letter, that the Kingdom of *Naples* neither belonged to *Ladiſlaus* nor to *Lewis*, but to the Apoſtolic See, to which it had devolved by the Excommunication and Depoſition of *Charles*

Urban *attempts to ſeize it for himſelf.*

Year of Chriſt 1387.

of

[t] De Niem, c. 66.

of *Durazzo*; that he was determined to aſcertain his Right by Dint of Arms, and therefore ordered the Biſhops to cauſe a Cruſade to be preached in their reſpective Dioceſes, with the ſame Indulgences, Exemptions, and Immunities for ſuch as ſhould ſerve in this War, as had ever been granted by his Predeceſſors to thoſe who fought in the Holy Land againſt the Infidels. The Pope's Letter is dated at *Lucca* the 29th of *Auguſt*, in the tenth Year of his Pontificate, that is, in 1387 [u]. St. *Antonine* writes, that the Cruſade was publiſhed chiefly againſt *Otho* of *Brunſwick* and *Thomas Sanſeverino*, who ſided with *Lewis* of *Anjou*, and made themſelves Maſters of *Naples*, but that none took the Croſs, though great Indulgences were offered to all who ſhould take it [w].

Year of Chriſt 1387.

Urban, however, unalterable in his Reſolution of ſubduing the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſet out from *Lucca* in the latter-end of *September* with a Deſign to aſſemble his Troops at *Perugia*, and march from thence into *Apulia*. We are told, that as he rid out of the Gate at *Lucca*, his Bridle broke, and the Mitre fell off his Head, which was by many reputed a bad Omen. But *Urban*, looking upon ſuch Incidents as merely caſual, purſued his Journey, and arrived ſafe at *Perugia*. He remained there wholly employed in aſſembling his Forces from the Beginning of *October* 1387, till the Month of *Auguſt* 1388, when he left that Place with a numerous Body of Cavalry, in order to proceed upon the intended Expedition. But Heaven declared againſt it, ſays the *Hiſtorian*. For he had ſcarce gone ten Miles, when his Mule ſtumbling he fell, and was ſo bruiſed with the Fall, as not to be able to travel any otherwiſe but in a Litter. He avoided *Rome*, and reſted a few Days at *Tivoli*, having

Urban *ſets out upon his Expedition againſt the Kingdom of* Naples.

Year of Chriſt 1388.

[u] Raymund. num. 7. [w] Antonin. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 2.

Year of Christ 1388.

having resolved to enter the Kingdom of *Naples* not by *Apulia*, agreeably to his first Plan, but by *Campania*, where he expected to be joined by many of the Barons. At *Tivoli* he was met by the Deputies of the *Roman* People, sent to invite him to *Rome*, and divert him, if by any Means they could, from concerning himself at all, at least for the present, with the Affairs of *Naples*. But he, paying no Regard to their Invitation or Remonstrances, pursued his March to *Ferentino*, flattering himself that he should be able to reduce the Frontier Cities in that Part of the Kingdom before either of the Competitors could come to their Relief. But being obliged for Want of Money to curtail the Soldiers Pay, they all forsook him [x]. Thus *de Niem*. But according to St. *Antonine*, the Mercenaries, consisting chiefly of *English*, left the Pope at *Narni*, and went to serve the *Florentines*, by whom they first had been hired [y]. However that be, *Urban*, now despairing of being able to carry his Design upon the Kingdom of *Naples* into Execution, dropt in the End that wild Undertaking, and, returning to *Rome* in the Beginning of *October* of the present Year, spent there undisturbed the small Remains of his Life.

Which he is obliged to drop, and return to Rome.

Terms of Accommodation proposed by Clement, *but rejected by* Urban.

In the mean Time *Clement*, pretending great Zeal for the Peace and Union of the Church, dispatched Nuncios to all the Christian Princes and States to propose the assembling of a General Council, and declare, in his Name, that he was ready to acquiesce in their Judgment; that should the present unhappy Dispute be determined by them in his Favour, *Urban* should meet with the kindest Treatment from him, should be made Cardinal of the First Rank, and enjoy that Dignity to the Hour of his Death. But, on the contrary, should the Controversy

[x] Niem, l. 1. c. 99. [y] Antonin. ubi supra.

Controverſy be decided in Favour of his Antagoniſt, he would that Moment reſign his Dignity, acknowledge *Urban* for lawful Pope, and deliver himſelf up into his Hands, to be diſpoſed of by him as he ſhould think fit. But *Urban* declaring he would hearken to no Terms, many, looking upon him as the Author of the Schiſm, forſook him, and ſided with *Clement*, though, perhaps, no more diſpoſed to hearken to any than he [z]. Year of Chriſt 1388.

Urban now led a quiet Life at *Rome*, and attending only to ſpiritual Matters, iſſued Three Conſtitutions the following Year 1389, all on the ſame Day, the 8th of *April*. By the firſt he reduced the Jubile from every fiftieth to every thirty-third Year, in Memory of the thirty-three Years our Saviour lived upon Earth, and ordered that Solemnity to be kept the enſuing Year 1390 [a]. By his ſecond Conſtitution he ordered the Feſtival of the Viſitation of the Virgin *Mary*, when ſhe viſited *Elizabeth*, the Mother of St. *John Baptiſt*, to be kept for ever as a Feſtival on the 2d of *July*: And by the Third he allowed Divine Service to be performed in all Churches with the Doors open on *Corpus Chriſti* Day, even in Time of a general Interdict; and beſides granted an hundred Days Indulgence to all who ſhould attend the Body of *Chriſt* when carried to any infirm Perſon [b]. *The* Jubile *reduced by* Urban *to the Thirty-third Year.* Year of Chriſt 1389.

We hear no more of *Urban* till the Time of his Death, which happened on the 15th of *October*, 1389, after a moſt unhappy Pontificate of eleven Years ſix Months, and ſix or ſeven Days. It was ſuſpected that he died of Poiſon, ſays St. *Antonine*, for his Body ſwelled after his Death [c]. *Onuphrius* writes, that he died without receiving any of the Sacraments of the Church, though his Illneſs had Urban *dies.*

[z] Chron. Germanic. l. 26. [a] Gobelinus Perſona, num. 81.
[b] Idem ibid. [c] Antonin. part. 3. tit. 22. c. 3.

Year of Christ 1389.

lasted, according to *de Niem*, two-and-twenty Days. He was buried in the *Vatican*, where his Tomb with an Epitaph was still to be seen in the Time of *Onuphrius Panvinius* [d]. None were found, says *Trimethius*, who grieved at his Death, except his Creatures and Relations [e]. Indeed his whole Conduct, from the Time of his Election to the Hour of his Death, shews him to have been a most ambitious, arrogant, inexorable and bloody-minded Tyrant, an entire Stranger to all Pity and Compassion, one who could neither live himself, nor suffer others to live in Peace, and on that Account justly called by *Otho*, Prince of *Brunswick*, *Turbanus* instead of *Urbanus*. He stuck at nothing, as we have seen, to aggrandize his Family, especially his Nephew *Butillus*, whom all the contemporary Historians represent as an abandoned Profligate, without any Sense of Honour, Honesty, or Religion. On his Account he quarrelled first with his great Benefactress Queen *Joan*, excommunicated and deposed her, and afterwards treated *Charles* of *Durazzo*, whom he himself had raised to the Crown, in the same Manner as he had done the Queen. But by a just Judgment his whole Family perished soon after him. For *Butillus*, knowing that he was universally hated by the *Romans*, left *Rome* as soon as the Recovery of his Uncle was despaired of, with a Design to reside in the *March of Ancona*, where *Urban* had granted him some Castles. But being taken Prisoner on his Journey in the Neighbourhood of *Perugia*,, we are not told by whom, he was obliged to purchase his Liberty with the Delivery of those Castles, and of all he was worth. Being thus reduced to Poverty, he retired into *Apulia*, and having lived six Years there with his Friend *Raymundus Baucius*, he embarked for *Venice* with

His Character and Writings.

[d] Panvin. in notis ad ejus vit. a Platina. [e] Trith. in Chron.

with his Mother, his Children, and his whole Family; but a violent Storm arising, the Vessel was cast away, and all on board perished.——*Urban* wrote the Lives of the Bishops of *Bari* to his Time, some Forms of Prayers, some Ecclesiastical Constitutions or Bulls, to be met with in the *Great Bullarium*. Year of Christ 1389.

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East.* **BONIFACE IX.** WENCESLAUS, RUPERT *of* Bavaria, *Emperors of the West*

The Two-Hundredth BISHOP *of* Rome.

THE News of *Urban*'s Death was received with great Joy by all well-meaning Persons, flattering themselves that it would put an End to the Schism, or at least pave the Way to a Reconciliation between the two Parties. But the Cardinals of *Urban*'s Party all aspiring at the Papacy, and besides apprehending that, should *Clement* be universally acknowledged, the See would be again settled at *Avignon*, resolved to proceed without Delay to the Election of a new Pope in the Room of the Deceased. Of the many Cardinals *Urban* had created, only fourteen were present at *Rome* when he died; and these, entering into the Conclave as soon as they had performed his Funeral Obsequies, after some Disagreement among themthemselves, unanimously elected *Peter*, or *Perinus Thomacelli*, Cardinal Presbyter of St. *Anastasia*, who was inthroned the same Day, the 2d of *November*, under the Name of *Boniface* IX. and on the Ninth, or the Eleventh, as others will have it, of the same Month, consecrated and crowned with the usual Solemnity in the Church of St. *Peter*[f]. Boniface elected.

Boniface

[f] Niem, l. 2. c. 6. Gobelinus ætate 6. c. 81.

Year of Christ 1389.

His Birth, Education, &c.

Boniface was a Native of *Naples*, deſcended from a noble, but a very poor Family in that City, and is only commended by the contemporary Hiſtorians for his Skill in Singing and Writing, and his Knowledge of the Grammar; but as for the more ſublime Sciences he is ſaid to have been very little acquainted with them, but to have ſupplied that Want with his Prudence and Addreſs. He was at the Time of his Promotion forty-five Years of Age according to *de Niem*; but only about thirty according to *Platina*, *Boninſegni*, and St. *Antonine*. His affable, obliging, and courteous Behaviour, quite the Reverſe of his Predeceſſor's, engaged the Affections of all who had any Buſineſs to tranſact with him [g]. He never was taxed, though in the Prime of his Years, with any Levity or Lewdneſs, inſomuch that he ſeemed, ſays *Platina*, to have exchanged Youth for old Age [h].

Creates ſome new Cardinals, and reſtores others.

As *Urban*'s Cardinals were reduced to a very ſmall Number, being at this Time in all but ſeventeen, for many had died, ſome he had put to Death, and others, forſaking him, had gone over to *Clement*, *Boniface*, on the 18th of *December*, created four new Cardinals, and reinſtated five, whom *Urban* had depoſed, in their former Dignity. Theſe were *Adam*, Biſhop of *London*, *Bartholomew Mezzavacca*, Biſhop of *Rieti*, *Landulph Mattamarus*, Archbiſhop Elect of *Bari*, and *Pileus de Prata*, who had left *Urban* to join *Clement*, and now left *Clement* to join *Boniface*.

The French *King at* Avignon.

In the mean Time *Charles* VI. King of *France*, to ſhew the World his ſteady Reſolution of adhering to *Clement*, paid him this Year a Viſit at *Avignon*, which City he entered on the 25th of *October*, attended by his Brother, his Uncles, and the

[g] Niem ibid. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 3. Boninſegni, l. 4. [h] Platina in ejus vit.

the Flower of the *French* Nobility. *Clement* received him with all the Marks of Diſtinction that were due to his Dignity, and the Obligations he owed him, had ſeveral private Conferences with him concerning the State of the Church, and declared himſelf ready to agree to what Terms of Accommodation he ſhould think fit to propoſe. As *Lewis* of *Anjou* was then at *Avignon*, having been invited thither by the Pope, to be crowned by him King of *Naples*, *Charles* would aſſiſt at that Ceremony; and it was performed in his Preſence with great Solemnity on the 1ſt of *November* of the preſent Year. On that Occaſion the Pope celebrated High Maſs, at which the King is ſaid to have ſung the Goſpel. Before the King left *Avignon*, the Pope, at his Requeſt, conferred the Dignity of Cardinal upon *John de Talarn*, Archbiſhop of *Lions*, a Prelate deſcended from one of the moſt illuſtrious Families in *France*, of great Learning, and an exemplary Life. From *Avignon* the King went to *Toulouſe*, ſtaid there till the following *January*, and taking *Avignon* in his Way on his Return from thence, paid a ſecond Viſit to the Pope [i].

Year of Chriſt 1389.

As *Urban* had ordered the Jubile to be celebrated the following Year 1390, *Rome* was crowded that whole Year with *Pilgrims* from all the Countries where *Boniface* was acknowledged, *viz.* from *Hungary*, *Germany*, *England*, *Portugal*, *Norway*, and moſt States of *Italy*. To the two Kings of *England* and *Portugal*, and likewiſe to their Queens, *Boniface* granted the ſame Indulgences in their own Kingdoms, that they would have gained by coming to *Rome*, upon their repreſenting to him the Inconveniencies that would inevitably attend their undertaking that Journey. But

The Jubile celebrated at Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1390.

[i] Auctor vit. Clementis et Miſcellan. Labbei, tom. 1. p. 60.

Year of Christ 1390. But for that Diſpenſation they were to pay for what the Journey would have coſt them. When the Jubile Year expired, *Boniface* ſent his Collectors into all the Countries of his Obedience, with full Power to grant the Indulgences of the Jubile to ſuch as had been prevented by Sickneſs, or any other lawful Impediment, from going to *Rome*. Thus were immenſe Sums collected. But the Collectors, abuſing the Power veſted in them, abſolved for ready Money the moſt hardened Sinners, refuſing no Diſpenſations to thoſe who came up to their Price, and ſetting the moſt Sacred Things to public Sale, left none unabſolved, of what Crimes ſoever guilty, but ſuch as wanted Money to purchaſe Abſolution [k]. They remitted, ſays *de Niem*, all Sins to all at a fixed Price without Repentance, Satisfaction, or Reſtitution, as if Money alone were a ſufficient Atonement for the moſt enormous Crimes. But being convicted upon their Return to *Rome* of having embezzled great Part of the Treaſure thus collected, they were puniſhed by the Pope with the utmoſt Severity, ſome of them being impriſoned for Life, and ſome even put to Death [l].

Ladiſlaus *crowned King of* Naples *by* Boniface. Year of Chriſt 1391. *Urban* had excommunicated and depoſed, as has been ſaid above, *Charles* of *Durazzo*, and excluded his Poſterity from the Crown of *Naples*, with an Intention of ſeizing on that Kingdom for himſelf. Upon his Death *Margaret*, the Widow of *Charles*, killed in *Hungary*, and his Son *Ladiſlaus*, applied to *Boniface* as ſoon as they heard of his Election, begging he would abſolve them from thoſe Cenſures, would take them into his Protection, and reſtore them to the Throne, from which they had been ſo unjuſtly driven by his Predeceſſor.

Boniface

[k] Gobelinus Perſona, c. 88. [l] De Niem, c. 61.

Boniface readily granted their Requeſt, and *Angelus*, Biſhop of *Florence*, and Cardinal of St. *Laurence in Damaſo*, was immediately diſpatched to crown the young King, and govern the Kingdom jointly with his Mother during his Minority. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed on the 29th of *May*, of the preſent Year, at *Gaeta*, the City of *Naples* being then held by the Prince of *Brunſwick* and *Sanſeverino* for *Lewis* of *Anjou*, whom *Clement* had crowned the preceding Year King of *Naples*. On this Occaſion *Ladiſlaus* bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath, not only to adhere to *Boniface*, but to ſupport him to the utmoſt of his Power againſt the Uſurper *Clement*, and his falſe Cardinals[m].

Year of Chriſt 1391.

As the Evils, occaſioned by the Schiſm, became daily more intolerable, both Popes plundering, as it were, in Emulation of one another, the Churches and Nations of their Obedience, to ſupport themſelves and reward their Friends, while the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline was entirely neglected, many Propoſals were made by the Princes, the Univerſities, and even by private Perſons, for the re-eſtabliſhing of the ſo much wiſhed for Union and Tranquillity. Among the latter was a *Carthuſian*, Prior of *Aſti* in *Lombardy*, a Man univerſally eſteemed for the Sanctity of his Life and Learning, who, pitying the deplorable State of the Church, undertook a Journey to *Rome*, in order to try whether he could perſuade *Boniface* to hearken to an Accommodation. The Pope received him with all poſſible Marks of Kindneſs, hearkened to him with great Attention, and pretending to wiſh for nothing ſo much as to ſee an End put to the preſent unhappy Diviſion, declared himſelf ready to give Ear to any Terms of Accommodation that his dearly beloved Son the King

Attempts to make a Reconciliation between the Two Competitors.

Year of Chriſt 1392.

[m] Niem, l. 2. c. 4.

Year of Christ 1392.

King of *France*, the chief Support of his Antagoniſt, ſhould in his great Wiſdom think fit to propoſe. The Monk, encouraged with the Reception he met with from the Pope, and believing him ſincere, begged he would allow him to acquaint the *French* King with his peaceable Diſpoſition. *Boniface* not only conſented to his Requeſt, but appointed him and another Monk of the ſame Order his Nuncios to the Court of *France*, charged them with a Letter for the King, earneſtly intreating him to exert his utmoſt Endeavours in re-uniting the divided Members of the Church under one Head, and promiſing to leave nothing in his Power unattempted, that could be any-ways conducive to the forwarding or completing of ſo meritorious a Work. With this Letter the two Monks ſet out for *Paris*, but taking *Avignon* in their Way, in order to ſound the Diſpoſition of *Clement*, they were arreſted by his Order, and kept confined in the *Carthuſian* Monaſtery, till the King, at the Deſire of the Univerſity of *Paris*, complaining of *Clement* as guilty of a manifeſt Violation of the Right of Nations in ſtopping and detaining them, commanded them to be ſet at Liberty. From *Avignon* they purſued their Journey to *Paris*, and arriving there about *Chriſtmas*, were well received both by the King and the Univerſity. The Letter they brought from *Boniface* was read in a full Council, and it was agreed, contrary to the Opinion of ſome of *Clement*'s more zealous Friends, that an Anſwer ſhould be returned to it. But they were all greatly at a Loſs with reſpect to the Direction of the Anſwer. For to give the Title of Pope to *Boniface* was to acknowledge him, and renounce *Clement*. On the other Hand, to addreſs him under any other Title would be treating him as an Uſurper, and deciding the Controverſy in Favour of his Antagoniſt. It was therefore reſolved that no Anſwer ſhould be returned

returned in Writing, but two Monks of the same Order should be sent with the two come from *Rome*, to assure *Boniface* by Word of Mouth, in the King's Name, that he had nothing so much at Heart as the Peace and Unity of the Church, and was ready to concur in any Measures calculated to procure them. On the other hand *Clement*, pretending to be no less desirous than his Rival of putting an End to the present Division, and the Evils attending it, caused Prayers to be offered in all the Churches, and public Processions to be made for the Peace and Unity of the Church [n]. Year of Christ 1392.

Proposals made by the University of Paris. Year of Christ 1393.

In the mean Time the four *Carthusian* Monks arriving at *Perugia*, where *Boniface* then resided, acquainted him with the *French* King's Answer. But he, instead of proposing any Terms of Accommodation upon which the King could proceed, undertook in another Letter to prove the Validity of *Urban*'s Election, and the Nullity of *Clement*'s, concluding from thence, that *Urban* and his Successors ought to be acknowledged for lawful Popes. To this Letter no Answer was returned, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, the King's two Uncles, who then governed the Kingdom, (the King himself being seized with a Fit of Madness) thinking it unworthy of their Notice. Thus was the Negotiation with the King and his Ministers entirely broke off [p]. But the University of *Paris*, interposing the following Year with the Consent and Approbation of the King, who had some lucid Intervals, proposed, upon the most mature Deliberation, three Ways of removing effectually the present Scandal, and restoring the long wished-for Tranquillity. These were, that the Competitors should both resign, or that the Matter should be left

[n] Monachus Dionys. in Hist. Carol. VI. et Johannes Juvenalis Ursinus in vit. Caroli. [p] Idem ibid.

Year of Christ 1393. left to be Arbitration, or be decided by a general Council. These Proposals were communicated by the University both to *Boniface* and to *Clement*, but neither would suffer the Legality of their Election to be disputed, nor resign a Dignity that had been legally conferred on them. We are told that the Cardinals at *Avignon* approved of the Proposals of the University, and even told *Clement* that he must submit to one of them; since by no other Means an End could be put to the Schism, and that he thereupon fell into so violent a Passion, as brought on a Fit of Apoplexy, of which he died in a few Days [q].

Clement *dies* Year of Christ 1394. *Clement* died on the 16th of *September*, 1394, in the sixteenth Year of his Pontificate, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. *Mary de Donis* in *Avignon:* But in 1401 his Remains were translated from thence to the Church of the *Celestines* in the same City, where his Tomb is to be seen to this Day. His Death was no sooner known at *Paris* than the King and the University wrote most pressing Letters to the Cardinals at *Avignon* to delay the Election of his Successor till they had renewed their Endeavours with *Boniface*, and used every other Means of putting an End to the present unhappy Division. The King of *Arragon* wrote to the same Purpose, exhorting the Cardinals, as they tendered the Peace of the Church, not to proceed to the Election of a Successor to *Clement* till they had consulted their Brethren at *Rome* as well as the other Prelates of the Church, and tried jointly with them all possible Means of accommodating their Differences. But the Cardinals then at *Avignon*, in all Twenty-one, shutting themselves up in the Conclave on the 26th of *September*, as soon

Benedict XIII. *elected.*

[q] Auctor vit. Clement. apud Baluz. Monachus Dionys. ubi supra, et Spondan. ad ann. 1394.

ſoon as they had performed the Funeral Obſequies of *Clement*, elected on the 28th, before they received, or at leaſt before they opened the *French* King's Letter, or that of the Univerſity, *Peter de Luna*, Cardinal Deacon of St. *Mary in Coſmedin*, a Man of an unbounded Ambition, of great Parts and Learning, but of greater Cunning and Addreſs. He was deſcended from a very ancient and noble Family in *Arragon*, was preferred in 1375, by *Gregory* XI. to the Dignity of Cardinal for his Knowledge in the Canon Law, which he had taught with great Applauſe in the Univerſity of *Montpellier*. Upon the breaking out of the Schiſm he joined *Clement*, and being ſent by him, with the Character of his Legate, into *Spain*, he gained over to his Party the two Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*. He was employed by *Clement* as his Legate to the Court of *France* at the Time of that Pope's Death: But he no ſooner heard of it than he flew to *Avignon*, to haſten the Election, being well appriſed that the King and the Univerſity would interpoſe, and endeavour to prevent or delay it. He was ordained Prieſt on the 3d of *October* by *Guido*, Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*; was conſecrated on the 11th of the ſame Month by *John*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and crowned the ſame Day by *Hugh*, Cardinal Deacon of St. *Mary in Porticu*, taking on that Occaſion the Name of *Benedict* XIII. Year of Chriſt 1394.

The Cardinals, to avoid the Imputation of abetting and countenancing the Schiſm, drew up an Act obliging each of them to promiſe upon Oath, that, ſhould he be elected, he would readily and ſincerely embrace all Means of reſtoring Peace, that of Ceſſion not excepted, ſhould it be judged expedient by the greater Part of the Sacred College. The Oath was drawn up in the following Terms: "We all and each of us, Cardinals of the Holy *Oath taken by the Cardinals in the Conclave.*

Year of Christ 1394.

" *Roman* Church, assembled for the Election that " is to be, being before the Altar upon which " Mass is celebrated, and touching the Holy Gos- " pels, promise, for the Service of God, for the " Unity of the Holy Church, and the Salvation " of Souls, to labour without Fraud or Deceit, " and use our utmost Endeavours to restore Peace, " and extinguish the present unhappy Schism. We " shall neither publicly nor privately, directly nor " indirectly, counsel or advise him, who shall be " Christ's Vicar upon Earth, any-ways to hinder " or retard the Union of all the Faithful under " one Head. On the contrary, we shall all and " each of us readily and sincerely embrace all pos- " sible Means of procuring so desirable an End, " that of Cession not excluded, if it shall be ap- " proved by the Cardinals, or by the greater Part " of them, and thought expedient for the Union " and Good of the Church [q]."

His Dissimulation.

Three of the Cardinals excused themselves from taking that Oath, but the other eighteen readily took it, and Cardinal *Peter de Luna* amongst the rest; nay he even confirmed it after his Election. Not satisfied with declaring to the Cardinals his sincere Desire of restoring Peace; in the Letter he wrote to all the Christian Princes and the Prelates of the Church, to acquaint them with his Promotion to the Pontifical Dignity, which, he said, had been forced upon him, he assured them, that he was ready to concur with them in all Measures anyways conducive to the End they all aimed at, the Union and Tranquillity of the Church; that this his Disposition was well known to all the Cardinals, and that it was chiefly upon that Consideration they had

[q] Apud Raymund. ad hunc ann. & Dacheri Spicileg. tom. 6. p. 64.

had preferred him to many much better qualified than he to discharge so great a Trust. Year of Christ 1 94.

Upon the Receipt of these Letters the *French* King and the University of *Paris*, believing him sincere, not only acknowledged him, but sent Deputies to congratulate him upon his Promotion, and express the Satisfaction it gave them to see one trusted with the Government of the Church, who was so ready to resign it, and sacrifice his Dignity to the Peace of the Church. The Pope received the Deputies with particular Marks of Distinction, and upon their exhorting him, in the Name of the King and the University, to convince the World by his Actions, as he now had it in his Power, of the Sincerity of his Intentions, he assured them that he was firmly and unalterably resolved to embrace all Means of redeeming the Church from the present unhappy Situation, and would, to obtain that End, as willingly and readily lay down his Dignity as he laid down his Mantle, which he was then putting off to sit down to Dinner. He returned the same Answer to *Peter d'Ailly*, Chancellor of the University and the King's Almoner, upon his representing to him the distracted State of the Church, and the many Evils attending it. But many suspected, adds the Author, that this was all mere Fiction[r]; and that it was mere Fiction appeared soon after. *Is acknowledged in* France.

Towards the latter-end of the present Year 1394, the *Roman* People, provoked at *Boniface*'s claiming and exercising an absolute Power in *Rome*, which they maintained to be lodged in their Magistrates, rose up in Arms, besieged the Pope in his Palace, and would, as was apprehended, have imprisoned or even put him to Death in the Height *Tumult against* Boniface *at* Rome.

[r] Joanens Juvenal. Ursin. in vita Caroli VI. & Surit. in Indic. l. 3.

Year of Christ 1394.

of their Fury, had not *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Naples*, who happened to be then at *Rome*, armed his People, and ſaved him from falling into the Hands of the enraged Multitude. By his Mediation an Agreement was concluded, upon what Terms we know not, between *Boniface* and the People, and Tranquillity reſtored to the City [f].

Charles VI. *of* France *ſtrives to put an End to the Schiſm.*

In the mean Time *Charles*, King of *France*, wholly intent upon extinguiſhing the Schiſm, and, depending upon the repeated Declarations of *Benedict* that he was ready to concur with him in all the Meaſures, without Exception, that ſhould be thought conducive to that End, aſſembled in the Beginning of *February*, 1395, the chief Prelates, and the moſt learned Men of the Kingdom, to deliberate about the moſt effectual Means of reſtoring Peace. The Reſult of their Deliberations was that both the Competitors ſhould reſign; that this was the moſt effectual, as well as the moſt expeditious Way, of putting an End to the Schiſm, and ought therefore to be alone inſiſted upon, as it would prove a difficult and endleſs Taſk to examine into the Pretenſions of both, and decide the Controverſy in Favour of either. This being agreed to by the whole Council, they deliberated in the next Place about the Method of proceeding in the Affair; and it was determined, that the King and *Benedict* himſelf ſhould notify to the Princes of his Obedience, that he was ready to ſacrifice his Dignity to the Peace of the Church, provided his Competitor in like Manner agreed to ſacrifice his. As for the Princes who acknowledged *Boniface*, the King alone was to acquaint them with the pacific Diſpoſition of *Benedict*, and urge their inſiſting with *Boniface* upon his embracing the Way of Ceſſion, ſince his Competitor was ready to embrace it. When both had reſigned, the Affair was to be left to

The Way of Ceſſion approved in a grand Council held at Paris. Year of Christ 1395.

[f] Antoninus, tit. 22. c. 1.

to a certain Number of Arbitrators choſen by both Parties, or the Cardinals of both Parties were to meet, and, proceeding to a new Election, elect a third Perſon, or either of the two Competitors, as they ſhould think proper. Such was the Determination of that grand Aſſembly; and the King immediately acquainted *Benedict* with it by the moſt ſplendid Embaſſy that on any Occaſion had been ever ſent. It conſiſted of the moſt eminent Prelates of the Kingdom, of the chief Members of the King's Council and the Univerſity, of the Flower of the Nobility, with the King's two Uncles, *John*, Duke of *Berry*, *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, and his Brother *Lewis*, Duke of *Orleans*, at their Head [t]. Year of Chriſt 1395.

The Ambaſſadors arrived at *Avignon* on the 22d of *May*, met with a moſt favourable Reception from *Benedict*; but found him, to their great Surpriſe, intirely averſe, notwithſtanding his repeated Declarations, and the ſolemn Oath he had taken, to the Way of Ceſſion or Reſignation, which he ſaid had never been approved, but on ſome Occaſions had been diſapproved, by the Fathers, as tending to expoſe the Pontifical Dignity to Contempt. He added, that his reſigning would be generally conſtrued into a Conſciouſneſs of the Nullity of his Election, which would be arraigning the Judgment of the Prelates, the Princes, and the People who had acknowledged him. He therefore propoſed three other Methods of reconciling the preſent Differences, all three, in his Opinion, preferable to that of Ceſſion, as being free from all the Difficulties and Inconveniencies attending it. Theſe were, that the two Competitors and their Cardinals ſhould meet in ſome ſafe Place under the Protection of the King of *France*, *But rejected by* Benedict.

[t] Monachus Dionyſ. ubi ſupra.

Year of Christ 1395.

and there amongſt themſelves accommodate their Differences; or that Arbitrators ſhould be choſen by both Parties, and the Competitors ſhould bind themſelves to acquieſce in their Deciſion; or, laſtly, if neither of theſe Methods ſhould be approved of, he would propoſe, or leave the oppoſite Party to propoſe, ſome other, and readily agree to it, if founded upon Juſtice and Reaſon. In anſwer to theſe Propoſals the Ambaſſadors put *Benedict* in mind of the Oath he had taken in the Conclave before his Election, binding himſelf to embrace all poſſible Means of reſtoring Peace, *that of Ceſſion not excepted*, if approved and thought expedient. *Benedict* anſwered, that he entertained not, nor could he entertain, the leaſt Doubt of his being true and lawful Pope, and that he could by no Oath be bound to reſign that Dignity. The Ambaſſadors, finding *Benedict* unalterably determined againſt the Way of Ceſſion, appointed the Cardinals to meet them at *Villeneuve*, in the Neighbourhood of *Avignon*; and at that Meeting, held on the firſt of *June*, the Way of Ceſſion was approved and recommended by all the Cardinals, except the Cardinal of *Pampelona* alone, a Relation of *Benedict*, who proteſted with great Warmth againſt it [u].

Appeal of the Univerſity of Paris.

The Univerſity of *Paris*, hearing from their Deputies, upon their Return, of the ill Succeſs of their Negotiations at *Avignon*, wrote a long Letter, addreſſed to *Benedict* and all the Faithful, to confute his Reaſons and Arguments againſt the Way of Ceſſion, and prove that to be of all others the moſt eaſy, the moſt expeditious, the moſt effectual Means of reſtoring Peace. As they apprehended that *Benedict*, provoked at the Liberty they took in their Letter, might thunder out the

[u] Apud. Baluz. vit. Papar. Aven. Spondan. ad ann. 1396.

the Sentence of Excommunication, or proceed to other Cenſures againſt them, they publicly appealed from him to the future only true orthodox and univerſal Pope, and to his Holy and Apoſtolic See; and ſent one of their Members to notify this their Appeal to *Benedict* himſelf. In Anſwer to their Appeal, *Benedict* publiſhed a Conſtitution, dated the 30th of *May*, 1396, declaring all Appeals from the *Roman* Pontiff to be derogatory to the Plenitude of Power with which he is veſted, and conſequently null. As for the preſent Appeal, it deſerved, he ſaid, no other Name than that of a bold, preſumptuous, and rebellious Attempt upon the Authority of the *Roman* Church, which no Man nor Body of Men had it in their Power to controul; and he therefore adviſed them to revoke it, leſt he ſhould be obliged to proceed againſt them as Rebels to the Church. The Univerſity replied, that they were no Rebels to, but zealous Defenders of, the *Roman* Church; that it was for the Peace, the Honour, and the Dignity of the Church that they had interpoſed in the preſent Controverſy between the two Competitors, and therefore feared no Cenſures that either might inflict upon them on that Account, but appealed anew from both.

Year of Chriſt 1395.

Benedict *declares all Appeals from the* Roman *Pontiff to be null.*

Year of Chriſt 1396.

In the mean Time the *French* Ambaſſadors, finding they could by no Means prevail upon *Benedict* to embrace the Way of Ceſſion, but on the contrary that he daily had Recourſe to new Subterfuges and Evaſions to elude their Endeavours, left *Avignon*, and returning to *Paris* gave a minute Account to the King and the Univerſity of what had paſſed in their ſeveral Interviews with *Benedict* and his Cardinals. Upon their Report another grand Council was held, and by all it was agreed, that the Way of Ceſſion ſhould be abſolutely inſiſted

The Way of Ceſſion approved by ſome Princes and diſapproved by others.

Year of Chriſt 1396.

ſiſted on, and the King ſhould write to the other Chriſtian Princes to concur with him in promoting that Meaſure. Ambaſſadors were accordingly ſent at the breaking up of the Council to the Emperor, to all the Electors, to the Kings of *England*, *Arragon*, *Caſtile*, *Navarre*, *Portugal*, and *Hungary*. Their Inſtructions were to invite thoſe Princes to join their Maſter in procuring the Peace of the Church, and propoſe to them the Way of Ceſſion as the moſt effectual as well as impartial. That Method had been diſapproved by the Univerſity of *Oxford*, in a Letter dated the 10th of *March*, 1395, and addreſſed to the King, *Richard* II. In that Letter they had anſwered the Reaſons alledged by the Univerſity of *Paris*, to ſupport the Way of Ceſſion, and propoſed the aſſembling of a General Council, from whoſe Deciſion neither of the Competitors would preſume to appeal. This Method the King had embraced; but the Point being diſputed, in his Preſence, by ſome of the Members of the Univerſity and the *French* King's Envoys, *Peter Regis*, Abbot of *Mount St. Michael* in *Normandy*, *Simon Cramaud*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, he changed his Opinion, and even wrote both to *Boniface* and *Benedict*, exhorting them to ſacrifice their Dignity to the Peace of the Church. With that Letter he diſpatched the Abbot of *Weſtminſter* to *Avignon* and to *Rome*; but as in the Addreſs he gave to *Benedict* no other Title than that of Cardinal, he would neither receive the Letter, nor admit the Abbot to his Preſence, who thereupon returned to *England*.

In

In *Spain* a Council was held at *Salamanca* in *Caſtile*, conſiſting of all the Grandees, Prelates, and learned Men of that and the neighbouring Kingdom of *Arragon*; and by them the Way of Ceſſion, though warmly urged by the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *England*, was rejected, and the deciding of the Controverſy left to the Two Competitors themſelves, meeting with their Cardinals in ſome Place choſen by both. Some of the other Princes approved and ſome diſapproved the Method propoſed by the Kings of *England* and *France*[w]. Year of Chriſt 1396.

The following Year 1397 a Diet was held at *Francfort*, at which were preſent all the Electors, all the Princes of *Germany*, and Ambaſſadors from the Kings of *France*, of *England*, of *Hungary*, and Deputies from the Univerſity of *Paris*, and moſt other Univerſities, to examine the different Methods that had been hitherto propoſed for the reſtoring of Peace, and cauſe that which ſhould appear to them the moſt effectual to be carried into Execution in their reſpective Dominions and Territories. By that Aſſembly the Way of Ceſſion was judged of all others the moſt eligible, and Ambaſſadors were ſent, in the Name of the Princes who compoſed it, to acquaint *Boniface* therewith, and perſuade him to embrace it. They met with a favourable Reception from the Pope, who even beſtowed, at their Requeſt, ſeveral Benefices on their Friends and Relations, but declined with many Shifts and Evaſions returning any poſitive Anſwer with reſpect to the Subject of their Embaſſy[x]. *The Way of Ceſſion approved in a Diet at* Francfort. Year of Chriſt 1397.

The Emperor *Wenceſlaus* had neglected to aſſiſt at the Diet of *Francfort*, notwithſtanding the Deſire he *And by the Emperor.* Year of Chriſt 1398.

[w] Niem de Schiſm. l. 2. c. 33. Antoninus, tit. 22. c. 3. Spond. ad ann. 1396. Juvenalis Urſin. & Monachus Dionyſ. in Carolo VI. [x] Niem ibid.

Year of Christ 1398.

he expreſſed on all Occaſions of ſeeing an End put to the Schiſm. But, finding that the Way of Ceſſion had been approved by the Princes of the Empire, he reſolved to embrace it, and ſent to acquaint the King of *France*, the chief Promoter of that Meaſure, with this his Reſolution. Several Letters paſſed between him and the King on that Subject; and *Wenceſlaus* in the End reſolved to confer in Perſon with the King, and ſettle the Method of Proceeding with the Two Competitors in the Affair. Purſuant to that Reſolution he left *Bohemia*, where he then was, in *March* 1398, and after a ſhort Stay in *Germany* purſued his Journey to *France*; was met at his entering that Kingdom by a great Number of Perſons of the firſt Diſtinction, ſent by the King to receive him and attend him to *Rheims*, where the King waited for him with his Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Two Uncles, the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*. In the ſeveral Conferences they had the Emperor was gained over to the Opinion of the King and the Univerſity of *Paris*, that both ſhould reſign, that a Third ſhould be elected by the Cardinals of both Parties; and if either refuſed, under any Pretence whatſoever, to conform to ſo ſalutary a Meaſure, he ſhould be looked upon as the Author of the Schiſm, and be no longer obeyed as true and lawful Pope, either by the Emperor or the King. *Peter d'Ailli*, Biſhop of *Cambray*, was diſpatched to *Rome*, with the Character of Ambaſſador from both, to acquaint *Boniface* with this their Reſolution, and exhort him to conform to it. The Biſhop was received with particular Marks of Diſtinction both by *Boniface* and the Cardinals; but could not perſuade him or them, in the frequent Conferences he had with them, to agree to the Way of Ceſſion, nor obtain any other Anſwer of *Boniface*, than that he had as much at Heart the Peace of the Church as either the

the Emperor or the King, and would, as ſoon as they had prevailed upon the Antipope to reſign, leave them no Room to complain of him [b]. Year of Chriſt 1398.

This Anſwer being no-ways ſatisfactory, the King appointed another grand Council to meet on the 22d of *May* of the preſent Year 1398, to deliberate about the Means of obliging both Popes to reſign, ſince it now evidently appeared that, happen to the Church what would, both were obſtinately bent againſt all Reſignation. At this Council were preſent moſt of the Prelates of *France*, no fewer than Eight Archbiſhops, beſides *Simon Cramaud* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, and Thirty-two Biſhops, Deputies from all the Univerſities and Chapters in the Kingdom, a great Number of Abbots, all the Members of the King's Council, Ambaſſadors from all the Princes who approved of the Reſignation of both Competitors, and *Charles*, King of *Navarre*, in Perſon. The King of *France* could not attend, being ſeized with a Fit of Illneſs, but his Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, and his Three Uncles, the Dukes of *Berry*, of *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon*, aſſiſted in his Room. By this grand Aſſembly the Way of Ceſſion was preferred to all others; and it was reſolved, that if *Benedict* did not agree to it, all, who had hitherto acknowleged him, ſhould withdraw from his Obedience. Whether this Reſolution ſhould extend only to the Temporalities of the Church, and deprive him of all Power of diſpoſing of them, or to all other Matters, ſo that he ſhould be no more obeyed than if he were no longer Pope, was the Subject of a long and learned Debate; ſome maintaining, that they could not withdraw from the Obedience of *Benedict*, nor controul him in the Diſpoſal of the Tem- *Another grand Council held in France.*

[b] Monachus Dionyſ. l. 18. c. 6. Chron. Froiſſard. c. 96. Hiſt. Univerſitat. Paris, tom. 4. p. 800.

Year of Christ 1398.

Temporalities of the Church, so long as they acknowleged him for lawful Pope, and others asserting, that they could, for the Tranquillity and Peace of the Church. This was disputed Nine whole Days by the ablest Divines and Canonists of the Kingdom of *France*, but carried in the Affirmative, when put to the Vote, by 240 out of 300. This Determination of the Assembly being communicated to the King, as soon as he returned to himself, a Decree was published by his Order on the 28th of *July*, forbidding his Subjects thenceforth to pay any Obedience whatever to *Benedict*, since the present unhappy Division was entirely owing to his Obstinacy in maintaining the Pontifical Dignity, though he had bound himself by a solemn Oath to resign it, should it be thought necessary or expedient for the Peace of the Church. As for *Benedict*'s Competitor, the King left those who acknowleged him to compel him, by withdrawing from his Obedience, or by what other Means they should think fit, to lay down his usurped Dignity [c].

Resolve that no Obedience should be thenceforth paid to Benedict.

Benedict abandoned by his Cardinals.

The Decree published by the King was by his Order immediately communicated to *Benedict*'s Cardinals and the Citizens of *Avignon*; and by a particular Order the Subjects of *France* were all required to quit forthwith the Service of *Benedict* and retire from his Court, which was readily complied with by the Clergy as well as the Laity. As for the Cardinals, they assembled at *Villeneuve* beyond the *Rhone*, and subject to the King, and there, after many long and warm Debates, Nineteen out of Twenty-four agreed to renounce all Obedience to *Benedict*, drew up an Act declaring this their Resolution,

[c] Monachus Dionys. & Juvenalis Ursin. in vit. Caroli VI. Froissard. c. 97. Raymund. ad ann. 1398. num. 3. Hist. Universitat. tom. 4, p. 829.

ſolution, and cauſed it to be publiſhed at *Avignon*. Hereupon *Benedict*, provoked beyond all Meaſure at the Conduct of the rebel Cardinals, as he called them, ordered them to be arreſted as guilty of High Treaſon in refuſing to obey him, though by their own Confeſſion their lawful Lord and Maſter. But the Cardinals, leaving *Avignon* before that Order could be put in Execution, retired to *Villeneuve* in the Territory of *France*, and there renewed their former Declaration, appealing at the ſame Time from *Benedict* to the Pope, who ſhould be lawfully elected in his Room by the Cardinals of both Parties [d].

Year of Chriſt 1398.

In the mean Time the King of *France*, determined to bring *Benedict* to Terms by Force, ſince all other Means proved ineffectual, ſent Marſhal *de Boucicaut*, a renowned Commander, to lay Siege to *Avignon*, and prevent any Proviſions from being conveyed into that City, in order to ſtarve him and the Inhabitants, who ſteadily adhered to him, into a Compliance with his Decree. As all the Avenues to the Place were ſtrictly guarded, and the Marſhal threatened to burn their Country-houſes and Vineyards if they did not ſubmit, they ſoon opened their Gates and admitted him into the City, declaring to the Pope, when he exhorted them to hold out, that they could not pretend to withſtand alone the whole Power of *France*. Upon the Surrender of the City *Benedict* retired with his Court, and the Cardinals who had not renounced his Obedience, into the Pontifical Palace or Caſtle, where *Boucicaut* was ordered to keep him cloſely confined, and ſuffer nothing to be conveyed into the Palace or out of it till he agreed to gratify the King and reſign.

Benedict *beſieged in his Palace.*

While

[d] Apud Spondan. ad ann. 1398, num. 7.

Year of Christ 1398.

His Reſcue attempted by the King of Arragon.

While theſe Things paſſed at *Avignon*, *Martin*, King of *Arragon*, who had never approved of the Way of Ceſſion, nor could be prevailed upon to withdraw his Obedience to *Benedict*, his Relation and Countryman, hearing that he was beſieged in his Palace at *Avignon*, ſent a Fleet with Orders to ſail up the *Rhone* and attempt his Deliverance. But the Fleet being ſtranded in the River, the Undertaking miſcarried, and the King was obliged to recur to the Way of Negociation. He ſent accordingly by Ambaſſadors to *Avignon*, to treat of an Accommodation between *Benedict* and the Princes who had withdrawn from his Obedience, eſpecially the King of *France*. As the Pope was by this Time reduced to the utmoſt Extremity for Want of Proviſions, the Palace being kept cloſely blocked up by *Boucicaut*, he received the Ambaſſadors with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy; and, pretending to have nothing ſo much at Heart as to ſee Peace reſtored to the Church, declared himſelf ready to ſubmit to what Terms their Maſter and the other Princes of his Obedience ſhould think fit to propoſe, eſpecially his beloved Son *Charles*, King of *France*, who had treated him, and continued to treat him, with ſo much Severity and ſo undeſervedly. From *Avignon* the Ambaſſadors repaired to *Paris*, to acquaint the King with the preſent Diſpoſition of *Benedict*, and intercede for his Liberty. Upon their Requeſt a Council was held, at which the King aſſiſted in Perſon; and in that Council it was reſolved, that if *Benedict* promiſed to reſign upon the Death or the Reſignation of his Competitor, to aſſiſt in Perſon at the Council that ſhould be aſſembled to put an End to the Schiſm, and not to ſtir in the mean Time from his Palace, or what other Place the Two Kings of *France* and *Arragon*, ſhould aſſign to him, without their Knowlege and Conſent, the King would upon

The Siege raiſed, and upon what Terms.

Year of Christ 1399.

upon these Conditions take him into his Protection, would suffer no Violence to be offered him, but would provide him and an Hundred Persons of his Retinue with all Necessaries, and order the Marshal to withdraw his Troops from before the Pontifical Palace. To these Conditions *Benedict* agreed. But the King, knowing by Experience how little his Word or Promises were to be relied on, ordered Guards to be placed on all the Roads to prevent his Escape, and none to be admitted into the Palace who could not give a satisfactory Account of themselves as well as of the Business upon which they came. Thus was *Benedict* kept confined in his Palace for the Space of near Five Years, from 1398 to 1403, when he made his Escape, as we shall see in the Sequel [e]. Year of Christ 1399.

While these Things passed in *France*, *Boniface*, leaving *Rome*, where the Banderesians, or Heads of the People, had engrossed all Power to themselves, went to reside at *Perugia*, and from thence soon after removed to *Assisi*. He remained there till the present Year 1399, sparing neither Pains nor Money to strengthen his Party in *Germany* and *Italy*, as he was no less averse to the Way of Cession than his Competitor *Benedict*. As the Jubile was to be celebrated at *Rome* the following Year 1400, according to the Institution of *Boniface* VIII. who ordered it to be observed every Hundredth Year, the *Romans*, apprehending that in the Absence of the Pope it would be celebrated with the usual Solemnity, and consequently that their Gains would be considerably lessened, sent a solemn Embassy to invite his Holiness back to *Rome*. *Boniface* received the Ambassadors with all possible Marks of Esteem for the *Roman* People; but, pretending *Boniface makes himself absolute Master of* Rome.

[e] Surita Indic. l. 3. ad ann. 1399. Baluz. vit. Papar. Aven. tom. 2. p. 216. & Spond. ad ann. 1398. & 1399.

Year of Christ 1399.

tending great Reluctance to return to their City, he told them he could not comply with their Requeſt, nor was it conſiſtent with his Dignity that he ſhould, as they had lodged all the Power in the Hands of their own Magiſtrates and the Banderesians, and left none to him. With this Anſwer the Ambaſſadors returned to *Rome*; and the *Romans*, to ſatisfy the Pope and entice him back to their City, not only ſuppreſſed the Banderesians, but transferred all their Power upon him, beſtowed, at his Recommendation, the Dignity of Senator upon *Malateſta* of *Peſaro*, a Man of great Probity, in whom he could confide, and ſent a conſiderable Sum of Money to defray the Expences of the Pope's Journey from *Aſſiſi* to *Rome*. *Boniface*, availing himſelf of the preſent Temper of the *Romans*, ſet out as ſoon as he was acquainted with it for *Rome*, and being received with the greateſt Demonſtrations of Joy by all Ranks of People, he cauſed the Walls of the City, the Towers, the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and the Capitol, to be repaired and ſtrongly fortified, placed Garriſons in them, and thus by Degrees made himſelf abſolute Maſter of the City, which many of his Predeceſſors had attempted, but none had ever been able to accompliſh. Thus did the *Romans* ſacrifice their Liberty to their Intereſt, and *Boniface* thenceforth governed the City with an abſolute Sway[f].

Jubile ſolemnized at Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1400.

The Jubile was by the Appointment of *Boniface* VIII. to be celebrated every Hundredth Year, but was reduced by *Clement* VI. to every Fiftieth, and by *Urban* VI. to every Thirty-third, and had accordingly been ſolemnized in 1390 by the preſent Pope the Succeſſor of *Urban*. However in 1400 Pilgrims flocked from all Parts to *Rome* for the Indulgences, which they ſuppoſed were to be gained every

[f] Flavius Blondus Decad. 10. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 3.

every Hundredth Year; and *Boniface* to gratify their Devotion granted them the ſame Indulgences that were to be obtained in the Jubile Year; which drew ſuch multitudes of People from all Countries, even from *France*, that the King, to prevent his Kingdom from being unpeopled, and the whole Wealth of the Nation from being conveyed to *Rome*, was obliged to forbid by a public Edict any of his Subjects to go to *Rome* during that Year, and order thoſe who had undertaken that Journey to return. The Reaſons alledged by the King for iſſuing this Edict were, I. Becauſe his Enemies, ſhould they at this Juncture invade his Kingdom, would find it unprovided, with Men as well as Money. II. Becauſe moſt of the Countries between *France* and *Rome* acknowleged the pretended Pope, who would enrich himſelf with the Money of his Subjects ſpent on the Road as well as at *Rome*, and become by that Means more intractable. III. Becauſe the undertaking of ſo long and ſo expenſive a Journey to gain Indulgences granted by him, was tacitly acknowleging him for lawful Pope. The Clergy, who tranſgreſſed this Order, were to forfeit their Temporalities, and the Laity to be fined and impriſoned at the Pleaſure of the King. But notwithſtanding this Prohibition, *Rome*, ſays *de Niem* then upon the Spot, was crowded during the whole Year with Pilgrims from *France* of both Sexes and all Ranks, with ſome even of the higheſt. The Concourſe of People was no leſs numerous from all other Nations. But moſt of them died of the Plague that broke out with great Violence at *Rome*, and carried off, ſays *Boninſegni*, who lived at this Time, Seven or Eight Hundred Perſons a Day [d].

Year of Chriſt 1400.

The Subjects of France *forbidden to go to* Rome.

[d] Niem, c. 28. Boninſegn. l. 4. c. 7.

Year of Christ 1400.

The Emperor Wenceslaus *depoſed.*

As the Emperor *Wenceſlaus* led a moſt debauched Life, and entirely neglected the Affairs of the Empire, four of the Electors, namely, the three Archbiſhops of *Cologn*, *Mentz*, and *Treves*, and *Rupert* or *Robert*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Bavaria*, aſſembling with ſeveral other Princes of the Empire at *Lonſtein* in the Dioceſe of *Treves*, declared him unworthy of the Imperial Dignity, and by a formal Sentence depoſed him on the 20th of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year. In his room they choſe *Frideric*, Duke of *Brunſwick*, for King of the *Romans*, a Prince of a fair Character and great Experience in War. But he being aſſaſſinated on his Return from the Diet, the above-mentioned Electors met again in the ſame Place, confirmed the Sentence againſt *Wenceſlaus*, and conferred unanimouſly the Dignity of King of the *Romans* upon *Rupert*, Count *Palatine*. As *Boniface* conſented to the Depoſition of *Wenceſlaus*, and was even ſuſpected of having promoted it, being highly offended at his late Connection with the *French* King, the two Kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* withdrew from his Obedience, the latter being ſubject to *Wenceſlaus*, and the former to his Brother *Sigiſmund*. But the new Emperor, or King of the *Romans*, maintained with great Zeal the Cauſe of *Boniface*, gained over to his Party moſt of the Princes of the Empire, and would conſent to no Meaſures but what were recommended to him by *Boniface* himſelf [e].

The French *divided among themſelves with reſpect to the Confinement of* Benedict.

The two following Years, 1401, 1402, warm Debates aroſe in *France* about the withdrawing of all Obedience to *Benedict*, and his Impriſonment or Detention, ſome approving of both theſe Meaſures as abſolutely neceſſary to bring the Pope to Terms, and others condemning them as quite unprecedented,

[e] De Niem, ubi ſupra.

precedented, and highly injurious to the Pontifical Dignity. Among the former were the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, the Univerſity of *Paris*, and the far greater Part of the Clergy; and among the latter the Duke of *Orleans*, the Ambaſſadors of the King of *Arragon*, and the Univerſity of *Toulouſe*. The Duke of *Orleans*, whom *Benedict* had gained, we know not by what Means, frequently declared againſt his two Uncles, that though a Schiſm was a great Evil, yet to have no Pope was ſtill a greater, and that to him it ſeemed altogether inconſiſtent with Reaſon to acknowledge *Benedict* for lawful Pontiff, or Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth, and yet refuſe to obey him. *Peter Ruban*, Biſhop of St. *Pons*, a Prelate of great Eloquence and Addreſs, ſeconding the Duke of *Orleans*, took the Liberty to complain to the King himſelf of the Impriſonment of *Benedict*, and their forbidding any Obedience to be paid to him, as derogatory, in the higheſt Degree, to the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, which his Anceſtors had ever made it their Buſineſs to reverence and maintain. But the King was inflexible, alleging that *Benedict* had bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath to embrace all Means of reſtoring Peace to the Church, even by the Way of Ceſſion, if judged neceſſary or expedient, and that by the Breach of ſo ſolemn an Oath he had forfeited the Obedience that was due to him as Pope.

Year of Chriſt 1400.

Benedict had promiſed, as has been related above, not to depart from his Palace in *Avignon* without the Knowledge and Conſent of the Kings of *France* and *Arragon*. But being weary of his Confinement, and as regardleſs of his Promiſe as he was of his Oath, he reſolved to make his Eſcape, and began to contrive with ſome of his moſt intimate Friends the Means of effecting it. As one of theſe, *Robert de Braquemond*, a Native of *Normandy*, was frequently admitted to the Pope as a Perſon no-ways ſuſ-

Benedict makes his Eſcape. Year of Chriſt 1403.

Year of Christ 1403.

ſuſpected, it was agreed between them that *Braquemond* ſhould one Day, the 12th of *March*, not depart from the Palace till late in the Evening, and that the Pope ſhould attend him at his Departure in the Diſguiſe of one of his Domeſtics. That Diſguiſe *Benedict* aſſumed, and paſſing through the Guards quite unobſerved, arrived that Night at Caſtle *Raynard*, four Miles diſtant from *Avignon*, and early next Morning at *Marſeilles*, ſubject to *Lewis*, King of *Naples*, and Count of *Provence*, who went immediately to wait upon him, and lend him all the Aſſiſtance in his Power. Authors obſerve, that *Benedict* was attended in his Eſcape by three Domeſtics only; that he took nothing with him but the Body of our Lord in a Box, and a Letter from the *French* King; that he had let his Beard grow during the five Years of his Confinement, but cauſed it to be ſhaved on his Arrival at *Marſeilles*. From Caſtle *Raynard* he wrote to the King to acquaint him with his Eſcape, and aſſure him that, though at Liberty, he was determined faithfully to perform what he had promiſed, and concur in all the Meaſures that his dearly beloved Son ſhould, upon mature Deliberation, ſuggeſt or approve. This Letter is dated at Caſtle *Raynard* the 12th of *March*, the Day on which he made his Eſcape[f].

Obedience reſtored to him;

Some few Days after *Benedict* ſent Cardinal *Maleſicco*, Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*, and Cardinal *Amadeus* of *Saluzzo*, with the Character of his Legates to the King to divert him from purſuing the Way of Ceſſion, and perſuade him to revoke the Decree, forbidding his Subjects to pay him any Obedience as Pope till he had agreed to reſign. The Legates were powerfully ſeconded by the Duke of *Orleans*, and in a Council held on the 28th of *May*, it

[f] Monachus Dionyſ. l. 18. p. 461.

it was resolved that the Decree should be revoked, and *Benedict* be obeyed as before, but upon the following Conditions: I. That he promised, in Writing, to resign, in Case his Competitor resigned, died, or was expelled. II. That all Offences hitherto given or received should by both Parties be buried in Oblivion. III. That *Benedict* should confirm all Promotions to Ecclesiastical Dignities, and Collations to Benefices, that had been made while he was not allowed to dispose of them. IV. That in the Term of one Year he should assemble a general Council of his Obedience to deliberate about the Means of restoring Peace, and moderating the many heavy Burthens laid by the Popes on the *Gallican* Church. These Terms were no-ways pleasing to *Benedict*. But the Duke of *Orleans* having with great Difficulty prevailed upon him to agree to them, the Decree, forbidding any Obedience to be paid to him, was repealed, and the Subjects of *France* were, by a new Decree, enjoined thenceforth to obey *Benedict* XIII. as lawful Pope. The Decree was issued in the King's Name, and the following Words: "It was resolved near "five Years ago in an Assembly of the Clergy of "our Kingdom, that no Obedience should be "thenceforth paid to Pope *Benedict* XIII. because "he would not consent to the Way of Cession, "which appeared to us the most expeditious Me-"thod of putting an End to the Schism. But as "our withdrawing from his Obedience has not "had the wished for Effect, and he has agreed to "the Terms that we have lately proposed, and "think better calculated to restore Tranquillity, "we revoke our former Edict, and by the Advice "of our Uncles, of our Brother the Duke of "*Orleans*, of the Universities of *Toulouse*, of *An-*"*giers*, of *Orleans*, of *Montpellier*, and of most "of the Prelates and Lords of our Kingdom,

Year of Christ 1403 — *and upon what Terms.*

Year of Christ 1403.

" we order *Benedict* XIII. to be thenceforth obeyed " by all our Subjects as lawful Pope, and this our " Ordinance to be published and immediately com- " plied with throughout our Kingdom g."

He sends an Embassy to Boniface.

Year of Christ 1404.

The following Year 1404, *Benedict*, to persuade the World of the Sincerity of his Intentions, published a Bull, declaring that he was ready to resign, provided his Competitor in like Manner agreed to resign. Not satisfied with this Declaration, he sent *Peter Ruban*, Bishop of *Pons*, and some other Bishops to *Rome*, to treat with *Boniface* of an Accommodation. They were ordered to propose a Meeting of the two Popes and their Cardinals in some Place of Safety approved of by both, in order to deliberate jointly about the Means of putting an End to the present Division. The Ambassadors met with a favourable Reception from the Cardinals. But *Boniface* received them with great Haughtiness, and upon their modestly exhorting him to concur with their Master in restoring Peace to the Church, he told them with no small Emotion, that *Peter de Luna* was an Intruder and Antipope, and himself alone true Pope. The Bishop of *Pons*, piqued at this Answer, replied that their Master was no Simoniac, thus tacitly reproaching *Boniface* as guilty of that Crime, which so provoked him, that he ordered the Ambassadors to depart the City that Moment, They answered, that they had a safe Conduct both from him and the *Roman* People, and therefore would not depart till the Time they were thereby allowed to remain in *Rome* was expired. *Boniface* made no Reply, but fell into a violent Passion that brought on a Fit of the Stone, to which he was subject, and he died the third Day, the 1st of *October* h. He is charged by *de Niem* with

Death of Boniface.

g Monachus Dionys. in Carolo VI.
h De Niem, l. 2. c. 23. 24.

Year of Christ 1404.

with the moſt flagrant Simony, with beſtowing all Church Preferments upon the beſt Bidder, without any Regard to Merit or Learning, and make it his Study to enrich his Family and Relations. One of his Brothers he made Marquis of the *March*, now *la Marca*, and another Duke of *Spoleti*. But both were reduced to great Poverty before their Death [i]. *Niem* ſuppoſes the Annates to be the Invention of *Boniface*; but others will have them to have been introduced long before his Time, either by *Clement* V. or *John* XXII. of whom the former was raiſed to the See in 1305, and the latter in 1316. The Author of the Chronicle of *Bourdeaux*, at this Time in *Rome*, tells us, that a Perſon worthy of Credit, who was preſent at *Boniface*'s Death, aſſured him, that ſcarce the Value of one Florin of Gold was found in his Coffers. This Teſtimony is alleged by *Papebroch* and *Pagi*, to ſhew that *Boniface* was not ſo intent upon heaping up Wealth as is generally ſuppoſed. But as he made it his Study, according to all other contemporary Writers, to accumulate, and conſequently muſt have accumulated immenſe Riches, I ſhall leave *Papebroch* and *Pagi* to enquire how he diſpoſed of them, if it be true that he died ſo poor. St. *Antonine* writes, that it was reported that *Boniface* being adviſed by his Phyſicians to redeem himſelf from his Complaint, that of the Stone, at the Expence of his Chaſtity, he rejected that Advice with great Indignation, ſaying, he had rather die chaſte than live unchaſte [k]. His *Love of Chaſtity*, adds Father *Pagi*, *intituled* him (notwithſtanding his Ambition, his Avarice, his unſincere Dealings, his Simony, *&c.*) to a Place amongſt the good Popes [l]. No Writings of *Boni-*

[i] Apud Pagi, tom 4. p. 329. [k] Antonin. tit. 22. c. 3.
[l] Pagi, tom. 4. p. 324.

Year of Christ 1404.

face have reached our Times, beſides ſome Letters and Ordinances.

Upon the Death of *Boniface*, *Benedict*'s Legates in *Rome* were impriſoned, notwithſtanding their ſafe Conduct, in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, by the Governor of that Caſtle, a Kinſman of the deceaſed Pope, and obliged to purchaſe their Liberty with the Sum of Five Thouſand Florins of Gold. Thus *de Niem* and *Surita* [m]. But the Affair is differently related by Pope *Innocent* VII. the immediate Succeſſor of *Boniface*, in a Letter to the Univerſity of *Paris*. For in that Letter he tells them, that the Nuncios were adviſed by the *Romans* to remain in *Rome*, and aſſured of Protection; but chuſing to depart, they fell into the Hands of one, out of whoſe Power neither the *Roman* People, nor the Cardinals, nor he himſelf could deliver them.

[m] Niem, c. 24. Surita. Indic. l. 3.

INNOCENT

Year of Christ 1404.

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East.* **INNOCENT VII.** RUPERT or ROBERT of *Bavaria*, *Emperor of the West.*

The Two Hundred and first BISHOP *of* Rome.

BONIFACE dying, as has been ſaid, on the 1ſt of *October* 1404, his Cardinals immediately applied to *Benedict*'s Nuncios, to know whether they had been enjoined by their Maſter to propoſe a Reſignation in his Name, provided the deceaſed Pope agreed to reſign, being, they ſaid, in that Caſe determined not to proceed to a new Election, till they had tried all Means in their Power of putting an End to the Schiſm. The Nuncios anſwered, that they were only impowered to propoſe an Interview between their Maſter and his Competitor. The Cardinals, having received this Anſwer, reſolved to provide the Church with a new Paſtor as ſoon as they had performed the Obſequies of the Deceaſed. They entered accordingly into the Conclave on the 12th of *October*, and having all and each of them bound themſelves by a ſolemn Oath, in the Preſence of ſeveral public Notaries and Witneſſes, to uſe all Means in their Power of reſtoring the Peace and Unity of the Church, and even to reſign the Papal Dignity, how canonically ſoever elected to it, ſhould that be judged neceſſary to procure ſo deſirable an End, they unanimouſly elected, on the 17th of the ſame Month, *Coſmato Megliorati*, Cardinal Preſbyter of *the Holy Croſs in Jeruſalem*[n]. The new Pope took the Name of *Innocent* VII. and was crowned, according to ſome, on the 2d, and according to others, on the 11th of *November*. Innocent VII *elected.*

Innocent

[n] Innocent VII. in Epiſt. ad Univerſitatem Pariſ. apud Spondan. ad ann. 1404.

Year of Christ 1404.

His Birth, Education, Employments, &c.

Innocent was a Native of *Sulmona*, in the *Hither Abruzzo*, deſcended from a Family of a middling Condition in that City, but had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Learning, eſpecially by his Knowlege of the Civil and Canon Law, and much more by his Virtue and Probity. For he was, according to *de Niem*, who ſpeaks well of very few Popes, a Man of a moſt generous, mild, and beneficent Temper, an Enemy to all Pomp and Shew, free from all Pride and Ambition, an avowed Enemy to Simony, and of great Addreſs and Experience in Negotiations and all State Affairs °. He was made Clerk of the Apoſtolic Chamber by *Urban* VI. was afterwards employed by the ſame Pope to collect the Revenues of the Apoſtolic See in *England*, and on his Return from thence preferred firſt to the Archbiſhopric of *Ravenna*, and ſoon after to the Biſhoptic of *Bologna*. *Boniface* IX. raiſed him to the Dignity of Cardinal in the Firſt Year of his Pontificate, or in 1389, appointed him Chamberlain of the Holy *Roman* Church, and ſent him with the Character of his Legate to compoſe the Differences of the *Italian* Princes at War with one another. He was Sixty-five Years of Age at the Time of his Election, and was elected without Oppoſition by the Nine Cardinals who were then preſent at *Rome*. For of all the Cardinals created by *Boniface*, Twelve only were then living, and of theſe Three were abſent. The King of *France*, *Charles* VI. who diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all other Princes by his Zeal for the Unity of the Church, no ſooner heard of *Boniface*'s Death than he diſpatched a Meſſenger to *Rome* with Letters to the Cardinals, exhorting and earneſtly intreating them to ſuſpend the Election of a new Pope till the Arrival of a ſolemn Embaſſy, which he intended

° Niem, c 34, 36.

tended to ſend to them. But the Election was over before the Meſſenger reached *Rome*. Year of Chriſt 1404.

Upon the Firſt Notice of *Boniface*'s Death *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Naples*, entering unexpectedly the Territories of the Church, advanced to *Rome* at the Head of a numerous and well-appointed Army, with a Deſign, ſays *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, to make himſelf Maſter of that City during the Vacancy of the See. But finding at his Arrival that *Innocent* was already elected, he pretended to have had nothing in his View, but to maintain the Liberty of the Conclave, and ſupport the new Pope againſt all his Enemies p. A moſt dreadful Tumult broke out in *Rome* during the King's Stay in that City, ſtirred up, as was ſuppoſed, underhand by him. The *Romans*, to entice *Boniface* back to *Rome*, had ſuppreſſed the Banderefians as we have ſeen, and lodged all the Power in him. But the *Gibellines*, headed by *John* and *Nicholas Colonno*, were for having that Power reſtored to the People, while the *Guelphs*, ſupported by the *Urſini*, ſtrove to maintain it in the Pope and the Church. Thus was a Civil War kindled in *Rome*, and in the daily Skirmiſhes great Numbers were killed on both Sides. *Innocent*, not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Rome*, left the *Lateran* Palace, and privately retired to the *Tranſtyberine* or *Leonine* City. But *Ladiſlaus* interpoſing, a Peace was concluded between the Two Parties, and it was agreed that the Civil Government of the City ſhould belong to the People, that is, to Ten Men choſen by them; that the *Leonine* City, with the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, ſhould be left to the Pope, and the Senator be appointed by him, but not with the Approbation and Conſent of the People q. Thus did the *Roman* People, in great

Diſturbances in Rome.

The Roman *People recover their Liberty.*

p Leonard. Aretin. Hiſt. ſui temporis. q Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1404. num. 16.

Year of Christ 1404.

great Measure, recover the Power which they had given up under *Boniface*.

Innocent *proposes to assemble a General Council.*

Matters being thus adjusted for the present, *Innocent* wrote to all the Archbishops, Bishops, and Dignitaries of the Church to acquaint them with his Promotion, and at the same Time to give them Notice that he intended to assemble a General Council in *Rome* before *All Saints* Day of the following Year 1405. He exhorted them to meet in the mean Time in their respective Provinces, and deliberate among themselves about the Means of healing the present Division of the Church, assuring them that he was ready to concur in all the Measures that should by them be judged the best calculated for procuring the so long wished-for Tranquillity. This Letter is dated the 27th of *December* 1404, and was addressed to all the Archbishops and their Suffragans [r]. The Meeting of this Council was frequently put off, and all Thoughts of it were at last laid aside on Account of the Disturbances that broke out anew in *Rome*.

New Disturbances in Rome.

For the new Governors of the City, not satisfied with the Power granted them by the late Treaty, encroached daily upon that which by the same Treaty had been allowed to the Pope. *Innocent*, to gain them, and prevent any new Commotions, created Eleven Cardinals, of whom Five were Natives of *Rome*, which quieted them for a while. But being stirred up by *Ladislaus*, who wanted to improve the Discontent of the People to his own Advantage, and make himself Master of *Rome*, they soon began to insult the Officers of the Pope, and exercise the Authority that they themselves had vested in them; which so provoked *Innocent*'s Nephew, *Lewis Megliorati*, a bold and enterprizing Youth, that falling upon the Governors as they

[r] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1404. num. 12.

they returned, attended by ſome Citizens of Diſtinction, from a Conference with the Pope, he arrected them all, carried them Priſoners to his Houſe, and there put Eleven of them to Death, and cauſed their dead Bodies to be thrown out of the Window, ſaying, *Thus popular Seditions are to be appeaſed.* *Platina*, who wrote in this Century, in 1474, tells us, that the *Romans* were ſent by the Pope to his Nephew as to an Executioner, inſinuating thereby that it was by his Order his Nephew put them to Death [s]. But *de Niem*, who was at this very Time on the Spot, clears *Innocent* from being any-ways privy to that barbarous Execution [t]; and ſo does *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, ſaying, the Pontiff was overwhelmed with Grief when he heard of the cruel Slaughter; for the whole Affair had been tranſacted altogether unknown to him: He was a Man of a mild and pacific Diſpoſition, and abhorred above all Things the Effuſion of human Blood; he often bemoaned himſelf, bewailed his hard Lot, and litting his Eyes up to Heaven, called upon God to witneſs his Innocence [v]. Had he delivered up his Nephew to the *Romans*, as he ought in Juſtice to have done, he would have cleared himſelf effectually from all Suſpicion of being concerned in that Maſſacre; and his not having done ſo, but, on the contrary, his taking his Nephew with him in his Flight, and thus ſcreening him from the deſerved Puniſhment, would incline one to believe what *Platina* ſays to be true.

Year of Chriſt 1405.

The Governor's maſſacred by the Pope's Nephew.

Innocent, hearing of the cruel Maſſacre, left *Rome* that Moment, and in the utmoſt Conſternation fled with his Nephew and all the Cardinals to *Viterbo*. As their Flight happened in the Height of

Innocent flies to Viterbo.

[s] Platina in Innocent VII. [t] De Niem, c. 16, 37. [v] Leonard. Aretin. de rebus Ital. p. 254.

Year of Chriſt 1405. of the Summer, on the 5th of *Auguſt*, when the Heats in *Italy* are quite inſufferable, and they ſtopped no-where, apprehending that the *Romans*, breathing Revenge, purſued them cloſe at their Heels: *De Niem* tells us that about Thirty of the Pope's Retinue died of Thirſt on the Road [w]. *Innocent* was ſcarce gone when the Alarm-Bell was rung, and the *Romans* flying to Arms flocked from all Parts to the Pontifical Palace, deſtroyed or carried off all the Furniture, put every Man to the Sword that belonged to the Pope, and would not have ſpared his Holineſs himſelf had he not ſaved himſelf by a timely and precipitate Flight [a]. In the mean Time *John Colonna*, availing himſelf of theſe Diſturbances, entered *Rome* with a Body of Troops, and poſſeſſing himſelf of the Pontifical Palace, he governed the City from thence with all the Authority of a Pope; whence he was ironically ſtiled *John* XXIII. as there had been Twenty-two Popes of that Name. But the *Romans* being, in the Term of Twenty Days, tired of his Government, and revolting againſt him, he invited King *Ladiſlaus* to his Aſſiſtance, promiſing to reſign to him the Sovereignty of the City. The King, who had long aſpired at the Dominion of *Rome*, ſent without Delay an Army under the Command of the Count of *Troia*, with Orders to maintain *Colonna* in Poſſeſſion of *Rome*. *Colonna* admitted the *Neapolitan* Army into the City. But the *Romans*, determined rather to die than to ſubmit to *Ladiſlaus*, exerted themſelves with ſo much Vigour, Reſolution, and Union, as obliged *Colonna* and his Allies to abandon the Undertaking, and retire out of the City. The *Romans*, being now left to themſelves, committed the Government of the City to Three Perſons only,

John Colonna *makes himſelf Maſter of* Rome.

But is driven out by the Romans, *and* Innocent *is recalled.*

Year of Chriſt 1406.

[w] Niem, c. 36. [a] Idem ibid.

only, whom they called *The Good Men*; and these, finding, says *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, upon the strictest Enquiry, that the Pope was no-ways accessary nor privy to the Massacre of their Fellow-Citizens, persuaded the People, tired with intestine Dissensions, and convinced of his Innocence, to recall him. Ambassadors were accordingly sent in the Beginning of the present Year 1406 to invite his Holiness back to his See, to beg Pardon for their past Conduct, and offer him the Keys and Sovereignty of the City. With that unexpected Invitation *Innocent* readily complied, forgave the *Romans* all past Injuries, and leaving *Viterbo* in the Month of *March*, entered *Rome* in a Kind of Triumph, being attended by vast Crowds of People of all Ranks, and amongst the Rest by the *Three Good Men*; who, at his entering the Gate, resigned all their Power into his Hands [b]. Year of Christ 1406.

In the mean Time *Benedict*, to impose upon the World, and persuade them that the Continuance of the Schism was not to be imputed to him, undertook this Year a Journey to *Genoa*, in order to confer, as he gave out, with his Competitor, and settle by mutual Consent the Means of restoring Peace and Tranquillity, the Object of every good Man's Wishes, and of none more than of his. The City of *Genoa* had hitherto adhered to the Popes of *Rome*, but being lately gained over to the Popes of *Avignon* by their Archbishop *Pileus Marinus*, a Prelate held in great Esteem for his Sanctity, *Benedict* met there with a most honourable Reception from Persons of all Ranks and Conditions. Benedict *repairs to* Genoa.

He

[b] Aretin. Hist. sui temporis, et Antonin. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 4.

Year of Christ 1406.

Demands a safe Conduct of Innocent, *which is denied.*

He had not been long in that City, when he caused Application to be made in his Name to *Innocent* for a safe Conduct, intending, as he pretended, to send Nuncios, as soon as it could be procured, to treat of an Accommodation. *Innocent* very unadvisedly refused the safe Conduct, telling those who applied for it, that he questioned whether a true and lawful Pope could with a safe Conscience enter into any Treaty with an Antipope and an Intruder. He added, however, that he was willing to hearken to any Terms that Persons, upon whose Sincerity he could depend, should think fit to propose. From his Refusal of a safe Conduct, *Benedict* took Occasion to represent him, in the Letters he wrote to all the Christian Princes, as averse to an Accommodation, as guilty of a Breach of the solemn Oath he had taken at his Election, and to charge the Schism wholly upon him. In Answer to these Letters *Innocent* wrote others, accusing *Benedict* of Insincerity, and false Dealing, as having nothing in his View in setting a Negotiation on Foot, but to amuse the World, and gain Time. Thus both made it their Study, says *de Niem*, to keep, with new Subterfuges and Evasions, those at a Bay, who sincerely wished to see Peace restored to the Church. *Benedict*, after a short Stay in *Genoa*, was obliged, by the Plague that broke out there, to quit that City and return to *Provence*.

Ladislaus *excommunicated by* Innocent.

At *Rome* the Troops of King *Ladislaus*, which *Colonia* had admitted into the City, and the Castle of St. *Angelo*, still held that Fortress, and often sallying from thence committed great Disorders in *Rome* and the neighbouring Country. *Innocent* therefore, after repeated Admonitions, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication against him, the same Sentence that his Predecessor *Urban* VI. had

* De Niem, l. 2. c. 18.

had iſſued againſt his Father *Charles* of *Durazzo*, declaring him an Enemy to the Church, and depriving him as ſuch of his Kingdom, a Fief of the Apoſtolic See. The King, apprehending that the Friends of his Rival *Lewis* of *Anjou* would take Occaſion from thence to riſe up in Arms againſt him, choſe rather to ſatisfy the Pope, than to have his Kingdom involved in a Civil War, and all the Calamities attending it. He ſent accordingly Ambaſſadors to *Rome* as ſoon as he heard of the Sentence, with Orders to conclude a Peace with *Innocent* upon his own Terms. A Peace was accordingly concluded upon the following Conditions, that *Ladiſlaus* ſhould promiſe ſteadily to adhere to *Innocent* as lawful Pontiff, and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his Power when required; that the Caſtle of St. *Angelo* ſhould be immediately evacuated and delivered up to the Pope; that the King ſhould publicly own himſelf a Vaſſal of the Church, and as ſuch take an Oath of Allegiance to *Innocent* and his Succeſſors lawfully elected; that he ſhould promiſe never to make War upon the Vaſſals or Friends of the Church, ſhould forgive and receive into Favour ſuch of his Subjects as had borne Arms againſt him, and repair all Damages done by him or his Men to the Churches and other holy Places. On the other Hand, *Innocent* was to recal and receive into Favour ſuch of the *Roman* Nobility as had joined the King in his Attempt upon *Rome*, and on that Account had been driven out of the City, to abſolve him from the Excommunication which he had incurred, to revoke the Sentence iſſued by *Urban* VI. againſt his Father *Charles* of *Durazzo*, and to reinſtate him (*Ladiſlaus*) in the Government of *Campania*, which he had granted him in the firſt Year of his Pontificate for the Term of three Years. Theſe Articles being agreed to, *Innocent* not only repealed the Excommunica-

Year of Chriſt 1406. *The King ſubmits, and is abſolved.*

Year of Christ 1406.

tion againſt the King, but appointed him Defender and Standard-bearer of the Church [a].

The French *withdraw anew from the Obedience of* Benedict.

In the mean Time *Benedict*, finding, on his Return to *France*, the King as eagerly bent as ever upon the Way of Ceſſion, ſent Cardinal *de Chalant*, a Man of great Eloquence and Addreſs, to aſſure him that he was ready to reſign, provided the Princes under the Obedience of his Competitor prevailed upon him in like Manner to reſign, or promiſed to withdraw from his Obedience if he did not. The Cardinal enlarged upon the ſincere Deſire his Maſter had of ſeeing Peace and Unity reſtored to the Church, alledging as an Inſtance of it his late Journey to *Italy*; inveighed with great Bitterneſs againſt *Innocent* for refuſing a ſafe Conduct to the Nuncios of *Benedict*, and left the King and his Council to judge upon which of the two the Continuance of the Schiſm was to be charged, upon his Maſter, who undertook a Journey to *Italy* with no other View but to treat of an Accommodation with his Adverſary, or upon his Adverſary, who would hearken to no Treaty. The Affair was referred by the King to the Prelates of the Kingdom, and by them it was determined, that as *Benedict* had promiſed to reſign when they returned under his Obedience, if that ſhould be thought neceſſary or expedient, they ought to withdraw anew from his Obedience if he did not perform, without any Shifts or Subterfuges, what he had promiſed. As for the Intruder, meaning *Innocent*, they left thoſe to deal with him who acknowledged him for lawful Pope, not doubting but if *Benedict* reſigned, they would oblige their Pope, for the Sake of Peace, to follow his Example. The Univerſity of *Toulouſe* had publiſhed a Writing againſt the Way of

[a] Aretin. et de Niem, ubi ſupra, et apud Raynald. ad ann. 1406. num. 7.

of Ceſſion, which was read in the preſent Aſſembly, and being referred by the King to the Parliament of *Paris*, it was by their Order publicly torn in Pieces. The Way of Ceſſion being both by the Parliament and the Members of the Aſſembly thus declared the moſt effectual and expeditious Method of reſtoring Peace, the King by an Edict, dated the 18th of *February* 1407, ordered his Subjects to withdraw anew from the Obedience of *Benedict*, and at the ſame Time forbad them to receive any Benefices at his Hands, or to pay any Thing into the Apoſtolic Chamber, flattering himſelf that his Neceſſities would in the End oblige him to ſubmit, and reſign a Dignity which he could not ſupport. On the 11th of *November* of the ſame Year the *French* Biſhops met again, and it was reſolved that the King ſhould be applied to, and deſired, in the Name of the whole Body of the Clergy, to procure the Aſſembling of a general Council for the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members [b].

Year of Chriſt 1406.

In the mean Time *Innocent* died at *Rome* in the Sixty-ſeventh or Sixty-eighth Year of his Age, having held the See from the 17th of *October* 1404, the Day of his Election, to the 6th of *November* 1406, the Day of his Death. As he died ſuddenly of an Apoplexy, it was reported, and believed by many, that Poiſon had been adminiſtered to him by ſome of his own Court. That Report *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* confutes in a Letter to *Francis*, Lord of *Cortona*, as entirely groundleſs: "I am "not at all ſurprized," ſays *Leonardo* in his Letter, "that the Report concerning the Death of "*Innocent* ſhould have reached you, ſince various "Conjectures and Suſpicions have been whiſpered

Innocent *dies.*

[b] Bochel. l. 4. tit. 21. c. 3. Juvenalis Urſin. in Carol. VI. p. 222. Niem, l. 2. c. 39. Vide Spondan. ad ann. 1406.

Year of Christ 1406.

" about even here in the very House where he " died. As this Court is full of ill-designing Peo- " ple, they are but too apt to suspect Crimes in " others, which they themselves would not scruple " to commit; and some there are who, out of " Love for Calumny, take Delight in spreading " Reports, which they themselves do not credit. " As for myself, so far as I can judge as an Eye- " Witness, I can by no Means doubt of his dying " a natural Death. Who can think otherwise of a " Man of Seventy Years of Age, and a broken " Constitution? He was subject to the Gout, had " been long liable to violent Pains in his Side. " He had had, to my Knowlege, Two Fits of " Apoplexy, a slight one at *Viterbo*, and another at " *Rome* so violent while he was giving public Au- " dience, that had we not hastened to his Assistance, " and supported him, he would have fallen from his " Chair with his Head foremost. We carried him " half dead to his Bed; and his Tongue was so " embarrassed, that he could not articulate a single " Word, *&c.* Four Days before his Death I in- " troduced to him the *Florentine* Ambassadors sent " to acquaint him with the Reduction of *Pisa*. " At their coming into his Bed-Chamber he put " out his Foot from under the Coverings of the " Bed, and offered it to them to kiss, received " them with so much good Humour, and heard " them with so much Patience, that one would " have thought he laboured under no Complaint. " He died in the *Vatican* Palace, and was buried " in *St. Peter*'s &c." *Innocent* is blamed even by those, who commend him the most, on Account of his Nepotism, or the immoderate Affection he bore to his Nephews and Relations, heaping immense Wealth upon them, and preferring them, though

§ Aretin. in Hist. sui temporis.

though not ſo deſerving as many others, to the higheſt Poſts both in State and Church. He is ſaid indeed to have reprimanded his Nephew *Lewis Megliorati* for the Maſſacre ſpoken of above; but it does not appear that he ever inflicted any Puniſhment upon him for ſo enormous a Crime, though it deſerved the ſevereſt. To conclude, *Innocent* for all his good Qualities ſhewed himſelf as little inclined to the Way of Ceſſion as his Competitor, though he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath to embrace it, ſhould it be judged neceſſary or expedient. Year of Chriſt 1406

No Writings of *Innocent* have reached our Times, beſides a Diſcourſe upon *Church Union*, and ſome Letters.

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the Eaſt.* **GREGORY XII.** RUPERT of *Bavaria*, *Emperor of the Weſt.*

The Two Hundredth and Second BISHOP *of* Rome.

UPON the ſudden Death of *Innocent*, his Cardinals, then preſent at *Rome*, and in all Fourteen, were greatly at a Loſs whether they ſhould immediately proceed to a new Election, or ſuſpend it for ſome Time, ſeeing the Antipope had promiſed to reſign upon the Death of *Innocent*, provided his Cardinals elected no other in his Room. But the Cardinals knowing that Promiſe to have been extorted from him by the *French* King much againſt his Will, and conſequently not to be relied on, and at the ſame Time apprehending that, if the Election were delayed, great Commotions would thereupon enſue in the City, it was *Election of Gregory XII.*

Year of Christ 1406.

by them unanimouſly reſolved that the See ſhould be filled as ſoon as poſſible, but that the Perſon elected ſhould bind himſelf in the moſt ſolemn Manner to quit his new Dignity, if the Antipope quitted his. Purſuant to this Reſolution the Fourteen Cardinals entered into the Conclave on the 18th of *November*, and on the 23d of the ſame Month each of them promiſed, ſwore, and vowed, and gave it in Writing, that ſhould he be elected he would lay down the Dignity, if his Competitor did ſo too; that he would acquaint him by Letters with the Promiſe he had made, and exhort him to follow his Example; that he would procure Unity *by all Means* without Fraud or Deceit, and would notify this his Promiſe, Oath, and Vow to all the Chriſtian Kings and Princes, as ſoon as he conveniently could, that they might be Witneſſes of the Obligation, which he had voluntarily laid upon himſelf. Thus *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* and *de Niem*, who were both at this Time in *Rome* [d]. The Cardinals, having all taken this Oath upon the Holy Goſpels without any Limitation or Reſtriction whatever, proceeded immediately to the Election, and on the 2d of *December* choſe with one Conſent *Angelus Corarius*, Cardinal Preſbyter of *St. Mark*, who was crowned on the 19th of the ſame Month, and on that Occaſion took the Name of *Gregory* XII.

His Birth, Education, Employments, &c.

Gregory was a Native of *Venice*, deſcended from a noble and ancient Family of that City. *Urban* VI. preferred him to that Biſhopric, *Boniface* IX. made him titular Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and his immediate Predeceſſor *Innocent* VII. raiſed him to the Dignity of Cardinal.

He

[d] Aretin. in Hiſt. ſui temp. et Epiſt. l. 2. Epiſt. 3. de Niem de Schiſ. l 3. c.

He was not a Man of very ſhining Parts, but of the ſtricteſt Probity; and being greatly advanced in Years, the Cardinals thought that he would rather chuſe to reſign his Dignity, than to hold it, during the ſhort Remainder of his Life, by a Breach of his Oath. He, at firſt, fully anſwered the public Expectation. For he not only renewed and confirmed after his Election the Oath he had taken in the Conclave, but declared over and over again that he was ready to treat with his Competitor about an Union; that what Place ſoever ſhould be appointed for that Purpoſe, he would immediately repair to it, how diſtant ſoever it might be from *Rome*; that were he to go to it by Sea, and could neither be ſupplied with Gallies nor other Veſſels, he would be conveyed to it in a Boat, and were he to go by Land, and wanted Horſes, he would travel to it on Foot, ſupported only by his Staff[e]. At the ſame Time he wrote to his Rival *Benedict*, to acquaint him with his Promotion as well as with the Oath he had taken, and let him know that he was ready to lay down his Dignity the Moment he agreed to lay down his, that the See being thus become vacant, the Cardinals of both Parties might meet and chuſe a third Perſon, whoſe Election would admit of no Diſpute. *Gregory* wrote Letters to the ſame Purpoſe to all Kings, Princes, Republics and Univerſities, expreſſing in them a ſincere Deſire of reſtoring Peace and Unity even at the Expence of his Dignity. Thus *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, who was *Gregory*'s Secretary, and penned, as he informs us, thoſe very Letters[f]. *Benedict* received at *Marſeilles* the Letter directed to him, and immediately anſwered it, congratulating his Competitor upon his good Intentions towards an

Year of Chriſt 1406.

Deſirous of putting an End to the Schiſm.

Writes to his Competitor,

who anſwers his Letter.

Year of Chriſt 1407.

[e] Aretin. et Niem, ubi ſupra. [f] Aretin. ubi ſupra, et apud Raynald. num. 14.

Year of Christ 1407.

Union, and assuring him that he was ready to concur in all Measures to procure it, and to meet him for that Purpose at what Time and what Place both Parties should judge the most proper. The Direction of *Gregory*'s Letter was, *Gregory, Servant of the Servants of God, to* Peter de Luna, *whom some Nations call in this deplorable Schism* Benedict XIII. *wishing him the Love of Peace and Unity*; and the Direction of *Benedict*'s, Benedict *Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to* Angelus *called* Corarius, *whom some, adhering to him in this pernicious Schism, stile* Gregory, *wishing him the Love and Effects of true Peace and Unity* g.

The Two Popes agree to meet at Savona.

Gregory, upon the Receipt of *Benedict*'s Letter, sent his Nephew *Antony de Mota*, Bishop of *Bologna*, *Guillinus*, Bishop of *Todi*, his Treasurer, and *Antony de Brutio*, Doctor of Civil and Canon Law in *Bologna*, with the Character of his Legates to settle the Place and Time of the Congress, which they had both agreed to. The Legates met with a very favourable Reception from *Benedict*, and all Difficulties being removed, it was agreed that the two Competitors and their Cardinals should meet at *Savona*, a small Town on the Coast of *Genoa*, at next *Michaelmas*, the 29th of *September*, or at *Martlemas*, the 11th of *November*, in case *Gregory* could not be supplied with Gallies to convey him thither before that Time; if he had not even then got together the necessary Shipping, the Congress was to be put off till *All Saints* Day, the 1st of *November* h.

Benedict *declines consenting to the Way of Cession.*

As *Gregory* had declared in all his Letters that he was ready to resign, provided his Competitor did so too; the *French* King, to obtain the like Declaration from *Benedict*, sent a solemn Embassy to

g Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1407. num. 1 et 2. h De Niem in Nemore, c. 10. et apud Raynald. num. 4.

to him, consisting of Two Archbishops, Five Bishops, Five Abbots, Two Secular Lords, and Twenty Doctors, with *Simon de Cramaud*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, at their Head. These were enjoined to insist upon *Benedict*'s declaring, in plain Terms, and without any Ambiguity, that he agreed to the Way of Cession, and would resign at the same Time that his Competitor resigned. If they could not extort from him such a Declaration, they were ordered to let him know, that the King would look upon him as the Author of the Schism, and withdraw with his whole Kingdom from his Obedience. The Ambassadors met with a very favourable Reception from *Benedict*, but could obtain no positive and direct Answer with respect to his Resignation. His only Reply was, that he had the Unity of the Church as much at Heart as their Master, and that if a Peace was not concluded they should have no Reason to complain of him, or to charge the Continuance of the Schism to his Account. Year of Christ 1407.

With this Answer some of the Ambassadors returned to the King, while the rest with the Patriarch of *Constantinople* repaired, pursuant to their Instructions, to *Rome*, to attend *Gregory* to the Place of the Conference. They arrived at *Rome* the Beginning of *July*, and being admitted, as soon as they arrived, to the Pope, they found him, to their great Surprize, entirely averse to the intended Interview, though every Thing relating to it had been settled not long before by his Legates with his Approbation and Consent. As the whole State of *Genoa* was then under the Dominion of *France*, where *Benedict* was acknowledged, he excepted on that Account against *Savona*, and when the Ambassadors to remove that Exception offered him a safe Conduct both from the King and the *Gallican* Church,

Gregory declines the intended Interview.

Year of Christ 1407.

Church, he had Recourſe to the Plea of Poverty, pretending not to have wherewithal to defray the Expences of the Journey. But the Ambaſſadors, to leave him no Colour or Pretence for declining the Interview, took upon them to promiſe in their Maſter's Name, that out of his great Zeal for the Unity of the Church he would bear all the Charges of his Journey from *Rome* to *Savona*, and from *Savona* back to *Rome*. *Gregory* was ſome Time at a Loſs how to elude that Offer, but at laſt to gain Time he told them, that it was not fit he ſhould enter into any Engagement whatever, or think of reſigning without firſt acquainting therewith the Princes of his Obedience, and obtaining their Conſent [i]. Thus *Gregory*, who *was ready to treat with his Competitor about an Union in any Place whatever, how diſtant ſoever from* Rome, *and to repair to it by Land on Foot if Horſes were wanting, or by Sea in a Boat if he could not be ſupplied with Gallies.* It grieved all who knew *Gregory*, ſays here *de Niem*, to ſee a Man, who had lived to the Age of Fourſcore with an untainted Character, thus ſacrificing his Reputation as well as his Conſcience to an unſeaſonable Ambition, and recurring, without Shame or Remorſe, to the moſt pitiful Shifts and Subterfuges to hold a Dignity, which he had bound himſelf by the moſt ſolemn Oaths to reſign. This Conduct, ſo contrary to all his Declarations, was entirely owing, if his Secretary *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* may be credited, to his Nephew and Relations, who had a great Influence over him, and left nothing unattempted to divert him from parting with the Power of aggrandizing and enriching them [k].

Benedict was no leſs averſe to the propoſed Interview than *Gregory*, and no leſs determined to retain

[i] De Niem, ubi ſupra, et Aretin. l. 2. Epiſt. 7. [k] Aretin. l. 2. Epiſt. 7.

tain at all Events his Dignity. However, he was no ſooner informed that his Competitor had changed his Mind, and declined meeting him, than he flew to *Savona*, the Place where they had agreed to meet, and wrote from thence to all the Princes of his Obedience, to let them know, that he was ready to treat with his Competitor about an Union, and was come with that View to the Place, which his Competitor himſelf had choſen for that Purpoſe. But *Gregory*, though moſt earneſtly intreated by all his Cardinals to repair to the ſame Place, could not be prevailed upon to ſtir from *Rome* till the Commotions raiſed there by the Friends of King *Ladiſlaus* obliged him to quit that City; and he then retired firſt to *Viterbo*, and ſoon after to *Siena*. As he ſeemed to have laid aſide all Thoughts of meeting his Adverſary, his Cardinals began, during his Stay in the laſt-mentioned City, to importune him anew to repair, without further Delay, to the Place of the Congreſs, urging that, if he declined it, the World would charge, and not without Reaſon, the Continuance of the Schiſm upon him. *Gregory*, finding himſelf thus preſſed not only by the Cardinals, but by moſt of the Cities of *Italy*, to fulfil his Engagements, in order to redeem himſelf from their Importunities, offered, in a Conſiſtory called for that Purpoſe, to reſign his Dignity upon certain Conditions without going to *Savona*, where, he ſaid, he could not avoid, without a Miracle, the Snares, which he had certain Intelligence his Enemies had laid for him. The Conditions he required were, that he ſhould be reſtored to the Patriarchate of *Conſtantinople*, which he had given up upon his Promotion, and ſhould be allowed to hold ſome Benefices, which he was poſſeſſed of in the State of *Venice*; that to them ſhould be added the Archbiſhopric of *York*, or the Biſhopric of *Oxford*, which were

Year of Chriſt 1407.

Various Shifts uſed by Gregory *to avoid it.*

Year of Chriſt 1407.

were both ſaid to be vacant, and that ſome Territories or Lordſhips, belonging to the *Roman* Church, which he ſpecified, ſhould be granted to his three Nephews *Mark*, *Francis*, and *Paul*, to be held by them and their Heirs for ever. Theſe were pretty extraordinary Demands, and yet when the Cardinals had agreed to them contrary to his Expectation, *Gregory* ſtill put off his Reſignation till a Promiſe in Writing was obtained from his Competitor of reſigning at the Time he ſhould reſign, ſince Peace, he ſaid, could only be reſtored by the Abdication or Ceſſion of both[1].

Both equally averſe to an Union.

In the mean Time *Benedict*, having waited at *Savona* for the Arrival of *Gregory* till *All Saints Day*, the laſt Term fixed for their Meeting, went from thence in the Beginning of *January*, 1408, on board the Gallies of *Genoa* to *Porto Venere*, in order to be nearer at hand, as he gave out, to treat with *Gregory*. On the other hand *Gregory*, hearing of his Arrival at that Place, left *Siena* in the latter-end of *January*, and removed to *Lucca*, leſs diſtant from *Porto Venere*. During their Stay in thoſe two Places many Letters and Embaſſies paſſed between them, and Nuncios were daily ſent from the one to the other, both pretending great Zeal for the Unity of the Church, while both were equally averſe to the Means of procuring it. The anonymous Writer of *Bourdeaux*, who was at this Time with Gregory, tells us, that *Benedict* having ſent the two Archbiſhops of *Rouen* and *Taracon* to propoſe a Congreſs between the contending Parties, and ſettle the Place of their Meeting, ſome in the Retinue of the latter privately diſſuaded *Gregory* from hearkening to any Propoſals of that Nature, telling him, that he had better ſhare the Popedom with

[1] De Niem in Nemore Unionis, tract. 6. c. 31. & de Schiſm. c. 20.

with another than be no Pope [m]. Indeed that both thought ſo, and meant no more than to impoſe upon the World, is but too plain from their whole Conduct. *Benedict* had been always looked upon as a cunning, artful, and deceitful Man, whereas *Gregory* had been univerſally held in the greateſt Eſteem, not only for his exemplary Piety, but for the ſtricteſt Honour and Honeſty, having never been known, ſays his Secretary *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, to have failed of his Word till he was Pope, but with his Condition he ſeemed to have changed his Nature, recurring to the moſt pitiful Shifts to elude the moſt ſolemn Engagements, and ſticking at nothing to hold a Dignity which he had bound himſelf by the moſt awful Oaths to reſign [n]. Year of Chriſt 1407.

One of the Oaths, taken by all the Cardinals and by each of them in particular at his entering into the Conclave, was, that ſhould he be elected he would create no new Cardinals till an Union was concluded, or nothing had been left unattempted on his Side to conclude it. This Oath *Gregory* took before he was elected, and confirmed it in the firſt Conſiſtory he held after his Election. However on the 9th of *May* of the preſent Year 1408, when he had not yet taken a ſingle Step towards an Union, but on the contrary excepted againſt every Meaſure tending to promote it, he made a Promotion of four Cardinals. Theſe were *James* of *Udine*, *John Dominici*, a preaching Friar, Archbiſhop of *Raguſa*, *Anthony Corarius*, Biſhop of *Bologna*, his Brother's Son, and *Gabriel Condulmerius*, his Siſter's Son, who was afterwards raiſed to the Pontificate, under the Name

Gregory creates four new Cardinals. Year of Chriſt 1408.

[m] Apud Spond. ad ann. 1408. num. 5. [n] Aretin. l. 2. epiſt. 7.

Year of Chriſt 1408.

Name of *Eugene* IV. None of the old Cardinals would aſſiſt, though invited by *Gregory*, at their Promotion, leſt they ſhould ſeem to countenance ſo notorious a Breach of his Oath. But *Gregory*, as regardleſs of their Remonſtrances as of his own Oath, promoted them nevertheleſs in a Conſiſtory only compoſed of the Auditors of the Rota and a few Biſhops.

Is forſaken by his Cardinals.

The Cardinals, provoked beyond Meaſure at the Conduct of *Gregory*, after various Conſultations among themſelves, reſolved in the End to abandon him, and, leaving him at *Lucca* with his new Cardinals, to retire to ſome other Place. Of this their Deſign *Gregory* was privately informed, and to prevent their carrying it into Execution he forbad them, on Pain of forfeiting their Dignity, of Degradation, and other Penalties, to depart without his Leave from *Lucca*, to hold any Conſultations among themſelves, with thoſe of the oppoſite Party, or with the Ambaſſadors of the King of *France*, and the Univerſity of *Paris*. But notwithſtanding this Prohibition, Cardinal *John Ægidius*, a Man of a moſt unſpotted Character, finding *Gregory* obſtinately bent againſt a Reſignation, and hearkening to none but his Relations, ſecretly withdrew in the Night from *Lucca* to *Piſa*, and was followed the very next Day by moſt of the other Cardinals. Of the whole Conduct of *Gregory*, from the Time he left *Rome* to the Flight of the Cardinals, we have a very particular and curious Account in the following Letter from *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, who was upon the Spot, to a Friend of his, named *Petrillus*, who had quitted the Court and retired to *Naples*.

"We

Year of Chriſt 1408.

" We have both long foreſeen," ſays that Writer in his Letter, " that the Clouds which were " daily gathering, would produce in the End a " terrible Storm; and what we have foreſeen has " happened at laſt. The Cardinals, highly diſſatis- " fied with the Conduct of the Pope, have loſt " all Patience and forſaken him. I commend your " Prudence in not waiting till the Storm overtook " you, but retiring to *Naples* to avoid it. I wiſh I " had done ſo too. But I muſt inform you of " what has happened ſince your Departure. The " Pope leaving *Rome* retired to *Siena*, and though " the Time approached when he was by Agree- " ment to meet his Competitor at *Savona*, he " ſeemed, to the great Scandal of all good Men, to " think of nothing leſs than to make good his En- " gagements. His Competitor repaired to the " appointed Place in due Time, and from thence " inſulted and reproached him in the moſt bitter " Terms with his Backwardneſs. O Shame! O " Grief! We have voluntarily, and upon the moſt " mature Deliberation, fixed the Time and the " Place to treat of an Union, and yet we decline " it! At ſuch a Conduct I am doubly grieved, as " a Chriſtian and as an *Italian*. It grieves me as " a Chriſtian to ſee the Hopes of a ſpeedy Union " amongſt all Chriſtians thus ſuddenly vaniſh. I " am concerned as an *Italian* to find, that my " Countrymen are, for the Conduct of One, ge- " nerally looked upon as Men deſtitute of all Ho- " nour and Honeſty. In ſpeaking thus you will " own, that I ſhew myſelf more jealous of the Ho- " nour of the Pope than they, who by Flattery divert " him from a Deſign that would acquire him im- " mortal Glory. But to return to my Subject, " *Gregory* being now univerſally looked upon as " the Author of the Schiſm on Account of his " declining to meet his Competitor, and treat in

" Perſon

Year of Christ 1408.

" Perſon with him about the Means of reſtoring " Tranquillity, he made a new Propoſal, which " was, that he ſhould repair to *Lucca*, and his Competitor to *Porto Venere*, in order to be nearer at " hand to confer with one another. *Gregory* therefore " leaving *Siena* haſtened to *Lucca*, and *Benedict* to " *Porto Venere*; and being now at no great Diſtance, Letters and Embaſſies paſſed daily between them. Both pretended to have nothing " ſo much at Heart as the Unity of the Church, " but both were equally averſe to the Means of " procuring it. They pretended to be deſirous of " conferring in Perſon, but no Place could be " found that the one or the other did not object " to. *Gregory* excepted againſt all maritime Places, " and *Benedict* againſt all at a Diſtance from the " Sea. You would have thought the one a terreſtrial Animal that hated the Water, and the other " an Aquatic that dreaded the dry Land. This " Conduct gave great Offence to all ſenſible and " well-meaning Men, who could not but ſee that " their Fears were affected, and Dangers were " pretended where there was nothing to fear. All " loudly complained of ſo palpable and criminal " a Colluſion: And how ſhocking it was to ſee " Two Men, both at the Age of Seventy and " upwards, ſacrificing their Reputation, their Conſcience, and the Peace of the Church to their " Ambition, to their Deſire of reigning but a " few Days. As for myſelf, I verily believe, " that *Gregory* meant well, but was ill adviſed. " But, behold! a new Storm unexpectedly ariſes. " *Gregory* reſolves to create new Cardinals, able " to ſupport him againſt the old ones, and calls " with that View, a Conſiſtory, commanding all " the Cardinals to attend. Such a Command " alarmed the whole College, ſome ſuſpecting one " Thing and others another.

" When

Year of Christ 1408.

" When they were all met the Pope comes out of " his Chamber, places himſelf in his Throne, and " after a ſhort Silence addreſſes them thus: *As* " *there is no depending upon you, I have reſolved to* " *provide the Church with new Cardinals.* So mani- " feſt a Breach of the moſt ſolemn Oath alarmed " all the old Cardinals, and they left nothing un- " attempted to divert him from it. I myſelf ſaw " Cardinal *Colonna* intreating him on his Knees, " with Tears in his Eyes to forbear, or, at leaſt, to " ſuſpend for a while the Execution of a Deſign ſo " prejudicial to his Reputation and Credit. But " his Obſtinacy was proof againſt all Remonſ- " trances. At the breaking up of the Conſiſtory " the Pope forbad the Cardinals to hold any Aſ- " ſemblies among themſelves, or to depart from " *Lucca* without his Leave. But, notwithſtanding " this Prohibition, Cardinal *Ægidius* privately with- " drew from *Lucca*; which the Pope was no " ſooner informed of than he diſpatched ſome of " his Men on Horſe-back after him, with Orders " to bring him back by Force. They overtook " him at a little Town under the Dominion of the " *Florentines*; but in attempting to ſeize him they " were oppoſed by the Garriſon of the Place, not " without ſome Bloodſhed on both Sides. Upon " their Return to *Lucca* the Governor ordered " them to be all put under an Arreſt for commit- " ting Hoſtilities in the Territories of *Florence.* " The Pope, unwilling to diſoblige the *Florentines*, " appointed *Marcellus Strozzi* and me to excuſe to " the Republic, in his Name, the Violence com- " mitted by his Men in their Territories. But " while we were receiving our Inſtructions News " was brought, that the reſt of the Cardinals, not " thinking themſelves ſafe at *Lucca*, had fled " from thence to *Piſa.* Upon that unexpected " Intelligence the Pope diſmiſſed us, in order to

Year of Christ 1408.

" deliberate about other Measures. As the Pope's " Men had been all arrested, the Cardinals laid " hold of that Opportunity to make their Escape, " and they all got safe to *Pisa*. Upon their " Flight the Pope created Four new Ones [o]."

The Cardinals appeal from Gregory.

The Cardinals, in all Seven, the very next Day after their Arrival at *Pisa*, the 13th of *May*, published a Manifesto in Justification of their Conduct, and at the same Time an Appeal from *Gregory* misinformed and acting contrary to Reason, to *Gregory* better informed and acting agreeable to Reason, from *Gregory* as the Vicar of Christ, to Christ himself, who is to judge the Quick and the Dead and the World by Fire, to a General Council, in which and by which the Actions of the High Pontiffs themselves are judged, and approved or condemned, and to the future Pope, it being the Duty of every new Pope to correct what has been done by his Predecessor amiss. In their Manifesto they shewed the Unreasonableness of the Three Commands he had laid upon them, not to depart from *Lucca* without his Premission, not to hold any Assemblies among themselves, nor treat with the Ambassadors of his Competitor, or with those of *France*. Against the First they urged the Danger to which they would have exposed themselves by remaining at *Lucca*, having been informed by Persons worthy of Credit that his Holiness designed to confine them, nay and that some of them were to be put to Death by his Order, had they remained but One Day longer at *Lucca*, which, they said, they had Reason to believe, it being well known that they who were sent after Cardinal *Ægidius* had private Orders to kill him, if he refused to return, or they were by any unforeseen Obstacle prevented from bringing him back. The Second Prohibition, not to meet and consult among themselves

[o] Aretin. lib. 2. ep. 28.

themſelves about the proper Means of reſtoring Tranquillity, they ſhewed to be inconſiſtent with their Duty as Cardinals of the Holy *Roman* Church, it being incumbent upon them, as ſuch, to meet and deliberate about all Matters relating to the Faith, eſpecially to the Schiſms and Hereſies that might ſpring up in the Church. The Third Prohibition, not to treat with the Nuncios of his Competitor or with the Ambaſſadors of *France*, was, they ſaid, evidently repugnant to the Oath which they had all taken, to omit nothing in their Power that was any-ways conducive to the Unity and Peace of the Church, which it was impoſſible to procure without treating and conferring with the adverſe Party. Upon the whole, they concluded thoſe Prohibitions to be no-ways binding, but in themſelves null, and cloſed their Appeal with intreating his Holineſs, as he tendered the Good of the Church and his own Reputation, to revoke them. This Appeal the Cardinals publiſhed in *Piſa*; and it was preſented to the Pope, we are not told by whom, in a full Conſiſtory, while he was delivering to the new Cardinals their Rings and the other Badges of their Dignity. *Gregory* in peruſing it ſaid no more than that it was not worthy of his Notice. But the next Day his Nephew, Cardinal *Antony Corarius*, Chamberlain and Judge in Ordinary of the Apoſtolic See, declared the Cardinals, and thoſe who had fled with them, deprived of all their Benefices, and of all Places of Honour or Profit [p].

Year of Chriſt 1408.

The Cardinals ſent Copies of their Appeal to all the Chriſtian Princes, and cauſed them to be diſperſed all over *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, the *Empire*, and *England*, repreſenting, in the Letters they wrote

And ſend Copies of their Appeal to all the Princes.

[p] Niem de Nemore Unionis, tract. 6. c. 10. & de Schiſ. l. 3. c. 32.

Year of Chriſt 1408.

on that Occaſion, both Popes as equally averſe to an Union, as daily inventing new Pretences to impoſe upon the World, and ſtarting new Difficulties againſt the only Means of redeeming the Church from its preſent unhappy Situation. They therefore exhort the Princes as well as the Prelates of the Church to withdraw from the Obedience of both, to appeal to a General Council or to the future Pope, and in the mean Time to proteſt againſt the Bulls, Monitories, and Ordinances, that either might iſſue q.

Benedict excommunicates all who withdraw from his Obedience.

In *France* the King had already determined, with the Advice of his Council, of the Biſhops, and the Univerſity of *Paris*, to renounce, with his whole Kingdom, all Obedience to *Benedict*, and embrace a Neutrality, that is, to pay no Obedience to the one or the other, if by the Feaſt of the *Aſcenſion*, which in 1408 fell on the 14th of *May*, an End was not put to the Schiſm, and Tranquillity reſtored to the Church. Tnis Determination the King cauſed to be immediately notified in due Form to *Benedict*, by *John de Chateaumomorant* and *John de Tourſay*, whom he ſent for that Purpoſe with the Character of his Ambaſſadors to *Porto Venere*. *Benedict* returned no other Anſwer to the Ambaſſadors, than that he would write to the King and ſend his Letters by his own Meſſengers. He accordingly diſpatched a few Days after Two Meſſengers with a Bull, dated the 19th of *May* of the preceding Year, by which all who ſhould withdraw from the Obedience of the *Roman* Pontiff, by what Dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, were declared excommunicated if they did not return in the Term of Twenty Days under his Obedience. To that Bull *Benedict* added a Brief, forbidding, on Pain of Excommunication, any who had ever acknowleged him

q Idem ibid.

him to withdraw their Obedience from him, and anathematized all who ſhould countenance, or promote, or approve a Neutrality. He was well apprized that the Bull, as well as the Brief, would highly provoke both the King and his Council, and therefore ordered his Meſſengers to withdraw as ſoon as they had delivered them, and make the beſt of their Way out of the Kingdom. The King cauſed both Pieces to be read in a full Council, at which were preſent all the Princes of the Blood, moſt of the Biſhops, and ſeveral Members of the Univerſity, and it was by all agreed, that the Bull and the Brief ſhould be publicly torn, as highly derogatory to the Royal Prerogative, as tending to eſtrange the Minds of the Subjects from their lawful Sovereign, and to raiſe Diſturbances in the Kingdom. They were accordingly torn in Pieces the next Day in the Council; and Meſſengers being diſpatched after thoſe who had brought them, they were both apprehended and conducted under a ſtrong Guard to *Paris*. Being there convicted of bringing ſeditious Papers into the Kingdom, they were conveyed in a Dung-cart from the Priſon to the Square before the Royal Palace in Black Tunics, with Paper Mitres on their Heads. Upon their Tunics were painted the Arms of *Benedict* reverſed, with a Placard affixed to them, importing, that they were Impoſtors and Traitors, ſent into the Kingdom by a Traitor. When they had been thus twice expoſed to the Inſults and Fury of the Populace, the one was condemned to perpetual Impriſonment, and the other for three Years only, it appearing that the one knew what was contained in the Diſpatches they had brought, and that the other, a common Courier, was quite ignorant of the Contents [r]. On that Occaſion a Monk

Year of Chriſt 1408.

His Bull torn in Pieces in France.

What Puniſhment inflicted on the Meſſengers who brought it.

[r] Monachus Dionyſ. lib. 28. c. 7.

Year of Christ 1408.

of the Order of the *Trinity* pronounced a Speech fraught with most furious Invectives against *Benedict*, charging him not only with the Continuance of the Schism, but with Heresy and Treason.

Decree of Neutrality published in France.

In the mean Time the King, paying no Regard to the Menaces of *Benedict*, caused the Decree of Neutrality to be published throughout the Kingdom at the appointed Time, the Day after the Festival of the *Ascension*, that is, on the 25th of *May*. By that Edict all were forbidden, on Pain of incurring the King's high Displeasure, to obey thenceforth either of the Pretenders to the Papal Chair till an End was put, by some Means or other, to the present Schism. This Decree the King caused to be communicated by his Ambassadors to all the Christian Princes; and it was readily received, published, and ordered to be observed by the Kings of *Hungary*, of *Bohemia*, and by most of the *German* Princes.

The King writes to the Cardinals of both Parties.

At the same Time the King wrote to the Cardinals of both Parties, exhorting and entreating them, as they tendered the Welfare of the Church and their own Reputation, to join and concur jointly with him in restoring the so long wished-for Unity without any Regard to the pretended Right of either of the Competitors. In his Letter he charges both Popes with a Breach of the most solemn Oaths, with privately acting in concert, and imposing, by a tacit Agreement, upon the rest of the World. He tells the Cardinals, that he has left nothing in his Power unattempted to bring the two Pretenders together, but that they have baffled, by a criminal Collusion, all his Endeavours, the one objecting to all maritime, and the other to all inland Places, as if no Place could be found upon Earth for them to meet in, and consider of the distracted State of the Church.

He

He closes his Letter with declaring both Popes unworthy of that Title, and assuring the Cardinals of his Protection, and all the Assistance he has it in his Power to afford them in carrying into Execution the salutary Measures that they shall agree to. Year of Christ 1408

Benedict was still at *Porto Venere*, carrying on a mock Treaty of Union with *Gregory*; but being privately informed, that the King had ordered Marshal *Boucicaut*, Governor of *Genoa*, to arrest him, if he could by any Means get him into his Power, he embarked in great Haste on board the Gallies of *Genoa* that attended him, and steering for *Spain*, where he thought himself safe, landed in *Catalonia*, and went to reside at *Perpignan*, on the Borders of *Narbonne Gaul*. At his Departure from *Porto Venere* he wrote to *Gregory*, who was still at *Lucca*, to let him know, that, being no longer safe in the Place where he then was, he was upon the Point of removing from thence to another; but that no Distance, however great, should prevent him from completing the Work they had begun, that of restoring Peace to the Church. *Benedict*'s Cardinals, who had retired for the Sake of the Air into the Country, and had been long dissatisfied with his Conduct, finding themselves abandoned by their Pope, resolved to abandon him in their Turn. Having accordingly agreed among themselves to renounce all Obedience to *Benedict*, they resolved in the next Place to repair to *Leghorn*, whither the Cardinals of *Gregory* had retired, and there to deliberate jointly with them about the most effectual Means of obliging both Popes to resign, as there was no Hopes of their doing it voluntarily, and an End could no otherwise be put to the present Divisions. The Cardinals of *Benedict* were received by those of *Gregory* with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy; and after some Conferences

Benedict retires to Spain.

Is abandoned by his Cardinals;

who join those of Gregory, *and appoint a Council to meet at* Pisa.

Year of Christ 1408.

it was agreed by the Cardinals of both Parties, that a General Council ſhould be aſſembled at *Piſa* on the Day of the Annunciation of the Virgin *Mary*, that is, on the 25th of *March*, of the following Year 1409; that the Cardinals of *Gregory*'s Obedience ſhould ſummon to it all who acknowledged *Gregory*, and thoſe of *Benedict*'s Obedience all who had acknowledged *Benedict*; and that the Cardinals of both Parties ſhould make it known to the World, that a perfect Harmony reigned between them, and exhort thoſe, to whom they wrote, to withdraw from the Obedience of both, as the only Means of eſtabliſhing a laſting Peace in the Church [r].

The Meeting of the Council is approved by the Kings of France *and* England.

This Reſolution was immediately communicated to all the Biſhops and Princes of the one and the other Obedience, and by moſt of them highly applauded, eſpecially by the Kings of *France* and *England*, the Cardinals having ſent one of their own Body to acquaint them with their Deſign of aſſembling a general Council, and to beg they would oblige the Biſhops of their reſpective Kingdoms to aſſiſt at it in Perſons if they conveniently could. Both Princes expreſſed great Satisfaction at the Coalition of the two Colleges of Cardinals, and aſſured the Legate, that they ſhould cauſe the Decrees iſſued by them or by the general Council, which they intended to aſſemble, to be complied with throughout their Dominions. The Cardinals took Care to invite both Popes to the Council, and to let them know, that if they did not aſſiſt at it, nor ſend proper Perſons to repreſent them, they would proceed againſt them according to the Canons [t].

Benedict creates new Cardinals;

Benedict, inſtead of anſwering the Summons of the Cardinals, appointed a Council to meet at *Perpig-*

[r] Niem in Nemore, c. 13. [t] Concil, tom. 11. p. 2146.

Perpignan on the 1ſt of *November* of the preſent Year; and in the mean Time, to ſupply the room of the old Cardinals who had left him, he made a Promotion of new ones; of five, according to ſome, of twelve or ſixteen, according to others, who are all named by *de Niem*, *Ciaconius*, and *Onuphrius*; but moſt of them are generally ſuppoſed to have been created afterwards and at different Times. Year of Chriſt 1408.

Benedict, attended by his new Cardinals, opened on the 1ſt of *November*, the appointed Time, his Council at *Perpignan*, conſiſting of about 120 Biſhops, from the Kingdoms of *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, and *Navarre*, and ſome even from *France*, though the King had forbidden any of his Subjects to aſſiſt at it, and even placed Guards upon all the public Roads, with Orders to ſtop all Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtics travelling into *Spain* while the Council was ſitting. As the Aſſembly was entirely compoſed of the Biſhops of *Benedict*'s Obedience, his Conduct, as repreſented by him, was univerſally approved, and the Continuance of the Schiſm charged upon *Gregory*. Thus far they were all of one Mind. But in the ſixth Seſſion, held on the 5th of *December*, being deſired by *Benedict* to ſuggeſt what further Meaſures they thought it expedient or neceſſary for him to purſue, in order to put an effectual Stop to the Evils, attending the preſent Diviſion, and re-eſtabliſh Peace and Unity in the Church, great Diſputes aroſe among them. Some were for his reſigning immediately, and ſending Legates to make a Reſignation in due Form in the Preſence of both the Colleges of Cardinals at *Piſa*. Others declared againſt an immediate Reſignation, and, though they approved of that Meaſure, they were nevertheleſs for its being put off till the Antipope, as they

and aſſembles a Council at Perpignan.

What paſſed in that Council.

Year of Chriſt 1408. they ſtiled *Gregory*, had agreed to reſign at the ſame Time. Many other Expedients were propoſed, all as warmly oppoſed by the one Party as ſupported by the other. During theſe Diſputes the Biſhops, finding that nothing was likely to be determined, began daily to retire from the Council and return to their Sees, inſomuch that they were at laſt reduced to eighteen. Theſe in the Seſſion that was held on the 1ſt of *February* 1409, returned at laſt the following Anſwer to the Queſtion *Benedict* had propoſed in the ſixth Seſſion, That they acknowledged him for lawful Pope, and the only true Vicar of *Chriſt* upon Earth; that they believed him to be no Heretic nor Schiſmatic, nor Favourer of Heretics or Schiſmatics; that they returned him their moſt ſincere Thanks for the Steps he had already taken towards an Union, but at the ſame Time moſt earneſtly entreated his Holineſs to purſue, in Spite of all Oppoſition, the Work he had begun, to prefer the Way of Ceſſion to all others, to extend the Promiſe he had made to reſign (provided his Competitor reſigned) to the Caſe of his Competitor's being depoſed by thoſe of his own Obedience; to take ſuch Meaſures as ſhould effectually prevent the Continuance of the Schiſm, in caſe he died before the Union was concluded; and, laſtly, to ſend Nuncios to the Cardinals aſſembled at *Piſa*, to let them know, that he agreed to theſe Articles, and was ready to fulfil them. Such was the Anſwer the few Biſhops ſtill remaining at *Perpignan* returned to *Benedict*, deſirous to know what further Meaſures he ſhould purſue to put an End to the Schiſm. He thanked the Biſhops for the Zeal they had ſhewn in his Cauſe, the Cauſe of the Church; and, not ſatisfied with promiſing to comply in every Particular with the Advice they had given him, he cauſed a public Inſtrument to be drawn up, containing

taining that Promiſe, which he ſigned, and cauſed all the Biſhops who were preſent to ſign after him [u]. But it ſoon appeared, that he never intended to obſerve this Promiſe, no more than the Oath he had taken at his Election, which gave great Offence to thoſe Biſhops, and eſtranged the Minds of moſt of them from him. Year of Chriſt 1409.

On the other Hand, *Gregory*, being ſtill at *Lucca*, appointed a Council to meet about the Feſtival of *Whitſunday*, at ſome Place to be afterwards named, in the Province of *Aquileia* or the Exarchate of *Ravenna*; and by circular Letters, dated the 2d of *July*, invited to it all the Biſhops of his Obedience, in order to deliberate with them about the Means of healing the preſent Diviſions. He removed ſoon after from *Lucca* to *Siena*, and there on the 19th of *September* created nine new Cardinals, of different Nations, to aſſiſt and ſupport him againſt thoſe lately promoted by his Competitor. From *Siena* he went to *Rimini*, being invited thither by *Charles Malateſta*, Lord of that City, and one of his moſt zealous Friends. During his Stay there he choſe the City of *Udine*, in the Territories of *Venice* and the Dioceſe of *Aquileia*, for the Meeting of his Council; and acquainted therewith the Biſhops of his Obedience by Letters bearing Date the 19th of *December*, in the Third Year of his Pontificate; for he had been crowned on that very Day two Years before [w]. Gregory *appoints a Council to meet at* Udine.

In the mean Time the Cardinals of the one and the other Obedience repairing to *Piſa*, the Council *Council at* Piſa.

[u] Niem de Schiſ. l. 3. c. 67. Surita Indic. Arragon. l. 3. ad ann. 1408.

[w] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1408. num. 67.

Year of Christ 1409.

Council, which they had appointed to meet there, was opened in the Cathedral Church of that City on the 25th of *March*, 1409. It was not very numerous at first, but the Number of the Fathers increasing daily, there were found to be present after the first Sessions 22 Cardinals, 180 Archbishops and Bishops, 300 Abbots, 282 Doctors in Divinity, the 3 *Latin* Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*, and the Ambassadors of the Kings of *France*, *England*, *Sicily*, and most other Princes.

First Session. In the first Session, held on the 25th of *March*, the Mass of the Holy Ghost being celebrated with great Solemnity by one of the Cardinals, a Doctor of Divinity laid before them, in a learned Speech, the distracted State of the Church, pointed out the Means of removing the Evils arising from thence, and exhorted the Fathers unanimously to concur in employing them.

Second, Third, and Fourth Sessions. The next Day, the 26th of *March*, two Cardinals, one Archbishop, and one Bishop, attended by the Advocate for the Council and some Notaries, proceeded by Order of the Council to the Church-gate, and there summoned aloud *Peter de Luna* and *Angelus Corarius* to appear. At the same Time were summoned the Cardinals *de Flisco*, *de Chalant*, and of *Osimo*, who still remained with *Benedict*, and the Cardinal of *Todi*, who had not yet left *Gregory*. As no-body appeared to answer the Summons, the Deputies of the Council, returning to their Seats made their Report, and it was thereupon resolved, that the Council should proceed against the Two Pretenders to the Pontificate as well as the Cardinals who still adhered to them, as obstinately refusing to appear when lawfully summoned.

However,

However all further Proceedings againſt them were put off till the next Seſſion, to that which was to be held on the 30th of *March*. In the mean Time arrived the Cardinals of *Milan* and *Bar*, who had been ſent into *Germany* to invite the Emperor and the *German* Princes to the Council, and brought with them 90 Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and Doctors, who had not been preſent at the preceding Seſſions. As in the Fourth Seſſion, on the 30th of *March*, neither of the Competitors had yet appeared, nor any-body to repreſent them, they were declared guilty of diſobeying a juſt and lawful Summons; and the Sentence was read aloud and ſet up at the Church Door by the Cardinal of *Poitiers* Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*.

Year of Chriſt 1409.

Sentence pronounced againſt the Two Competitors.

The Fifth Seſſion was put off till *Monday* after the Octave of *Eaſter*, that is, till the 15th of *April*, and in the mean Time arrived at *Piſa* Ambaſſadors from the Emperor *Rupert*, whom they ſtiled King of the *Romans*, as he had not yet been crowned at *Rome*. He ſtill adhered to *Gregory*, had refuſed to renounce his Obedience on Account of his having approved of his Election to the Empire and the Depoſition of the Emperor *Wenceſlaus*, and had therefore ſent Ambaſſadors, *viz.* One Archbiſhop, Two Biſhops, and a Canon of *Spire*, not to aſſiſt, in his Name, at the Council, but to ſtart Difficulties againſt it. Being accordingly introduced to the Council at the Fifth Seſſion, on the 15th of *April*, they deſired to know by whoſe Authority the Council was aſſembled, whether the Cardinals could withdraw from the Obedience of the Pope, could convene a General Council, or ſummon the Pope to it? They aſſured the Fathers, that *Gregory* was ready to aſſiſt at the Council, and make good all his Engagements, provided his Competitor promiſed to do ſo too, and the Council was transferred to ſome other Place.

The Fifth and Sixth Seſſions.

Ambaſſadors from the Emperor to the Council.

Year of Christ 1409.

Place. The Fathers desired the Ambassadors to produce their Credentials, and deliver in Writing what they had proposed by Word of Mouth. They complied, not without great Reluctance; but instead of waiting for an Answer to their Questions, which the Council had promised to return at the next Session, they left *Pisa*, without taking Leave, and returned to *Germany*, having first appealed from that Assembly in their Master's Name, and declared, that it belonged to him to convene a General Council, and that no General Council could be lawfully assembled but by his Authority. The Ambassadors withdrew from *Pisa* on the 20th of *April*, and the Council meeting on the 24th, it was by the whole Assembly unanimously declared, that the College of Cardinals had a Power in the present critical Juncture to convene a General Council; that a General Council was the Church Universal, and could proceed to a definitive Sentence; that the Number of Prelates then present was sufficient to form a General Council; that the City of *Pisa* was as proper a Place as any for them to meet at; and that the Two Pretenders to the Pontificate had been sufficiently summoned to it. The Day after the Departure of the Ambassadors *Charles Malatesta*, Lord of *Rimini*, where *Gregory* still was, came to *Pisa*, to beg the Cardinals would transfer the Council to some other Place. But the Four Cardinals, Two of *Benedict*'s Obedience, and Two of *Gregory*'s, appointed by the Council to receive and to hear him, told him, that notwithstanding the great Regard they had for him, they could not grant to him what, for weighty Reasons, they had refused to the King of the *Romans*.

Seventh Session.

The Seventh Session was held on the 24th of *April*, when the Advocate for the Council read aloud from the Pulpit an Account of the Schism from

from its firſt Riſe up to that Time, of the Meaſures that had been purſued to remove it, and of the Obſtacles they had met with from both Pretenders, chuſing rather to leave the Church involved in the utmoſt Confuſion, than to part with their Dignity. When he had done reading, he addreſſed himſelf to the Fathers of the Council, begging they would cauſe the Facts, which he had alledged, to be inquired into, and, if found to be true, to depoſe both Pretenders as alike guilty, to deprive thoſe, who ſtill adhered to either, of their Offices, Benefices, and Dignities, and abſolve all from their Obedience. In the mean Time arrived at *Piſa Simon de Cramaut*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, the Ambaſſadors of the Dukes of *Brabant*, of *Holland*, of the City and Church of *Liege*, the Deputies of the Univerſity of *Paris*, and ſoon after them the Ambaſſadors of the King of *England*, and thoſe of the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*. Year of Chriſt 1409.

In the Eight Seſſion, held on the laſt of *April*, the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, *Robert Alan*, One of the Ambaſſadors from the King of *England*, *Henry* IV. preached before the Council, taking for his Text the Words of the Eighty-ninth Pſalm, *Righteouſneſs and Mercy are the Habitation of thy Seat.* He exhorted the Fathers to complete the great and neceſſary Work which they had begun, which his Maſter, he ſaid, had above all Things at Heart, and had therefore ſent him and his Colleagues with full Powers to condemn or approve in his Name, and in that of the Clergy of his Kingdom, what ſhould be condemned or approved by ſo venerable an Aſſembly. *Walſingham* adds, in the Life of *Henry* IV. that Ambaſſadors were ſent by that Prince to perſuade *Gregory*, if by any Means they could, to ſacrifice his Dignity to the Welfare of the Church, after the Example of the true *Eighth Seſſion.*

Year of Christ 1409.

true Mother, who chose rather to yield her Child to the pretended Mother, than suffer it to be divided between them.

The Ninth and Tenth Session.

The Council met again on the 4th of *May*, when *Peter de Ancharano*, One of the most learned Doctors of *Bologna*, rising up, answered the Questions that had been proposed to the Council by the Ambassadors of *Rupert*, stiling him only Duke of *Bavaria*, shewed that the Two Pretenders had been sufficiently summoned, and that as neither of them had appeared in Compliance with their repeated Summons, the Council might now proceed against them, though absent. Commissioners were accordingly named to hear and examine the Depositions of the Witnesses that were ready to appear, and attest the Facts that the Advocate for the Council had alledged against both the Competitors. The Commissioners were Two Cardinals for the Two Colleges of Cardinals, the Bishop of *Lisieux*, and Three Doctors for the Kingdom of *France*, for *England* One Doctor, One for *Provence*, and Two for *Germany*. In this Session it was ordained that Deputies should be sent to appease *Ladislaus*, King of *Naples*; but we are not told what had provoked him. He was at this Time most zealously attached to *Gregory*, and, perhaps, offended at the Proceedings of the Council against him. The Tenth Session, on the 8th of *May*, was not held in the Cathedral, but in the Church of *St. Michael*, the Festival of his Apparation on Mount *Gargano* being solemnized on that Day. In this Session the Patriarch of *Alexandria* undertook to prove, in Answer to the Questions of the Emperor's Ambassadors, that, in the present distracted State of the Church, the Cardinals not only had a Power to assemble a General Council, but were bound by their Office to convene One. In a Congregation that was held after the Session,

Nicholas,

Nicholas, Biſhop of *Albano*, told the Fathers that Nuncios from *Peter de Luna* were on the Road, and would, as he was informed, arrive in a ſhort Time at *Piſa*, and he therefore deſired that it might be previouſly ſettled how they ſhould be received, and what Regard ſhould be had to them, or whether any. The Affair was left that Day undetermined, but on the next, the 9th of *May*, the Day of the Eleventh Seſſion, it was determined that the Nuncios ſhould be received without any the leaſt Mark of Diſtinction, but ſhould be civilly treated and heard in full Council. Year of Chriſt 1409.

The Eleventh and Twelfth Seſſions.

In the eleventh Seſſion the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* obſerved that ſome of *Benedict*'s Cardinals there preſent had not yet renounced his Obedience, whereas all of the oppoſite Party had withdrawn from the Obedience of *Gregory*; and he was therefore of Opinion that they ſhould all join, and jointly renounce, by a ſolemn Act, all Obedience to both. He was therein ſeconded by the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, by the Biſhop of *Cracow*, Nuncio from the King of *Poland*, and by the Nuncios of *Cologne* and *Mentz*. But the Cardinals, who had not yet withdrawn from the Obedience of *Benedict*, deſired Time to deliberate, which was granted them only till the next Day; when the whole Council, Two Biſhops only excepted, the one an *Engliſhman*, the other a *German*, agreed to the Motion of the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*. A Decree was therefore drawn up and read aloud by the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, importing that the Cardinals, and with them the other Members of the preſent General Council, renounced all Obedience to both the Pretenders to the Pontifical Dignity, as the Authors of the Continuance of the Schiſm, and the inexpreſſible Evils attending it, which they had it in their Power,

Year of Christ 1409.

and were bound by the most solemn Oaths, to remove.

The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Sessions.

In the mean Time the Witnesses against both being examined by the Commissioners, and their Depositions laid before the Council, in the following Sessions, by the Archbishop of *Pisa*, with the Name and Character of each Witness. As the Facts were all notorious, and, besides, attested by Persons of unexceptionable Characters, the Advocate for the Council desired the Fathers would declare them fully proved, and proceed, without further Delay, to the definitive Sentence. The Fathers, however, caused the Two Pretenders to be summoned anew at the Church Door, and on the 28th of *May* put off the pronouncing of the definitive Sentence till the 5th of *June*. The next Day *Peter Plaon*, Doctor in Divinity, reputed one of the most learned Men in the University of *Paris*, preaching before the Council, alledged a great many Reasons to prove the Superiority of the Church, or a general Council, to the Pope, shewed the Conduct of *Peter de Luna* to be not only that of an obstinate Schismatic, but an incorrigible Heretic, altogether unworthy of holding any Dignity in the Church, much more the highest, and closed his Speech with assuring the Fathers, that such was the Opinion not only of the University of *Paris*, but of *Angers*, of *Orleans*, of *Toulouse*. When he had done, the Bishop of *Novara* read from the Pulpit the Opinions of One hundred and Three Professors of Divinity in the University of *Bologna*, all entirely agreeing with those of the *French* Universities.

The Fifteenth Session.

As every Article of the Charge, brought against both Competitors, was now fully proved; and neither appeared, though so often summoned, nor any Body for them, the Council proceeded at last, in the Fifteenth Session, held on the 5th of *June*,

June, to the definitive Sentence. At that Seſſion were preſent One hundred and Seventy Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and mitred Abbots, One hundred and Twenty Doctors in Divinity, Three Hundred Doctors in Civil and Canon Law, and the Ambaſſadors of almoſt all the Chriſtian Princes. When they had all taken their Places, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, attended by the two Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem*, read aloud from the Pulpit the definitive Sentence in the Hearing of an immenſe Multitude, the Church Doors being all opened on that Occaſion. The Sentence was as follows: Year of Chriſt 1409.

" The holy General Council, repreſenting the " Church univerſal, and therefore veſted with the " neceſſary Power finally to determine the preſent " Cauſe, having examined all that has been pro- " duced relative to the Union of the Church, and " the Schiſm between *Peter de Luna*, heretofore " called *Benedict* XIII. and *Angelus Corarius*, ſtiled " *Gregory* XII. pronounce, declare, and define, " upon the moſt mature Deliberation, all the Facts " alledged againſt both Pretenders to the Papal " Dignity to be true, and both to have forfeited, " as Schiſmatics and Heretics, as guilty of Perjury " and a Breach of the moſt ſolemn Vow, all Right " and Title to that Dignity. But though they " have, by their Obſtinacy in fomenting ſo long a " Schiſm, forfeited the Pontifical and every other " Dignity, and *ipſo facto* incurred the Sentence of " Excommunication and the other Cenſures of the " Church, the Council nevertheleſs excommuni- " cates, rejects, and depoſes them, and pronounces " them excommunicated, rejected, and depoſed by " the preſent definitive Sentence; forbids them " henceforth to aſſume the Name of High Pontiffs, " and all Chriſtians, on Pain of Excommunication, " to obey them, or lend them any Aſſiſtance what- " ever; annuls all the Judgments they have

Both Popes depoſed.

Year of Christ 1409.

" hitherto given, or may henceforth give, as well " as the Promotion of Cardinals made lately by " either, by *Angelus Corarius* ſince the 3d of *May* " of the preceding Year, and by *Peter de Luna* " ſince the 15th of *June* of the ſame Year; and " laſtly declares upon the Whole the Apoſtolic " See to be at preſent vacant, and the Cardinals at " Liberty to proceed to a new Election."

Promiſe made by the Cardinals.

In the following Seſſion, held on the 10th of *June*, a Paper was read from the Pulpit by the Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, containing a Promiſe made and ſigned by all the Cardinals who were preſent, that if any of them ſhould be elected to fill the vacant See, he would not diſmiſs the Council, nor ſuffer the Fathers to ſeparate till a Reformation was made of the Church univerſal in its Head as well as its Members, and that if any then abſent, or not of their College, ſhould be elected, the Election ſhould not be publiſhed till he had made the ſame Promiſe. In the ſeventeenth Seſſion, held on the 13th of *June*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, attended by the Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem*, read a Paper from the Pulpit, impowering the Cardinals to proceed to the Election of one lawful and undoubted Pope. The Fathers met again the next Day, when Ambaſſadors appeared before them from the King of *Arragon*, deſiring to be informed of what had paſſed in the Council. They were received with all the Reſpect due to their Character, and told, that in Compliance with their Demand, proper Perſons ſhould be appointed to give them the neceſſary Information. But when they acquainted the Council with the Arrival of the Nuncios of Pope *Benedict* XIII. and deſired they might be heard, they were hiſſed by the whole Aſſembly for ſtiling him Pope, but at the ſame Time

The Nuncios of Benedict *how received.*

Time told, that out of the Regard they had for their Maſter, the Meſſengers of *Peter de Luna* ſhould be heard out of the Council, though by the Canons nothing ought to be heard in Favour of a condemned Heretic. Some Cardinals being therefore appointed to hear them in the Church of *St. Martin*, they deſired, in the firſt Place, to know whether they might ſpeak freely, having a great deal to object to ſome of the Determinations of the Council. The Cardinals returned Anſwer, that they might ſpeak as freely as they pleaſed, provided they ſaid nothing that was injurious to, or reflected on the Council; but the Fathers would ſuffer no Reflections upon ſo auguſt an Aſſembly to paſs with Impunity. Being intimidated with this Anſwer, they demanded Time to deliberate, which was granted them; but the very next Day, the 15th of *June*, they privately withdrew from *Piſa*, and appeared no more. And now the Cardinals who were preſent, in all Twenty-four, being impowered by the Council to elect one true and lawful Pope in the Room of the two whom they had depoſed, reſolved to proceed without Delay to the Election. Year of Chriſt 1409.

Year of Christ 1409.

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East.* ALEXANDER V. RUPERT of *Bavaria*, *Emperor of the West.*

The Two Hundred and Third BISHOP *of* Rome.

Alexander V. *elected.*

THE Nuncios of *Peter de Luna* having left *Piſa* early in the Morning of the 15th of *June*, the Nineteenth Seſſion, as it is called in the Acts of the Council, was held on the ſame Day. In that Seſſion the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt being celebrated by the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, and a Sermon preached by the Biſhop of *Novara*, who took for his Text the Words of the Second Book of *Kings*, Chap. x. Ver. 3. *Look even out the beſt, and ſet him on the Throne*, the Council was adjourned, and the Cardinals, entering in the Evening into the Conclave in the Palace of the Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, remained there till the 26th of *June*, when they unanimouſly elected *Peter* of *Candia*, Cardinal Preſbyter of the Twelve Apoſtles, a Friar *Minorite*, at the Time of his Election about ſeventy Years of Age. He took the Name of *Alexander* V. and immediately after his Election appointed the Council to meet on the 1ſt of the following *July*.

His Birth, Education, Preferments, &c.

Alexander was come of an obſcure Family in the Iſle of *Candia*, ſo obſcure that he never knew, as he himſelf owned, Father, Mother, Brothers, Siſters, or any of his Kindred, but being by no body owned, begged his Bread in the Streets of *Candia*, the Metropolis of the Iſland, which from thence took its Name. In that Condition he was me by a Friar *Minorite*, who, judging from his Countenance of the good Diſpoſition of his Mind, took

took him with him to his Convent, and taught him the Rudiments of the *Latin* Tongue. As he ſhewed a great Inclination to learn, and a very uncommon Capacity, he was, after the uſual Trials, admitted into the Order. In the mean Time the Friar, returning to *Italy* (for he was a Native of that Country) carried his Pupil with him, and repreſenting him to the Superiors of the Order as a very promiſing Youth, prevailed upon them to ſend him to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, at this Time one of the chief Seats, if not the firſt, of Learning. Having ended his Studies there with the Reputation of a very extraordinary Genius, he went to *Paris*, and diſtinguiſhing himſelf in that Univerſity no leſs than he had done at *Oxford*, he was honoured there with the Degree of Doctor in Divinity. He then returned to *Italy*, where *John Galeazzi Viſconti*, Lord of *Milan*, hearing of his Adventures, and being thereupon deſirous to know him, was ſo pleaſed with his Converſation, that he took him into his Protection, and by his Intereſt got him preferred, firſt to the Biſhopric of *Vicenza*, afterwards to that of *Novara*, and laſtly to the Archbiſhopric of *Milan*, from which he was raiſed by *Innocent* VII. to the Dignity of Cardinal, and was therefore commonly called the Cardinal of *Milan*[a]. Such is the Account *Theodoric de Niem* has given us of the Riſe of *Alexander* V.; and his Account, as he not only lived at this Time, but belonged to *Alexander*'s Court, I have preferred to thoſe of others who wrote after him, and differ from him. The *Greek* Name of *Philargus* or *Philaretus*, given to this Pope by ſome Hiſtorians, he muſt have aſſumed, as he knew nothing of his Family or Relations.

Year of Chriſt 1409.

[a] De Niem, de Schiſ. c. 5.

Year of Christ 1409.

Alexander immediately after his Election had, as has has been said, appointed the Council to meet on *Monday* the 1st of *July*, and they met accordingly on that Day, when Cardinal *de Challant* read a Paper signed by all the Cardinals, declaring that they had elected the Cardinal of *Milan* to fill the vacant See, and recommending him and the Church to the Prayers of the Council. The Pope then preached a Sermon, taking for his Text the Words of the Gospel, *There shall be One Fold, and One Pastor*. When he had done, the Cardinal of *St. Eustachius*, *Balthasar Cossa*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Bologna*, from his having been Archdeacon of that Church, read a Decree of the new Pope, confirming all that had been done by the Council, or by the Cardinals from the 3d of *May*, 1408, to the present Time. In this Session, the Twentieth according to the Acts, the Pope gave Notice to the Cardinals and the Council, that he intended to be crowned on the following *Sunday* the 7th of *July*, and appointed them to meet again on the ensuing *Wednesday*, the 10th of the same Month. The Ceremony of the Coronation was performed in the Cathedral of *Pisa* with the usual Solemnity, and the Pope rode, according to Custom, through the City in his Pontificals, attended not only by the Cardinals, but by all the Bishops of the Council on Horseback, clad in White, with their Caparisons of the same Colour [b].

Confirms all the Acts of the Council.

Revokes all Sentences pronounced by either of the Competitors.

In the Twenty-first Session, held at the appointed Time the 10th of *July*, the Pope declared null, and revoked all Sentences pronounced by either of the Competitors against those who were not of their Obedience, or had embraced the Neutrality.

Nothing

[b] Idem ibid.

Nothing elſe was done in this Seſſion, but the Fathers were required to aſſemble again the following *Wedneſday* the 17th of *July*. But that Seſſion was afterwards put off to the 27th of the ſame Month on Account of the Arrival of *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who was acknowleged King of *Naples* by *Alexander* and all the Cardinals, but had been driven out by his Competitor *Ladiſlaus*. He was received by the Cardinals with extraordinary Marks of Honour, was declared by the Pope only lawful King of *Sicily*, that is, of *Naples*, and made the Standard-Bearer of the Church. Year of Chriſt 1409.

In the Twenty-ſecond Seſſion, held on the 27th of *July*, the Pope confirmed all Collations of Benefices, Ordinations, Conſecrations, Tranſlations, *&c.* made by either of the Competitors, provided they were, in other Reſpects, canonical. In this Seſſion it was ordained, that in the Term of three Years another General Council ſhould be convened, that is, in *April* 1412, at ſome Place to be named One Year before that Time. At the ſame Time the Pope generouſly remitted all that was due from the Churches to the Apoſtolic Chamber till the Time of his Election, and exhorted the Cardinals therein to follow his Example, which they all very readily did, except the Cardinal of *Albano*. He likewiſe declared, that he did not intend to reſerve to himſelf the Spoils of deceaſed Biſhops, nor the Revenues of vacant Benefices. *Confirms all Collations of Benefices, &c. made by either.*

The Twenty-third and laſt Seſſion was held on the 7th of *Auguſt*, when it was decreed, that no Goods, Lands, or Eſtates, belonging to the *Roman* or to any other Church, ſhould be ſold or mortgaged before the Meeting of the next General Council; that in the mean Time the Archbiſhops and Biſhops ſhould convene Provincial Synods, the Monks and regular Canons ſhould hold General and *Laſt Seſſion of the Council of* Piſa.

Year of Christ 1409.

and Provincial Chapters, in order to inform themſelves of the prevailing Abuſes, and lay them before the future General Council; that Ambaſſadors ſhould be immediately diſpatched to all the Chriſtian Princes to acquaint them with the Determinations of the Council, and exhort them to ſee what they had determined carried into Execution; and laſtly, that the Council, which was to meet in the Term of Three Years, ſhould be reputed a Continuance of the preſent, and ſhould purſue the Work happily begun, the Reformation of the Church in its Head as well as its Members. After theſe Regulations Leave was granted to the Biſhops to return to their Sees; but they were at the ſame Time required readily to obey the Summons that ſhould be ſent them, after a Three Years Receſs, to meet again and reſume the Work of the ſo much wanted Reformation. And now the Church had in Effect Three Heads. For *Gregory* was ſtill acknowleged by King *Ladiſlaus*, by ſome Cities of *Italy*, and by *Rupert* King of the *Romans*, provoked at *Alexander*'s giving that Title to *Winceſlaus*, King of *Bohemia*. *Benedict* was ſtill obeyed as lawful Pope by the Kings of *Arragon*, of *Caſtile*, of *Scotland*, and the Earl of *Armagnac*, and *Alexander* by all the other Chriſtian Princes.

Council held by Gregory *at* Udine

In the mean Time *Gregory*, on *Corpus Chriſti* Day, the 6th of *June*, opened the Council which he had appointed to meet at *Udine*. But in the Firſt Seſſion nothing was tranſacted on Account of the very ſmall Number of Biſhops preſent at it. The Second Seſſion was put off for a conſiderable Time, and in the mean while the Biſhops of *Malta*, and *Ferentino* were ſent by *Gregory* to order, on Pain of Excommunication, all the Biſhops in the Territories of *Venice* to repair, without Delay, to *Udine* and attend the Council: But the

the Two Nuncios were every where received with the utmoſt Contempt, the *Venetians* having already declared, though *Gregory* was a Native of *Venice*, for the Council of *Piſa* and *Alexander*. However in the Second Seſſion held, on what Day we know not, nor in what Month, the Sentence of Excommunication was thundered out by *Gregory* againſt *Peter de Luna* and *Peter de Candia*, the Election of the one and the other were declared uncanonical and ſacrilegious, both were pronounced Schiſmatics and Heretics, their Acts were all annulled, and all were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to obey the one or the other. In the Third Seſſion, held on the 5th of *September*, *Gregory*, pretending to have of all Things at Heart, the Tranquillity and Peace of the Church, cauſed a Paper to be read by one of the very few Biſhops who were preſent, wherein he declared, calling God to witneſs the Sincerity of his Intentions, that he was ready to reſign, provided *Peter de Luna* and *Peter de Candia* would do ſo too perſonally, at the ſame Time, and in the ſame Place; that he left the ſettling of the Time and Place to *Rupert*, King of the *Romans*, to *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Sicily*, and to *Sigiſmund*, King of *Hungary*. He added, that if the Two Intruders did not agree to theſe Terms, he granted them Leave to aſſemble a General Council of the Three Obediences, at which, he ſaid, he was ready to aſſiſt in Perſon, and to acquieſce in their Decrees, provided his Two Competitors engaged to aſſiſt at it in Perſon as well as he, and to ſtand to the Determination of that Aſſembly [c]. But he had given too many glaring Inſtances of his Inſincerity to be thought now ſincere; and all he ſaid, promiſed, or vowed, was

Year of Chriſt 1409.

[c] Raynald ad ann. 1409. num. 82. Concil. tom. 41. col. 3004.

Year of Christ 1409.

was looked upon as only calculated to gain Time.

His Flight from Udine.

As the *Venetians* had received the Council of *Pisa*, and all ſecular Princes were required by that Council to afford no Retreat in their Dominions to either of the Pretenders to the Apoſtolic See, but on the contrary, to treat them as Schiſmatics, as Heretics, as Rebels to the Church, *Gregory* thinking himſelf no longer ſafe at *Udine*, ſubject to the *Venetians*, reſolved to leave that Place and return to his Friend *Charles Malateſta*, Lord of *Rimini*. But *Anthony*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, whom he had depoſed the Year before, and very unjuſtly, had placed Guards on all the Roads, with Orders to arreſt him and keep him ſtrictly guarded till further Orders. Upon this Intelligence *Gregory*, laying aſide all Thoughts of returning to *Rimini*, wrote to King *Ladiſlaus* to acquaint him with his unhappy Situation, and beg he would ſend him Two Gallies to convey him out of the *Venetian* Territories. The Gallies were immediately ſent, and with them Fifty Men to protect him againſt any ſudden Attack in his Way from *Udine* to the Sea Side. But *Gregory*, not thinking Fifty Men a ſufficient Guard, reſolved to make Uſe of them only to deceive thoſe who lay in wait for him; he ſet out accordingly from *Udine* on Horſe-back in the Diſguiſe of a Merchant, with only Two Men on Foot, having firſt ordered his Confeſſor to follow him at ſome Diſtance in the Pontifical Habit with the Guards, and the Reſt of his Court. They who guarded the Road, being told that the Pope was coming, put themſelves in a Poſture to receive him and his Guards, and in that Hurry let the pretended Merchant paſs unmoleſted. But the poor Confeſſor paid dear for perſonating the Pope; for the Guards ſallying out of their Ambuſcade, as he approached, ſeized him, ſtript him

him of his Pontifical Habit, plundered his Baggage, &c. But while they were thus employed, *Gregory*, making the beſt of his Way to the Sea Side, got ſafe on board his Gallies. When the Guards found out their Miſtake they fell upon the Confeſſor, beat him moſt unmercifully, and having diſcovered in beating him, that he had Money concealed in his Pontifical Habit, they ſtript him naked, and found Five Hundred Florins of Gold ſewed up in his Robes, which they divided among themſelves. The next Day one of the Guards attiring himſelf with all the Pontifical Ornaments taken from the Confeſſor, rid up and down the Streets of *Udine*, affecting all the Gravity of the High Pontiff, and giving his Benediction to immenſe Crowds of People, preſenting themſelves, by Way of Diverſion, or Deriſion, on their Knees before him [d]. Thus ended *Gregory*'s Council. As for himſelf, he arrived ſafe on board the Gallies at *Gaeta*, and was there entertained as lawful Pope by King *Ladiſlaus*.

Year of Chriſt 1409.

To return to *Alexander*; while he was ſtill at *Piſa* he iſſued a Bull in Favour of the Mendicant Orders, eſpecially the *Minorites*, confirming all the Privileges that his Predeceſſors, namely, *Boniface* VIII. and *John* XXII. had granted them, and condemning ſome Propoſitions calculated to deprive them of thoſe Privileges. The Propoſitions were: I. That the Validity of Confeſſions made to the Mendicants is, at leaſt, doubtful, and conſequently that all ought to confeſs to their Pariſh-Prieſts, as the Validity of ſuch Confeſſions has never been queſtioned. II. That ſhould it even be allowed that the Mendicants really have the Power of hearing Confeſſions and abſolving, yet they are guilty of a deadly Sin who apply to them without previouſly

Alexande. *Bull in Favour of the Mendicants.*

[d] Niem, l. 3. c. 45.

Year of Chriſt 1409.

ouſly obtaining Leave of their Pariſh-Prieſt. III. That the Mendicants are equally guilty in hearing the Confeſſions of thoſe who apply to them without the Knowlege and Conſent of their Pariſh-Prieſts. Theſe Propoſitions, and ſome others of the ſame Tendency, *Alexander* condemned as erroneous, and repugnant to the Canons, ordered thoſe who ſhould thenceforth preſume to aſſert, teach, or maintain them, to be reputed and proceeded againſt as Heretics, declared them excommunicated *ipſo facto*, and reſerved to himſelf and his Succeſſors the Power of abſolving them, except at the Point of Death[e]. The Bull is dated at *Piſa*, the 12th of *October* 1409. But the Univerſity of *Paris* proteſted againſt it as ſurreptitious, and derogatory to the undoubted Rights of the Biſhops as well as the Pariſh-Prieſts; and it was not received there till long after *Alexander*'s Time.

The Doctrine of Wickliffe *propagated in* Bohemia.

As the Doctrine of *Wickliffe* began at this Time to take deep Root in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and *John Huſs* was, among the reſt, accuſed to the Pope of holding and propagating that Doctrine, *Alexander* wrote to the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, *Alexander Stingo*, ſtrictly enjoining him to proceed againſt all, who ſhould preſume to defend thoſe impious Tenets, as Heretics, and at the ſame Time ſummoned *John Huſs* to *Rome*, to anſwer at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See the Charge brought againſt him. The Archbiſhop, in Compliance with the Pope's Order, forbad the Doctrine of *Wickliffe* to be taught by any under his Juriſdiction on Pain of incurring the Cenſures of the Church, and other Puniſhments inflicted by the Canons upon Heretics; ordered all, who had any of that Arch-Heretic's Books in their Poſſeſſions, to deliver them up to him, and having thus got Two Hundred Copies

[e] Monachus Dionyſ. l. 29. c. 10.

Copies of them, he cauſed them to be publicly burnt by the Hand of the common Hangman. Year of Chriſt 1409. *John Huſs* received the Summons, but inſtead of obeying it, and appearing perſonally at the Pope's Tribunal, he ſent Two of his Friends to plead his Cauſe for him, and in the mean Time appealed from *Alexander ill-informed to Alexander well-informed*[f]. As I ſhall have frequent Occaſion to ſpeak of *John Huſs* in the Sequel, it will not, I hope, be thought foreign to my Subject to give here ſome Account of a Man, who, in the Times which I am now writing of, became ſo famous in the Hiſtory of the Church.

John Huſs then was a Native of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, being born in a ſmall Town in that Kingdom named *Huſſinetz*; and from thence he was called *John of Huſſinetz*, or *John Huſs*. He ſtudied at the Univerſity of *Prague*, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all his Fellow-Students by the wonderful Progreſs he made in every Branch of Literature. Having ended his Studies, he was appointed Preacher at the famous Chapel at *Bethlehem* in *Prague*, and he there preached with ſuch Zeal againſt the reigning Vices of the Age, that *Sophia* of *Bavaria*, Second Wife of *Wenceſlaus*, King of *Bohemia*, choſe him for her Confeſſor. He was in Proceſs of Time elected Rector of the Univerſity; and that Office he diſcharged to the entire Satisfaction of moſt of the Members of that learned Body. *Trithemius* ſpeaks of him *as a Man of very great Note for his Judgment, Subtlety, Eloquence, and Knowlege of the Scriptures* [g]; and the Jeſuit *Balbinus*, who certainly was not prejudiced in his Favour, gives him the following Character in his Epitome of the Hiſtory of *Bohemia*: *John Huſs*,

[f] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1409. num. 89. [g] Trithem. in Chron. Hirſaug. tom. 2. p. 315.

Year of Christ 1409.

Huſs, ſays that Jeſuit, *was more ſubtle than eloquent; but the Modeſty and Severity of his Manners, his unpoliſhed, auſtere, and entirely blameleſs Life, his pale thin Viſage, his Good-nature, and his Affability to all, even to the meaneſt Perſons, were more perſuaſive than the greateſt Eloquence* [h]. But his *blamleſs Life* could afford him no Protection againſt the Malice and Malevolence of the Clergy. For as he inveighed in all his Sermons, perhaps, with too much Acrimony againſt their Irregularities, they took Occaſion, from ſome Expreſſions he let drop, favourable to *Wickliffe*, to accuſe him to the Pope of holding and propagating the ſame Doctrines that *Wickliffe* had held, and the Church had condemned. But that he was no Heretic, that he taught no Doctrines but what could bear a favourable Conſtruction, even according to the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, ſhall be ſhewn in the Sequel.

The Pope obliged by the Plague t leave Piſa.

In the latter End of the preſent Year 1409 the Pope was obliged, by the Plague that broke out at *Piſa*, to quit that City, and retired firſt to *Prato*, and from thence to *Piſtoia* Two Cities in the Territories of *Florence*, at a ſmall Diſtance from each other. *Alexander* intended to have gone from *Piſtoia* to *Rome*, King *Ladiſlaus*, who had made himſelf Maſter of that City, having been lately driven out of it by *Paul Urſini*, aſſiſted by the *Florentines*, the *Seneſe*, the *Bologneſe*, and other States of *Italy*, jealous of the Power of that warlike Prince. But *Balthaſar Coſſa*, Cardinal Legate of *Bologna*, perſuaded him, contrary to the Opinion of all the other Cardinals, to go firſt to that City; and that with a Deſign, as ſome Writers ſuppoſe, of getting the Cardinals into his Power, and obliging them, ſhould the Pope, who was grown very infirm, die there, to elect him in his Room. He had

Goes to Bologna.

[h] Balbin. l. 4. p. 431.

had been but a very ſhort Time at *Bologna*, when the *Romans* invited him, by a very ſolemn Embaſſy, to come and reſide at *Rome*; and delivered to him the Keys of the City as well as of the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*. The Pope ſeemed inclined to gratify the *Romans*, but Cardinal *Coſſa*, who governed him as he pleaſed, diverted him from it, and kept him under various Pretences at *Bologna*, till he was no longer able to undertake the Journey to *Rome*. His Complaints increaſed daily, and at laſt put an End to his Life in the Night between the 3d and 4th of *May* 1410, in the Seventy-firſt Year of his Age, when he had governed the Church Ten Months and Eight Days. St. *Antonine* writes, that it was ſaid that he had been poiſoned *clyſtere venenato*[g]; and with him *Monſtreletus* agrees as to the Report of Poiſon having been adminiſtered to him. Neither indeed tells us by whom; but one of the Articles of the complicated Charge brought in the Council of *Conſtance* againſt *John* XXIII. the Name Cardinal *Coſſa* aſſumed when raiſed to the Pontificate, was, that aſpiring at the Pontificate he had conſpired againſt Pope *Alexander* of holy Memory, and cauſed him to be poiſoned by *Daniel* of *St. Sophia* his Phyſician.

Year of Chriſt 1409.

Dies there.

Year of Chriſt 1410.

Alexander is repreſented by moſt Authors, who ſpeak of him, as a Man of a remarkably mild Diſpoſition, as one who made it his Buſineſs to oblige all, and never was known to have refuſed any Favour, which he had it in his Power and thought it lawful to grant. His Generoſity bounded upon Prodigality; for being unwilling to diſmiſs any diſſatisfied who applied to him, he gave to all ſo liberally, that he left nothing for himſelf, and uſed therefore to ſay, that he was rich when a Biſhop, was poor when a Cardinal, and a Beggar when

His Character, and Writings.

g Antonin. tit. 22, c. 5.

Year of Christ 1410.

Pope. He was a Man ſtrictly religious, ſays the anonymous Monk of *St. Denys*, a contemporary Writer, and led a moſt holy Life without affecting any extraordinary Sanctity [h]. As to his Learning, he is called by *Platina* a great Orator, and by Cardinal *Ægidius* of *Viterbo* one of the beſt Philoſophers and ableſt Divines of his Time [i]. He wrote Commentaries upon the Four Books of Sentences, ſeveral Philoſophical Pieces, Sermons, Letters, and a Treatiſe on the Immaculate Conception of the *Virgin Mary*, not defining it, but only ſhewing that it is not repugnant to the Faith [k].

[h] Monach. Dioniſ. l. 29. c. 3. [i] Platina in vit. Ægidii in ſecul. 20. [k] Ludvic. Jacob. in Bibliothec. Pontific.

JOHN

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the East.* **JOHN XXIII.** SIGISM. of *Luxemburg*, *Emperor of the West.*

The Two Hundred and Fourth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1410.

John XXIII. *elected.*

ALEXANDER dying, as has been ſaid, in the Night between the 3d and 4th of *May*, his Exequies were performed in the Church of the *Minorites*, where he had choſen to be buried, on the 5th of the ſame Month, and nine Days after the Cardinals, who were preſent, in all ſeventeen, entering, according to Cuſtom, into the Conclave, elected on the 17th Cardinal *Balthaſar Coſſa*, or *Coxa*, then Legate of *Bologna*, who took the Name of *John* XXIII. His Election was at firſt oppoſed by the Three *Roman* Cardinals, and by Cardinal *Francis*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Bourdeuux*. The *Roman* Cardinals were prevailed upon to concur with the reſt. But the Cardinal of *Bourdeaux* proteſted to the laſt againſt the Election, ſaying, that if Cardinal *Coſſa* were to be elected King or Emperor, he might depend upon his Vote and Intereſt, but that he never would conſent to his being elected Pope [k]. *Philip* of *Bergamo* tells us, that as the Cardinals could not agree, they applied to Cardinal *Coſſa*, deſiring him to name the Perſon who ſhould be Pope; that he, after ſome affected Reluctance, deſired them to deliver up to him the Mantle of *St. Peter*, promiſing to give it to the Perſon who ſhould be Pope; and that upon the Cardinals complying with his Requeſt, he threw the Mantle round his Shoulders,

[k] Antoninus, tit. 22. c. 6.

Year of Christ 1410.

saying, *I am Pope* [l]. The Hiſtorian adds, that *Coſſa* having, as Legate, many armed Men under his Command, the Cardinals thought it adviſeable to diſſemble. *Platina* writes, that *Coſſa* was ſaid to have kept a great Number of Troops in *Bologna*, and the neighbouring Country, to oblige the Cardinals to elect him, if they did not do it of their own Accord [m]. *De Niem* reproaches him with bribing the poor Cardinals, thoſe eſpecially of *Gregory*, and purchaſing their Suffrages with large Sums of Money [n]. With him moſt other Authors agree, ſo that according to them the Election of *John* XXIII. if he did not elect himſelf, was owing either to Fear or to Bribery; and he had no better Right to that Dignity than either of the other Two Competitors.

His Birth, Education, Employments, &c.

John was a Native of *Naples*, come of a noble and wealthy Family of that City. He ſtudied the Civil and Canon Law at *Bologna*, and having obtained there the Degree of Doctor, he went from thence to *Rome*, aſpiring even then at the Pontificate. For *Platina* tells us, that being aſked by his Friends whither he was going, he anſwered, *to the Popedom*. *Boniface* IX. then Pope, his Countryman, and well acquainted with his Family, admitted him ſoon after his Arrival among his *Cubicularii*, or Waiters at his Chamber Door, and in Proceſs of Time made him Apoſtolic Protonotary, Archdeacon of *Bologna*, and Cardinal of *St. Eutachius*. He was promoted to the Dignity of Cardinal in 1402, and being ſoon after his Promotion appointed Legate of the Province of *Flaminia*, he recovered the City of *Bologna* from *John Galeazzo*, Lord of *Milan*, and, reſiding there, continued to govern

[l] Philip. de Bergamo, l. 14. [m] Platina, in ejus vita. [n] Niem, de Schiſ. l. 3. c. 53.

govern and plunder that Province to the Time of his Election. He quarrelled with Pope *Gregory* about the Revenues of that Biſhopric, of which he kept the greater Part for himſelf; and being ordered by that Pope to refund, he became one of his moſt inveterate Enemies; and it was chiefly at his Inſtigation that the other Cardinals forſook him. He was one of the chief Promoters of the Council of *Piſa*, and obtained Leave of the *Florentines* for the Council to meet in that City then ſubject to them. In the Conclave, that was held upon the Depoſition of the two Competitors, he exerted all his Intereſt in Favour of *Alexander*, as a Man of great Learning, of an exemplary Life, and one who had no Relations to enrich at the Expence of the Church. As *Alexander*, while Cardinal, placed an entire Confidence in him, was himſelf but very little acquainted with temporal Affairs, and far advanced in Years, *Coſſa* knew that the Government, with reſpect to Temporals, would be left wholly to him, and did not at all doubt but he ſhould be able to diſpoſe Matters ſo as to be elected upon his Death, which might be daily expected, in his Room. He therefore ſpared no Pains, nor Money, if ſome of the contemporary Writers are to be credited, to ſecure the Election of *Alexander*, worthy, ſays *Gobelinus*, in every Reſpect, of the Pontifical Dignity, except the Confidence he blindly repoſed in Cardinal *Coſſa* [n].

Year of Chriſt 1410.

John, thus elected, was inthroned on the Day of his Election, *Saturday* the 17th of *May*; aſſiſted on *Sunday* the 18th in his Pontificals at High Maſs in the Chapel of the Apoſtolic Palace in *Bologna*; was ordained Prieſt, being only Cardinal Deacon, on the following *Saturday* the 24th, and on *Sunday*

Is inthroned, ordained, crowned, &c.

[n] Niem vit. Joan. XXIII. in Gobelin. Perſona ætate 6. c. 90. Leonardus Aretin. p. 257.

Year of Christ 1410.

the 25th consecrated in the Church of St. *Petronius*, tutelary Saint of *Bologna*, and then crowned with the usual Solemnity. *Gobelinus Persona* writes, that many were scandalized, seeing him ride, according to Custom after his Coronation, in the Attire of High Pontiff through the City, which he had governed as a complete Tyrant, and where he was known to have led a worldly Life o.

Writes to all the Bishops.

The new Pope the Day after his Coronation wrote to all the Bishops and Christian Princes to acquaint them with his Promotion, and exhort them to support him against the Two Pretenders to the Pontifical Dignity condemned and deposed by the Church universal; at the same Time he revoked all the Censures, pronounced by either, annulled all their Decrees, and confirmed those of *Alexander* and the Council of *Pisa* p.

Death of the Emperor Rupert.

The Emperor *Rupert* still adhered to *Gregory*, and had gained over some of the *German* Princes to his Party, but fortunately for the new Pope he died at *Oppenheim* soon after his Election. The News of his Death was received with great Joy by the Pope; and he immediately dispatched Nuncios with most pressing Letters to all the Electors in Favour of *Sigismund* of *Luxembourg*, the Son of the Emperor *Charles* IV. Margrave of *Brandenbourg*, and King of *Hungary*. However, the Electors were divided between *Sigismund* and his Cousin *Jodocus*, Marquis of *Moravia*; and some Writers tell us, that the latter was actually elected, but as he died before he was crowned, even with the Silver Crown at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he has not been reckoned amongst the Emperors or Kings of the *Romans*. Upon his Death the Electors met again, and unanimously elected *Sigismund*. In the History of *Bohemia*, by *Dubravius*, we are told that *Sigismund*, who was one

And Election of Sigismund

o Gobelinus, ubi supra. p Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1410.

one of the Electors as Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, being asked the first whom he elect? answered *Myself, for I know myself to be equal to the Empire of the World which is more than I know or can say of any body else.* The Historian adds, that the Electors, taken with his Frankness, all unanimously concurred in his Election q. Thus *Dubravius*, Bishop of *Olmutz*. But *Eberhard Windec*, who was Counsellor to *Sigismund*, and present at his Election, tells us, that upon the Death of *Jodocus* he was, *though absent*, unanimously elected King of the *Romans*. The Bishop therefore must have been misled by false Memoirs, when he wrote that *Sigismund* nominated himself. However that be, the Part the Pope acted on this Occasion gained him the Protection and Good-will of the new Emperor, and they reciprocally engaged to support, protect, and defend one another against all their Enemies.

Year of Christ 1410.

As the late Pope had, by an unbounded, and, as some thought, an ill-understood Generosity, left nothing for himself or his Successor, and *John* stood in great Want of Money to support his Friend *Lewis* of *Anjou* against *Ladislaus* his most inveterate Enemy, he sent the Archbishop of *Pisa* into *France*, to collect the Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Benefices, the Revenues of the vacant Churches, and the Spoils of the deceased Clergy. The Archbishop would, probably, have met with no Opposition in the Execution of his Commission, had he not very unadvisedly pretended all those Branches of the Papal Revenue to be due to the Apostolic Chamber by Civil, Canonical, Natural, and Divine Right. That Claim or Pretension was strongly opposed by the University as well as the Parliament of *Paris*, and by them a Royal Mandate was obtained, forbidding all Ecclesiastics to pay the demanded

The Claims of the Pope opposed in France.

q Dubravius Hist. Bohemiæ, l. 23.

Year of Christ 1410.

manded Subsidies on Pain of forfeiting their Benefices, of Imprisonment, and of other Penalties. It was further resolved, in a numerous Assembly of the Clergy, that if the Legate should employ the Censures of the Church against any who refused to comply with his Demands, an Appeal should be made in the Name of the whole *Gallican* Church to the future Council [r]. However, upon the Pope's representing in a Letter to the Legate, that King *Ladislaus* was making great military Preparations with a Design of reducing the City of *Rome*, and placing *Gregory* anew in the Pontifical Chair, and that without an immediate Supply of Money he could not pretend to oppose him, it was agreed, in an Assembly of the Clergy, that to defeat the wicked Designs of *Ladislaus*, and prevent the reviving of the Schism, a charitable Supply (*Charitativum Subsidium*) should be granted to his Holiness; that is, a Supply by way of Charity, and not out of any Obligation: And thus One Half of the Tenths of Benefices was allowed him, but his Collectors were not suffered to meddle either with the Revenues of vacant Churches or the Spoils of the deceased Clergy [s].

Pope John *returns to* Rome. Year of Christ 1411.

Pope *John*, having now remained near a whole Year at *Bologna*, resolved to leave that City, and, in Compliance with the pressing Instances of the *Romans*, go to *Rome*, the Partizans of King *Ladislaus* and Pope *Gregory* being all driven from thence by *Paul Ursini*, and *Malatesta*, who commanded the Troops of the Republic of *Florence*, sent to the Assistance of the Pope. He set out accordingly for *Rome* in *April* 1411, and on the 11th of that Month, *Holy Saturday*, he made his public Entry into that City, being attended by *Lewis* of *Anjou*, King of *Naples*, by the College of Cardinals,

[r] Monstrelet. l. 1. c. 67. [s] Monstrelet. l. 1 c. 62.

dinals, by a great Number of Prelates, and the Flower of the *Italian* Nobility. He was received with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy, and the next Day, the Feſtival of *Eaſter*, he celebrated Maſs with great Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter*. Being determined to drive *Ladiſlaus* from the Throne, and place *Lewis* of *Anjou* on it in his Room, on the 23d of *April*, *St. George*'s *Day*, after ſolemn Maſs ſaid by himſelf, he bleſſed with the uſual Ceremonies the great Standard of the Church, and the military Standards of the Senate and People of *Rome*. On the 28th of the ſame Month he delivered the Standard of the Church to *Lewis* of *Anjou*, appointing him Commander in Chief againſt *Ladiſlaus*, a declared Enemy of the Church, and *Angelus Corarius*, called heretofore *Gregory* XII. Under him commanded *Paul Urſini*, and *James Sforza*, who had ſerved ſeveral Princes with great Reputation, and was reputed One of the beſt Commanders of his Time. The Pope, who had more of the military Man than the Eccleſiaſtic, was for commanding the Army in Perſon, but being diverted from it by the Cardinals he contented himſelf with reviewing them, and giving them his Bleſſing at their Departure from *Rome*. Upon their entering *Campania* they found *Ladiſlaus* ready to receive them, and an Engagement thereupon enſuing, on the 19th of *May*, that laſted, with great Slaughter on both Sides, from Noon till Night, *Ladiſlaus* was in the End put to Flight, and obliged to take Shelter in the ſtrong Hold of *Rocca Secca*, and from thence to retire with the few Troops, that had the good Luck to eſcape, to *St. Germano*. In this Battle fell the Flower of the Nobility of *Naples*, and Ten Counts with many other Lords of Diſtinction were taken Priſoners.

Year of Chriſt 1411.

And gains a compleat Victory over Ladiſlaus.

This

Year of Christ 1411.

The Pope betrayed by his Generals.

This Victory would have proved decisive had the Conquerors pursued it. But *Paul Ursini*, sensible that his Pay, and the many Advantages, accruing to him from the War, would end with it, declined, under various Pretences, penetrating farther into the Kingdom while the Passes were all open, and gave *Ladislaus* Time to recover from the Consternation he was in, and to recruit his Army quite undisturbed. *Lewis*, finding that the Officers who commanded under him, had combined to cross all his Designs in order to prolong the War, and therefore despairing of being able to pursue it with Success, resigned the Command, and returned to his own Dominions in *France*, declaring to the Pope, whom he acquainted with the Whole, that he would never more concern himself with the Affairs of *Italy*. King *Lewis* brought with him to *Rome* the Military Ensigns taken from the Enemy in the Battle, which the Pope caused to be displayed on the Top of the Tower of *St. Peter*'s Church, and afterwards to be dragged along the Streets in the Dirt, on Occasion of a public Procession he made by way of a Thanksgiving for so signal, and so useless a Victory. *Peter de Umile*, who was present at this Battle, writes, that King *Ladislaus* used often to say, that he was on the First Day in imminent Danger of losing both his Life and his Kingdom, on the Second in Danger of only losing his Kingdom, and on the Third in no Danger of losing the one or the other.

The Pope, satisfied that his Commanders were not to be relied on, that being Soldiers of Fortune, they made it their Study, for the Sake of Pay, to husband the War, dismissed them all, disbanded his Army, and, recurring to his Spiritual Weapons, he first excommunicated *Ladislaus*, and then ordered a Crusade to be preached against him all over *Christendom*. The Bull, issued by the Pope on this Occasion,

Occaſion, was one of the moſt dreadful and furious recorded in Hiſtory. For all Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops were thereby required, on Pain of Excommunication, on all *Sundays* and Feſtivals to excommunicate and anathematize *Ladiſlaus*, with the ringing of Bells and burning of Torches, as guilty of Perjury and Blaſphemy, as a relapſed Heretic, as an Abetter of the Schiſm, as guilty of High Treaſon againſt the Church and *Chriſt*'s Vicar upon Earth. All who adhered to him, who anyways aſſiſted or favoured him, were declared to incur, *ipſo facto*, the Sentence of Excommunication, from which they could only be abſolved at the Point of Death, and though then abſolved were to be deprived of a Chriſtian Burial. Of this no Inſtance has hitherto occurred. Beſides, all were excommunicated, who ſhould preſume to bury the Body of *Ladiſlaus*, or any of his Partizans, and could only be abſolved from that Excommunication by digging up thoſe Bodies, and removing them out of conſecrated Ground. All were exhorted to take the Croſs and engage in this Holy War, and to all who ſerved in it, the ſame Indulgences were granted as to thoſe who went to the Conqueſt of the Holy Land; and beſides, Heaven was promiſed as a certain Reward to ſuch as ſhould die fighting for *Chriſt* and his Church, as if the Cauſe of the Pope, ſtriving to pull down one King and ſet up another, as it beſt ſuited his Temporal Intereſt, were the Cauſe of *Chriſt* and his Church[r].

Year of Chriſt 1411.

Excommunicates Ladiſlaus.

Year of Chriſt 1412.

When this Bull was publiſhed in *Prague*, *John Huſs*, who was then in that City, could not forbear preaching publicly againſt it, as repugnant to the Spirit of the *Chriſtian* Religion, in promiſing the Remiſſion of Sins and the Kingdom of Heaven as a Reward for the ſhedding of *Chriſtian* Blood. The

John Huſs *excommunicated.*

[r] Poggius, l. 4. Monachus Dioniſ. ann. 1412.

Year of Christ 1412. The Pope therefore ſummoned him to *Rome*, and, upon his refuſing to comply with the Summons, he not only excommunicated him, but forbad Divine Service to be performed in any of the Churches of *Prague*, except One, ſo long as *John Huſs*, an excommunicated and condemned Heretic, remained there. *Huſs* wanted not Friends to ſupport him; but, to prevent all Diſturbances, he choſe to withdraw from *Prague* to *Huſſinetz*, the Place of his Nativity, and there he appealed from the Pope to *Jeſus Chriſt* [r].

Peace concluded between the Pope and Ladiſlaus, *and upon what Terms.* In the mean Time *Ladiſlaus*, not a little alarmed at the Pope's Bull, arming all *Chriſtendom* againſt him, thought it adviſeable to conclude, for the preſent, a Peace with him upon the beſt Terms he could obtain, and indeed, upon any, as he intended to keep them no longer than he could break them with Safety. As the King had already raiſed a new and numerous Army, and was upon the Point of invading the Territories of the Church, the Pope, upon the firſt Notice of his pretended pacific Diſpoſition, diſpatched *Nicholas Brancacius*, Cardinal Biſhop of *Albano*, to treat with him. As both were alike deſirous of Peace, a Treaty was ſoon concluded upon Terms equally diſhonourable to both. For the Pope, on his Side, agreed not only to abſolve the King from the Excommunication iſſued out againſt him a few Months before, and to revoke the Bull for the Cruſade, but to acknowlege him for lawful King of *Naples*, though he had hitherto maintained *Lewis* of *Anjou* to have an undoubted Right to that Crown. On the other Hand *Ladiſlaus* engaged to abandon *Gregory*, whom he had hitherto acknowleged for lawful Pope; and he ordered him accordingly to quit his Dominions, allowing him but a few Days to make the neceſſary Pre-

[r] Cochleus Hiſt. Huſſit.

Preparations for his Journey. *Gregory*, thus forſaken by ſo powerful a Protector, left *Gaeta*, where he had reſided ever ſince his Flight from *Udine*, and embarking with his ſmall Retinue on board of two trading Veſſels, arrived ſafe at *Rimini*, and met there with a moſt friendly and honourable Reception from *Charles Malateſta*, who alone adhered to him, as lawful Pope, to the laſt [t]. Year of Chriſt 1412.

As many of the Cardinals created by *Gregory* and *Benedict* were dead, and none had been created by *Alexander*, *John*, on the 6th of *June*, promoted Fourteen, all ſaid to have been Men of great Merit, to that Dignity. Amongſt theſe are reckoned by *Panvinius*, and after him by *Ciaconius*, *Thomas Langley*, Biſhop of *Durham*, and *Robert Alun*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*. But in the Acts of the Council of *Conſtance*, at which the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* was preſent, he is conſtantly ſtiled Biſhop and never Cardinal. Beſides, *Walſingham*, who lived at this Time, takes no Notice of the Promotion of either of theſe Biſhops; and he ſcarce ever paſſes any Thing over in Silence, that redounds to the Honour of his Countrymen. The anonymous Writer of *Bourdeaux*, a contemporary Hiſtorian, ſays, that both thoſe Prelates were nominated to the Dignity of Cardinal, but that neither would except of it. What induced them to decline a Dignity, by all others ſo ambitiouſly ſought for, he has not informed us. Be that as it may, *Godwin*, in his Account of the *Engliſh* Prelates, has made them both Cardinals. *Promotion of Fourteen Cardinals.*

As the late Pope and the Council of *Piſa* had ordered a General Council to be aſſembled, in the Term of Three Years, as a Continuance of that of *Piſa*, *John*, being under no Apprehenſion of any Diſturbance from *Ladiſlaus* after the late Peace, ſummoned, *Council of Rome.*

[t] Raynald. ad ann. 1412.

Year of Christ 1412.

summoned, by his circulatory Letters, all the Prelates of the Church to attend the General Council, that he had appointed to meet at *Rome*, in Compliance with the Order of his Predeceſſor and the General Council of *Piſa*. At this Council few Biſhops were preſent; and all we know of it is, that it met on the 1ſt of *April* 1412, that it was ſtill ſitting in the Beginning of *February* 1413, that it condemned to the Flames the *Dialogue Trialogue*, and all the other Works of *John Wickliffe*, as containing many Errors and Hereſies, and ſummoned thoſe who had any Thing to offer in Defence of his Memory, to appear in the Term of Nine Months, at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See, and offer it freely, leſt he ſhould be condemned as a Heretic, even after his Death. In the mean Time all were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to read, explain, or keep by them any Book or Books bearing the Name of *John Wickliffe*, or to quote any Thing out of them in public or private, but in order to expoſe and confute the Errors and Hereſies, with which they were fraught [v]. This Decree is dated at *Rome* the 6th of *January* 1413, and is ſaid to have been iſſued by the *General Council* aſſembled in that City, though the Number of Biſhops there preſent ſcarce entitled it to the Name of a Council.

Wickliff's *Doctrine condemned.*

Year of Chriſt 1413.

Rome *taken and ranſacked by King* Ladiſlaus.

Ladiſlaus had concluded a Peace with the Pope, as has been ſaid; but it was only with a Deſign to renew the War when he was no longer on his Guard, nor in a Condition to oppoſe him. Finding therefore that he had diſmiſſed his Generals, had diſbanded his Army, and depending upon the late Treaty, thought he had no Enemy to contend with, he drew his Army together in great Haſte on the Borders of the Eccleſiaſtical Territories, and reaching

[v] Cochleus Hiſt. Huſſit. l. 1. Concil. Labbei, tom. 11. col. 2322.

ing *Rome* by a forced March in the Night between the 7th and 8th of *June*, broke down the Wall at an uninhabited Part of the City, and entered with his whole Army before the Citizens knew of his Approach. The Pope however and the Cardinals had the good Luck to make their Eſcape, firſt to *Sutri*, from thence to *Viterbo*, and laſtly to *Florence*, though cloſely purſued by the Army, with Orders to bring them back and deliver them up to the King. The Cruelties practiſed upon ſuch as were known to adhere to the Pope, would exceed all Belief, were they not atteſted by the contemporary Writers, ſome of them Eye-witneſſes of what they relate. Several Prelates were by the King's Order inhumanly maſſacred in their Houſes; ſome of the prime Nobility were either publicly executed or condemned to the Gallies; the Churches, even the *Lateran* and *Vatican*, were ſtripped of all their rich Ornaments, and turned into Stables. The Caſtle of *St. Angelo* held out ſome Days, but being vigorouſly attacked by the King in Perſon and obliged to ſubmit, the Garriſon was put to the Sword, and all who had ſerved in the late War againſt the King and fell into his Hands, underwent the ſame Fate. *Ladiſlaus* had nothing leſs in his View than to make himſelf Maſter of all *Italy*, and it was, as we are told, to ſtrike Terror into the other Cities and States, that he treated the *Romans* with ſo much Severity [w]. The Pope never halted till he reached *Viterbo*, twenty-five Miles diſtant from *Rome*; and *De Niem*, who fled with him, writes, that ſeveral of his Retinue, overcome with the Heat of the Seaſon and the Fatigue of ſo precipitate a Flight, died on the Road, while others were overtaken by the Enemy and moſt barbarouſly uſed. The Pope, having

Year of Chriſt 1413.

The Pope flies to Florence,

[w] Niem in vita Joan. XXIII. & apud Bzovium ad ann. 1413.

Year of Christ 1413.

having rested a few Days at *Viterbo*, continued his Flight through the Territories of *Siena* to *Florence*, and there remained under the Protection of that Republic till the latter End of the Year. In the mean Time *Ladislaus*, having made himself Master of most of the Cities belonging to the Church, encamped with his whole Army at *Perugia*, threatening to invade from thence the neighbouring Territories of the Republic of *Florence*, if they did not oblige the Pope to quit their Dominions. The *Florentines* were, not a little, at a Loss what Part to act on so critical an Occasion, or what Answer to return to the King. But the Pope, unwilling to draw his Friends into a War with so powerful and victorious an Enemy, left their City of his own Accord, and went to reside at *Bologna*. From thence he wrote to all the *Christian* Princes, to acquaint them with the cruel and unjust Persecution he suffered from King *Ladislaus*, and implore their Protection against an Enemy, whom no Favour could soften or gain, no Treaties could bind, no Religion could awe [u].

and from thence retires to Bologna.

The Pope treats with the Emperor about assembling a General Council.

To *Sigismund* (whom I shall call Emperor, though he received not the Imperial Crown at *Rome* till the Year 1433) were sent the Two Cardinals *Anthony de Chalant*, a Native of *Saxony*, and Cardinal Presbyter of *St. Cæcilia*, and *Francis Zabarella* of *Padua*, Cardinal Deacon of the Saints *Cosmus* and *Damianus*. To the Two Cardinals was added *Emanuel Chrysolora*, a Nobleman of the first Rank in *Constantinople*, and One of the first Revivers of Learning in the West. They were ordered to represent to the Emperor the deplorable State of *Italy*, especially of the Dominions of the Church, most miserably oppressed by *Ladislaus*, to engage his Protection against that lawless Tyrant, aiming at nothing less than the Empire

[u] Scipio Amirat. Hist. Flor. i 18. Poggius Hist. Flor. l. 4. & apud Bzovium ubi supra.

pire of *Italy*, and to ſettle the Time and Place for aſſembling a General Council, which alone could put a Stop to the reigning Evils, and unite the Church under One Head. The Pope had reſolved at firſt to leave the naming of the Place to the Emperor, in the public Inſtructions he was to give to his Legates, but at the ſame Time to order them privately to agree to no Place, where the Emperor had more Power or a greater Influence than himſelf: *Ubi Imperator plus poſſit.* He had even marked in a Paper, to be delivered to them, the Names of Places, which alone he allowed them to agree to, thinking that the Succeſs of the Council in his Favour or againſt him wholly depended upon the Place, where it ſhould meet, *in loco Concilii totum eſt.* This his Deſign he communicated to none but his Secretary *Leonardo* of *Arezzo* till the Day, when the Legates came to receive their laſt Inſtructions at their Departure. The Pope admitted them, holding the above-mentioned Paper in his Hand, in order to deliver it to them, and confine them to the Places mentioned therein. But changing, all on a ſudden, his Mind, he acquainted them firſt with the Deſign he had formed, and then tearing the Paper in their Preſence, told them, that as to the Place and every Thing elſe, he entirely relied on their Diſcretion and Prudence. Thus does Divine Providence, concludes the Hiſtorian, often defeat the beſt laid Deſigns of Human Prudence to ſecure the Succeſs of its own [w].

Year of Chriſt 1413.

The Legates met with a moſt favourable Reception from the Emperor, who was then in *Lombardy*, and in the ſeveral Conferences they had with him, the Time and Place of the Meeting of the Council were ſettled. As they were, purſuant to their Inſtructions, to leave the Place to the Choice of the Em-

[w] Leonard. Aretin. de Rebus Ital. p. 288.

Year of Christ 1413.

Emperor, he named the City of *Conſtance*, of the Province of *Mentz*, as the moſt convenient, being, in a Manner, ſituated in the Midſt of the Nations that were to aſſiſt at the Council, and ſpacious enough to receive and to lodge great Numbers of People. The Time was likewiſe fixed, *All Saints Day*, on the 1ſt of *November* of the following Year 1414. The Choice of the Place, when communicated to the Pope, threw him into a Kind of Deſpair. He knew that at *Conſtance* he ſhould be intirely in the Power of the Emperor, who would oblige him to acquieſce in the Decrees iſſued by the Council, however inconſiſtent with his Dignity or Intereſt; and therefore approving anew his former Reſolution of confining his Legates to certain Places, he loudly condemned his own Imprudence and Want of Foreſight in departing ſo inconſiderately from it. However, as he ſtood at this Time in great Need of the Emperors Protection and Favour, he thought it adviſeable to acquieſce y.

The City of Conſtance. *choſen for the Place of the Council.*

All invited by the Emperor to the Council.

The Time and the Place of the Meeting of the Council being thus fixed, the Emperor, by an Edict, dated the 30th of *October*, at a Place in the Dioceſe of *Como* which he calls *Vigiud*, acquainted all Chriſtians therewith, promiſing to all, without Exception, who ſhould repair to it, a ſafe Conduct in coming to it, during their Stay at it, and in their Return from it. He wrote ſoon after from *Lodi* to Pope *Gregory*, who was ſtill at *Rimini* under the Protection of *Charles Malateſta*, exhorting him to concur with the other Prelates of the Church in removing the Diviſions, that, to the Diſgrace of the Chriſtian Name, had ſo long reigned amongſt Chriſtans, and engaging his royal Word that he ſhould come, remain, and return, when he pleaſed, with all Safety.

y Leonard. Aretin. de Rebus Ital. p. 288.

ty [z]. It does not appear that he wrote to *Benedict*, who was ſtill acknowleged in moſt of the Kingdoms of *Spain*. Year of Chriſt 1413.

In the mean Time the Emperor advanced to *Placentia*, and the Pope, being deſirous of conferring with him in Perſon, left *Bologna*, where he had remained ſince the Beginning of *November*, and repaired with his whole Court to *Placentia*. He was there received by *Sigiſmund* with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem; but, after a very ſhort Stay in that City, they both removed to *Lodi*, and there continued conferring frequently together for almoſt the Space of a Month [a]. What was the Subject of their Conferences Hiſtory has not informed us. But we may well ſuppoſe that they chiefly related to the future Council, to the Matters which were to be tranſacted in it, and the Ravages committed in the Dominions of the Church by King *Ladiſlaus*. *Conferences between the Pope and the Emperor.*

The Pope, during his Stay at *Lodi*, confirmed the Choice of the Emperor with reſpect to the Time and the Place of the Meeting of the Council, and iſſued accordingly, on the 9th of *December*, a Bull appointing a General Council to meet in the City of *Conſtance* by the 1ſt of *November*, and requiring all Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. to aſſiſt at it in Perſon or by Deputies, Men of Learning and Probity. The Subſtance of the Bull was, that the Affair of the intended Reformation not being completed by the Council of *Piſa*, as it was not thought expedient to keep the Biſhops any longer from their Sees, his Predeceſſor, *Alexander* V. had referred it to a Council to be aſſembled in the Term of Three Years; that *Alexander* dying in the mean Time, he, his Succeſſor, had convened a Council at *Rome* within the limited Time, but the Number of Bi- *The Pope confirms the Choice of the Emperor with reſpect to the Place and Time of the Council.*

[z] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1413. num. 22. [a] Anton. l. 22. c. 6.

Year of Christ 1413.

ſhops that attended it being too ſmall to undertake ſo great and ſo important a Work, he had reſolved, with the Advice of his Cardinals, to aſſemble another; that this Reſolution had been approved by his beloved Son *Sigiſmund*, King of the *Romans*, they had choſen the City of *Conſtance* for the Place, and the Firſt of *November* of the following Year for the Time of their Meeting; he concluded with confirming that Choice, and promiſing to leave nothing in his Power unattempted to baniſh all Diviſions from the Church, and reſtore the ſo long wiſhed-for Peace and Tranquillity [b].

The Pope paſſes the Winter at Mantua.

From *Lodi* the Pope and the Emperor removed to *Cremona*, and there every Thing relating to the Council being now ſettled, they took Leave of each other till their meeting again at *Conſtance*. The Pope went to *Mantua* to viſit his Friend and Protector *John Gonzaga*, Lord of that City, and paſſed with him the whole Winter. Early in the Spring he returned to *Bologna*, and on the Firſt of *April* 1414 diſpatched from thence *Bartholomew*, Biſhop of *Peſaro*, into *England*, to procure a Subſidy for the Defence of the Church againſt *Ladiſlaus*, who having reduced all St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, all *Umbria*, and great Part of *Flaminia*, was preparing, as the Pope was informed, to lay Siege to *Bologna*. What Succeſs attended the Legate in *England* we know not. But before his return the Pope was delivered from his Fears by the unexpected Death of King *Ladiſlaus*. That Prince was taken dangerouſly ill at *Perugia* when upon the Point of ſetting out at the Head of his victorious Army for *Bologna*, and being conveyed, as his Malady daily increaſed from *Perugia* to *Oſtia*, and from thence by Sea to *Naples*, he died there on the 6th of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year 1414. As he died under the Sentence of Excommunication,

Death of King Ladiſlaus. Year of Chriſt 1414.

[b] Concil. Labbei. tom. 12. col 232.

communication, his Siſter *Joan* II. who ſucceeded him, ordered him to be privately buried in the Church of St. *John*, but a few Years after ſhe cauſed a ſtately Tomb to be erected in the Place where his Remains lay interred, which is to be ſeen to this Day [c]. *Monſtrelet* and after him *Mezeray* tell us that the *Florentines*, apprehending that *Ladiſlaus* intended to fall upon them, bribed a Phyſician of *Perugia* to diſpatch him with Poiſon, and that the Phyſician, with whoſe Daughter the King had a criminal Converſation, firſt poiſoned her, and by her Means conveyed the Poiſon to him [d]. But *Poggius*, *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, and *Antonine*, all Three contemporary Authors, take no Notice of Poiſon being adminiſtered to him, and *Collenius* in his Hiſtory of *Naples* ſpeaks of it doubtfully [e].

Year of Chriſt 1414.

The Pope being now delivered from ſo implacable and powerful an Enemy, and ſtanding no longer in Need of the Emperor's Protection, as the Cities, moſt grievouſly oppreſſed by the Conquerors, were all ready to return under his Obedience, he heartily repented his having conſented to the aſſembling of a Council, eſpecially in a Place, where he ſhould be entirely in the Power of the Emperor, whom he begun to diſtruſt, and indeed not without Reaſon. For *Sigiſmund* had declared in ſome of his Letters to the other Princes, particularly in his Letter to *Charles* of *France*, that his Intention in aſſembling a General Council was to have it determined by the Church, which of the Three, ſtiling themſelves Popes, or whether any of them, had a juſt Title and Right to that Dignity. *John* was therefore ſtrongly inclined to return to *Rome*, not doubting but the *Romans* would receive him with open

The Pope repents his having conſented to the aſſembling of a Council,

[c] Leonard. Aretin. Poggius, Antoninul. [d] Mez ray Abrege, chron. tom. 3. p. 378. [e] Hiſt. Neapol l. 4. p. 387.

Year of Christ 1414.

Arms, and to ſend a Legate to aſſiſt at the Council in his Room. To this he was adviſed by many of his Friends, ſays St. *Antonine*, *eum temporaliter diligentes*, who preferred their own Intereſt to the Reputation of the Pope and the Good of the Church. But the Cardinals repreſenting to him that his Honour was at Stake, that he was under an Engagement with the Emperor to meet him at *Conſtance*; that by ſo manifeſt a Breach of his Word he would incur his high Diſpleaſure, and of a Friend make him his ſworn Enemy; that he had nothing to fear, being lawful Succeſſor to *Alexander* V. whom the Council of *Piſa* had acknowleged for lawful Pope; that his failing of his Word on ſo important an Occaſion would eſtrange from him the Minds of all the Chriſtian Princes, and by them all he would be looked upon as one, more concerned for his own private Intereſt than for the public Welfare of the Church, &c. Upon thoſe Repreſentations he reſolved, at all Adventures, to aſſiſt at the Council in Perſon, However before his Departure from *Bologna* he inſiſted upon the Magiſtrates of *Conſtance* taking the following Oath, that he ſhould be acknowleged by them for the only true and lawful Pope, and received with all the Honours due to that Dignity; that he ſhould be under no Kind of Reſtraint, but be allowed full Liberty to ſtay and depart at his Pleaſure; that during his Stay he ſhould be on all Occaſions treated as true Pope; that his Juriſdiction ſhould be freely exerciſed by him and his Officers, both in Spirituals and Temporals; that if any Attempt ſhould be made upon his Courtiers by any Perſon, belonging to the City of *Conſtance*, or upon any come to aſſiſt at the Council, the Magiſtrates ſhould do immediate Juſtice upon him, as he ſhould do upon his Officers, if they ſhould attempt any Thing upon any of the Citizens; that an inviolable Regard ſhould bepaid to every Safe Conduct

but is perſua'ed by the Cardinals to ſtand to his former Reſolution.

Oath taken by the Magiſtrates of Conſtance.

duct granted by him or his Chamberlain to any Person whatever, provided he be not a rebellious Subject, or an Enemy of the City; that the Magistrates should take care that all the Places of their Territory be free and open, so that all Persons may pass and repass unmolested. These Articles being, by the Emperor's Order, all sworn to by the Magistrates of *Constance*, and a Copy of them, signed by them all, sent to the Pope, he set out as soon as he received them for *Constance*, attended by most of the Cardinals, and a great Number of Prelates and other Persons of Distinction. He left *Bologna* on the First of *October*, but as he travelled very slow and in great State, he did not reach *Constance* till the 29th of that Month. On that Day he made his public Entry in the Attire of High Pontiff, was received at the Gate, and attended by the Magistrates and the Clergy in a Body to the Palace prepared for his Reception [f]. It is remarkable that on this Occasion the Host was carried before the Pope upon a white Pad, with a little Bell at its Neck.

Year of Christ 1414.

The Council was appointed by the Pope and the Emperor to meet on the First of *November* of the present Year 1414. The Pope therefore, having celebrated Mass with great Solemnity on that Day, ordered the First Session to be held on *Saturday* the Third of that Month. On that Day it was held accordingly, but the Number of Prelates being yet very small, and the Emperor not yet arrived, nothing of Moment was transacted; and the Second Session was put off, first to the 27th of *December*, and afterwards to the Month of *March* of the following Year 1415. In the mean Time arrived *John Dominic*, Cardinal of *Ragusa*, with the Character of Legate from *Gregory* XII. who, being lodged by the Magistrates in the Convent of the *Augustinians*,

The Council meets.

First Session.

[f] Rzovius ad ann. 1714. Nauclerus Generatione 28.

Year of Christ 1414.

caused the Arms of *Gregory* to be set up there. But *John* ordered them to be pulled down the following Night; which being looked upon by the Legate and the Partizans of *Gregory* as a Breach of the Peace, a Quarrel would have ensued between them and the Partizans of Pope *John*, had not the Fathers of the Council interposed; and by them it was determined, after many long and warm Debates, that the Arms of *Gregory* ought not to be set up where *John* was acknowleged [g].

John Huss arrives at Constance.

John Huss, of whom I have spoken above, having obtained a Safe Conduct from the Emperor, *commanding all his loving Subjects to let him pass, stop, stay, and return freely without any Hindrance whatever*; resolved to attend the Council, which he thought he might do with all Safety, and give them an Account of his real Doctrine, seeing many Tenets were ascribed to him by his Enemies, which he had never held, but abhorred and detested as much as they. Of this his Resolution he gave public Notice at *Prague* before he left that City, causing Papers to be put up at the Doors of all the Churches to invite those who charged him with Heresy, to *Constance*, to be there Witnesses of his Innocence or his Conviction: The like Papers he caused to be fixed up in all the Places on the Road, through which he passed, that they, who suspected him of Heresy, might repair to *Constance*, and there make it appear before the Pope and the Council that he had taught any Thing repugnant to the Catholic Faith. The Safe Conduct granted to him by the Emperor was dated the 18th of *October*, and he arrived at *Constance* on the 3d of *November* [h].

But

[g] Cerretanus apud Bzovium, ad ann. 1414. [h] Cerretan. apud Bzovium ad hunc ann. et Cocheleus Hist. Hussit. l. 2 c. 48.

But as he continued even at *Conſtance* not only to ſay Maſs daily, though he had been excommunicated by the Pope, but to maintain his Doctrine in private Converſation, and exclaim, perhaps with too much Acrimony, againſt the Irregularities of the Clergy, his Two ſworn Enemies, *Stephen Paletz*, Profeſſor of Divinity in *Prague*, and *Michael de Cauſis*, Pariſh-Prieſt in that City, took Occaſion from thence to inſinuate to the Cardinals, that they would do well to confine him, and prevent him by that Means from propagating his impious Doctrine. A Summons was therefore ſent to him, at their Inſtigation, to appear forthwith before the Pope and the Cardinals, in order to give an Account of his Faith. When he received the Summons, he told thoſe, who brought it, with great Compoſure, that he was come to *Conſtance* to give an Account of his Faith in full Council, and not barely in a private Congregation of the Pope and the Cardinals, but would nevertheleſs comply with the Summons, and retract, if convicted of any the leaſt Error. The Pope and the Cardinals, after a ſhort Examination, diſmiſſed him, entirely ſatisfied, ſo far as appeared, with his Anſwers. However, in a Congregation held the ſame Day in the Afternoon, it was reſolved that he ſhould be committed to Priſon, and he was, purſuant to that Reſolution, carried the ſame Evening, the 28th of *November*, or, as others will have it, the 3d of *December*, to the Houſe of the Chaunter of *Conſtance*, and there confined under a ſtrong Guard. *John de Chlum*, a *Bohemian* Lord, who had accompanied *John Huſs*, being one of his moſt zealous Friends, from *Bohemia* to *Conſtance*, complained, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, to the Pope and the Cardinals of his Impriſonment as an open Violation of the public Faith, and the Emperor's Safe Conduct. As they gave no Ear to his Complaints, only alledging that *Huſs* had no Safe Conduct

Year of Chriſt 1414.

Is impriſoned in Defiance of his Safe Conduct.

Year of Christ 1414.

duct from the Council, he wrote the same Day to the Emperor, to acquaint him with what had passed, and beg that, his Authority as well as his Reputation being at Stake, he would order his Safe Conduct to be strictly observed, and the Prisoner released. *Sigismund*, upon the Receipt of that Letter, dispatched immediately an Order to his Ambassadors at *Constance* to cause *J. Huss* to be set at Liberty, and even to employ Force, and break open the Doors of the Prison, if his Order was not complied with. But the Pope and the Cardinals prevailed upon the Ambassadors to suspend the Execution of that Order till the Arrival of the Emperor, and in the mean Time *Huss* was removed from the Chaunter's House to a Prison in the Convent of the Preaching Friars, and Four Cardinals, Six Archbishops, and several Bishops, with the Generals of the Preaching Friars and the *Minorites*, were appointed to examine him concerning his Doctrine [i].

The *Roman* Catholic Writers, to justify the imprisoning of *J. Huss*, notwithstanding his Safe Conduct, pretend that by maintaining his impious Doctrines, as they call them, even at *Constance*, he rendered himself unworthy of the Protection, to which his Safe Conduct would have otherwise justly intitled him. They add, that he attempted to make his Escape out of *Constance* upon the Arrival of *Paletz* and *de Causis*, who, he knew, could bear Witness to the many Errors, with which he had infected most of the Members of the University of *Prague*. The Pope and the Cardinals would therefore, say they, have been greatly to blame, had they not confined him for all his Safe Conduct, and thus prevented his Return to *Bohemia*, where he had many powerful Friends, and might, with Impunity,

[i] Cochlæus, uba supra.

punity, have propagated his Errors under their Protection. Thus *Pagi*, *Maimbourg*, and others. Year of Christ 1414.
But, I. *Huſs*'s Doctrine, whatever it was, had not yet been condemned by the Council, and conſequently it could be no Crime in him to maintain him at *Conſtance*, or any-where elſe; the rather, as he declared himſelf ready to retract, if convinced of holding any the leaſt Error. II. As he came to *Conſtance* to give an Account of his Doctrine to the Council, and the Emperor had granted him a Safe Conduct for that Purpoſe, the Pope and the Cardinals were evidently guilty of a Breach of the Safe Conduct, as well as of the public Faith, in committing him to Priſon before he had an Opportunity of giving an Account of his Doctrine to the Council. III. Had his Opinions been ever ſo erroneous, he could not yet be reputed a Heretic, nor be impriſoned, or any otherwiſe treated as ſuch, as he declared himſelf ready, if convinced of any Error, to abjure it without Heſitation, and it is not an erroneous Opinion, but Obſtinacy in maintaining it, that makes a Heretic. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel that *Huſs* maintained no Opinions, that were either *impious* or *heretical*, even according to the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, but would have triumphed over all his Enemies, had the Council been diſpoſed to hear him.——As for his attempting to make his Eſcape out of *Conſtance*, the Two contemporary Writers, *Riechental*, Canon of *Conſtance*, and *Dacherius*, Counſellor to the Elector of *Saxony*, both upon the Spot at the Time, relate it as happening after his Impriſonment [k]. Indeed, had it happened before, the Pope, we may be ſure, would not have failed to alledge it; and he could not have alledged a more plauſible Reaſon to juſtify ſuch a Step. Yet when *John de Chlum*, and other *Bohemian*

[k] Apud Lenfant. Hiſt. du Concile de Conſtance, l. 1. p. 58.

Year of Christ 1414

Bohemian Lords, urged the Safe Conduct for the Releaſe of the Priſoner, the Pope, taking no Notice of ſuch an Attempt, returned no other Anſwer, than that the Safe Conduct was not granted by him nor the Council, but only by the Emperor, who could grant no Safe Conduct to the Prejudice of the Faith or the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; that *Huſs*, abuſing his Safe Conduct, had maintained his impious Doctrines even at *Conſtance*, and thereby rendered himſelf unworthy of the Emperor's Protection. Who can ſuppoſe, that if *Huſs* had attempted his Eſcape before his Impriſonment, the Pope would not have urged it to juſtify what he had done, and at the ſame Time to excuſe ſo barefaced a Violation of the Emperor's Safe Conduct? ——Some have pretended, that the Emperor granted a Safe Conduct to *Huſs*, upon Condition he ſubmitted his Doctrine to the Judgment of the Council. But the Words of the Safe Conduct were, *You ſhall let* John Huſs *paſs, ſtop, ſtay, and return freely, without any Hindrance whatever*; where no Condition is expreſſed; and beſides, he was arreſted and impriſoned before he had an Opportunity of ſubmitting his Doctrine to the Judgment of the Council.

The Emperor arrives at Conſtance.

During theſe Tranſactions the Emperor, who had gone to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to be crowned there with the Silver Crown, in order to make a more auguſt Appearance at the Council, arrived on *Chriſtmas-Eve* with the Empreſs, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Queen of *Boſnia*, at a Place on the Lake of *Conſtance* called *Uberlinga*, and embarking there, landed a little before Midnight at *Conſtance*. As the Pope was then celebrating his Firſt Maſs, (for all the Prieſts are allowed to ſay three Maſſes on *Chriſtmas-Eve*) the Emperor haſtened to the Cathedral, and there not only aſſiſted at Divine Service, but ſung the Goſpel in the Habit

bit of a Deacon, a Privilege enjoyed by no Layman but the Emperor. When or by whom this Privilege was granted, we know not; but *Charles* IV. the Father of the preſent Emperor, is the firſt whom we find upon Record to have uſed it, and that on Occaſion of a General Diet of the Empire held at *Mentz* in 1356. The Emperor was applied to ſoon after his Arrival by ſeveral Lords of *Bohemia* in Favour of *John Huſs*, impriſoned in open Defiance of his Safe Conduct. But the Pope and the Cardinals, pretending that in Matters of Faith the Emperor had no Authority to grant a Safe Conduct, had already obtained Leave to proceed, according to the Canons, againſt ſuch as were tainted with Hereſy, notwithſtanding their Safe Conduct. Year of Chriſt 1414.

Of the Number and Quality of the Perſons, who aſſiſted at this Council, we have Liſts made at the Time, and by Perſons upon the Spot, namely, by *Riechental* and *Dacherius*; and according to thoſe Liſts, there were preſent about thirty Cardinals, three or four Patriarchs, twenty Archbiſhops, one hundred and fifty Biſhops, one hundred Abbots, one hundred and fifty other Prelates, ſuch as Priors and Generals of Religious Orders, above two hundred Doctors of Divinity, as well as of Civil and Canon Law, four Electors, *viz.* the Elector *Palatine*, and the Electors of *Mentz*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenbourg*, nineteen Dukes, eighty-three Counts, and prodigious Numbers of other Perſons of Rank, of Eccleſiaſtics of all Conditions, of Ambaſſadors from Princes, and Deputies from Cities, Chapters, and Communities, there being ſcarce any Church, City, State, or Community in *Europe* that had not its Ambaſſadors or Deputies at this Council. As the Pope, the Emperor, the Cardinals, and the other dignified Eccleſiaſtics, as well as the ſecular Princes, had all numerous Retinues, their Number, in all, amounted, if *Blondus* is to be credited, to forty *Number and Quality of the Perſons preſent at the Council.*

Year of Christ 1414.

forty thouſand Perſons and upwards, and their Horſes, according to *Antonine* of *Florence*, to thirty thouſand[l]; inſomuch, that to prevent the total Want of Fodder, that ſoon became very ſcarce, a Decree was iſſued by the Council, allowing to the Pope and the ſovereign Princes twenty Horſes each, and no more, to the Cardinals ten, to the Biſhops five, and three to the Abbots[m].

Both Gregory and Benedict ſend Deputies to the Council.

Gregory and *Benedict* were both invited by the Emperor to aſſiſt at the Council, and both ſent Deputies to aſſiſt in their Room. The Deputies or Nuncios of *Gregory* declared upon their Arrival, that their Maſter was ready to reſign, upon Condition that both his Competitors reſigned; and all of his Obedience, among whom was the Duke of *Bavaria*, ſolemnly engaged to renounce his Obedience, if, in that Caſe, he did not reſign. At the ſame Time all of *Gregory*'s Party joined in petitioning the Emperor and the Fathers of the Council, that *Balthaſar Coſſa*, ſtiling himſelf *John* XXIII. might not be allowed to preſide at the Council, nor even be preſent when the Manner of removing the Schiſm came under Deliberation, as it was not to be doubted but he would oppoſe the moſt effectual of all, the Way of Ceſſion. This gave Occaſion to ſeveral private Conferences, at which the leading Men among the Biſhops were preſent, with ſome of the Cardinals; and by them it was agreed, that a Renunciation was the only Method of reſtoring Tranquillity; that it ſhould be propoſed to the Pope, and all ſhould join in exhorting him to embrace it.

Some material Points ſettled in private Congregations

In theſe Conferences two other Points were ſettled, of no ſmall Importance; *viz.* I. That not only Biſhops, Abbots, and the Deputies of the abſent Biſhops, ſhould be allowed the Privilege of voting, but

[l] Blond. Decad. 2. l. 1. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 6. [m] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1414. num. 13.

but that the ſame Privilege ſhould be granted to all Doctors, whether in Divinity, or in Civil and Canon Law, and even to the Ambaſſadors of Princes, of States and Communities, in what related to the extinguiſhing of the Schiſm, ſince by them the Decrees relating thereunto would be carried into Execution. II. That all preſent at the Council ſhould be comprized under the Four principal Nations, namely, the *Italian*, the *Engliſh*, the *French*, and the *German*; that all Points under Debate ſhould be decided by the Majority, not of ſingle Votes, but of Nations, and that the Majority of Votes in each Nation ſhould be reputed the Vote of that Nation. As the *Italian* Biſhops, depending entirely upon the Pope, exceeded in Number thoſe of all the other Nations together, this Method of voting was contrived to prevent the Pope from becoming, by their Means, abſolute Maſter of the Council. Each Nation had, purſuant to this Regulation, a particular Aſſembly to conſider of the Matters that were to be laid before the Council; in theſe Aſſemblies every Member was at full Liberty to propoſe by Word of Mouth, or in Writing, what he thought expedient for the Good of the Church; they communicated their Reſolutions to each other, and when they had all agreed upon any Article, it was carried, ſigned and ſealed, to the next Seſſion, to be approved by the Council; ſo that the Council only confirmed what had been previouſly determined firſt in the Particular, and afterwards in the General Aſſemblies of the Nations. Year of Chriſt 1414.

The Method of Reſignation propoſed to the Pope, Year of Chriſt 1415.

Theſe Points being ſettled in private Congregations, at which were preſent moſt of the leading Men of the Four Nations, it was thought expedient that they ſhould be notified to the Pope, and that a General Aſſembly of the Nations ſhould be convened for that Purpoſe. A General Aſſembly was accordingly ſummoned to meet in the Pope's Palace, and the

Year of Christ 1414.

the 1st of *March* was the Day fixed for their Meeting, that what was there determined might the next Day be laid before the Council, which after several Prorogations was then to meet the second Time. As it had been concluded by the Nations in their respective Assemblies, that an End could by no other Means be put to the Schism, but by the voluntary Resignation of the Three Competitors, *John*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, a *Frenchman*, and President of the *French* Nation, proposed that Method to the Pope, earnestly intreating him, in the Name of the other Nations, to agree to it, as the only Means of restoring a lasting Peace to the Church. The Pope, to the great Surprize of the whole Assembly, consented to it at once, nay, he drew up himself a Form of Resignation, and finding that the Members of the Assembly were not satisfied with it, he left the Affair to their Wisdom and Discretion, only begging that they would not forget the Regard that was due to his Rank and Dignity. The Deputies of the Nations, availing themselves of his present Disposition, whether real or pretended, drew up and presented to him another Form, which he read first to himself, and then publicly, without complaining in the least of, or objecting to, any of the Articles it contained. It was drawn up in the following Terms: *I Pope* John XXIII. *for the Peace of the whole Christian World, declare, promise, vow, and swear to God, to his Holy Church, and to this Holy Council, to give Peace to the Church by the way of Cession, or Resignation of the Pontificate, and to execute freely and spontaneously what I now promise, in case* Peter de Luna, *and* Angelus Corarius, *called in their Obediences*, Benedict XIII. *and* Gregory XII. *in like Manner resign their pretended Dignity, and also in Case either of Resignation, of Death, or in any other, when my Resignation may give Peace to the Church of God, and extirpate the present Schism.* This Form

who agrees to it.

Form of Resignation drawn up by the Deputies of the Nations.

Form the Pope read the next Day in full Council, and at theſe Words *I vow and ſwear*, he roſe from his Seat, kneeled before the Altar, and laying his Hand upon his Breaſt, ſaid, *I promiſe thus to obſerve it*, then ſitting down again, he finiſhed the reading of it with the ſame Promiſe. When he had done, the Emperor, laying down his Crown, and proſtrating himſelf before him, kiſſed his Foot, and thanked him, in the Name of the whole Council, for his good Reſolution. At the ſame Time the Council, the Princes who were preſent, and the Ambaſſadors of thoſe who were abſent, engaged to ſupport him, to the utmoſt of their Power, againſt his two Competitors, if they followed not his Example [o]. Year of Chriſt 1415.

The ready Compliance of the Pope with every Thing the Council required of him, was chiefly owing to a Memorial, that had been preſented, a few Days before, to the Aſſembly of the Nations againſt him, and contained a long Liſt of moſt atrocious Crimes, which the Author of the Memorial ſaid could be proved by unexceptionable Witneſſes, if the Council would be pleaſed to hear them. As moſt of thoſe Crimes were notorious, the Pope, to prevent a more ſtrict Enquiry into his paſt Life, was for pleading guilty before the Council, and putting them, at the ſame Time, in Mind of the generally received Maxim, that *a Pope could not be depoſed for any Crime, except that of Hereſy*. But from that Reſolution he was diverted by his Friends; and the greater Part of the Deputies of the Nations, not thinking it decent that Crimes of ſo heinous a Nature ſhould be laid before the Public, and narrowly enquired into, they reſolved to ſuppreſs the Memorial, and, taking Advantage of the Pope's preſent Fright, to extort from him his Conſent to a Reſignation; and they ſucceeded therein, as we have *Memorial preſented againſt the Pope.*

[o] Apud Raynald. ad ann. 1415. Acta Concil. col. 184.

Year of Christ 1415.

have seen. But the Council was soon convinced that he never intended to observe what he had so solemnly promised, sworn, and vowed. For, finding that the Emperor, as well as the Deputies of the Nations, insisted upon his actually resigning, he put it off for some Time with fair Words and Promises, and in the mean while applying to his Friend *Frideric*, Duke of *Austria*, he escaped by his Means from *Constance*, and fled to *Schaffausen*, a strong Hold belonging to the Duke, and distant but four *German* Miles from *Constance*. As *Frideric* held many strong Places in the Neighbourhood of *Constance*, and was besides Lord of *Tirol*, the Pope, in passing through that Province, in his Way to the Council, had made a secret Treaty with him, and appointed him Captain-General of all the Troops of the *Roman* Church, with a Salary of six thousand Florins of Gold, to be paid yearly out of the Apostolic Chamber; and the Duke, on his Side, had engaged to bring his Holiness off, if he liked not the Proceedings of the Council, and offered him a safe Retreat in his Dominions. To him therefore the Pope had Recourse, when pressed by the Emperor and the Deputies of the Nations to perform his Promise and resign. The Duke thereupon immediately repaired to *Constance*, and in a private Conference with the Pope by Night, it was agreed, that the Duke should give a Turnament, and his Holiness should make his Escape in Disguise while all were at the Show. The Duke gave accordingly, on the 20th of *March*, that Entertainment then in Vogue above all others, and while the whole City was taken up with it, the Pope, in the Disguise of a Groom, rode through the Croud upon a shabby Horse in the Dusk of the Evening, and got undiscovered to *Schaffausen*. The same Evening he wrote, and sent the next Morning the following Letter to the Emperor to excuse his Flight, and at the same Time

The Pope escapes from Constance to Schaffausen.

He writes from thence to the Emperor.

Time to prevent him from ſuſpecting the Duke of *Auſtria* of having been privy to it. "My dear "Son, by the Grace of Almighty God, I am ar- "rived at *Schaffauſen*, where I enjoy my Liberty, "and Air that agrees with my Conſtitution. I came "hither, unknown to my Son the Duke of *Auſtria*, "not to be exempted from keeping the Promiſe I "have made to abdicate for the Peace of the holy "Church of God, but on the contrary to do it freely "and without endangering my Health." The Direction was, *To my moſt dear Son* Sigiſmund, *King of the* Romans. Year of Chriſt 1415.

The Pope flattered himſelf that by his Abſence the Council would be diſſolved, and the Biſhops would all return to their reſpective Sees. But the Emperor, riding through the City, attended by the Elector *Palatine*, Marſhal of the Empire, with Trumpets ſounding before him, declared that the Council was not diſſolved by the Flight of the Pope, but that he would defend it to the laſt Drop of his Blood; and the celebrated *John Gerſon*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Paris*, made an Oration before the Emperor and the Deputies of the Nations, to prove that a General Council was ſuperior to the Pope, and that its Determinations held good, whether the Pope was preſent or abſent, whether he approved or diſapproved of them [p]. *The Emperor reſolves to ſupport the Council.*

The Third Seſſion was held, notwithſtanding the Abſence of the Pope, on the 25th of *March*, at which were preſent only fifty-ſix Archbiſhops and Biſhops, twenty-five Abbots, and two Cardinals, *Peter d'Ailly*, Cardinal of *Cambray*, and *Franci; Zabarella*, Cardinal of *Florence*, the reſt being gone, or having been ſent by the Council to perſuade the Pope to return, or pretending to be indiſpoſed. At *Articles approved by the Council in the Third Seſſion.*

[p] Acta Concil. apud Labbeum. Concil. tom. 12 col. 1464. Naucler. p. 1046. et Theſaur. novus Anecdot. col. 1684.

Year of Chriſt 1415.

this Seſſion the Cardinal of *Cambray* preſided, and the Emperor aſſiſted in Perſon, attended by the Princes of the Empire, and the Ambaſſadors of all the other Princes. In this Seſſion the following Articles were read by the Cardinal of *Florence*, and approved by all who were preſent; I. That the Council had been lawfully aſſembled in the City of *Conſtance*. II. That it was not diſſolved by the withdrawing of the Pope and the Cardinals. III. That it ſhould not be diſſolved till the Schiſm was removed, and the Church reformed in its Head and Members. IV. That the Biſhops ſhould not depart, without a juſt Cauſe approved by the Deputies of the Nations, till the Council was ended; and laſtly, if they obtained Leave of the Council to depart, they ſhould appoint others to vote for them as their Deputies or Proxies [q].

The Pope's Letter to the French *Nation.*

In the mean Time moſt of the Cardinals, who had been ſent to the Pope, or had followed him of their own Accord, returned to *Conſtance*, and with them the Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, whom the Pope had charged with a Letter to the *French* Nation, to aſſure them that it was not out of Fear, or any Apprehenſion of Danger from his Son the King of the *Romans*, that he had left *Conſtance*, but merely for the Sake of the Air, and that being but at a ſmall Diſtance from the Council, he would readily concur with them in all their Reſolutions as ſoon as communicated to him. But his Stay at *Schaffauſen* was very ſhort; for the Emperor, being certainly informed that the Duke of *Auſtria* had been acceſſary to his Flight, had put that Prince under the Ban of the Empire, and was preparing to invade his Dominions. Upon that Intelligence the Pope, thinking himſelf no longer ſafe at *Schaffauſen*, removed from thence in great Haſte to *Lauffenberg*, a ſtrong

Flies from Schaffauſen.

[q] Acta Concil. ibid.

ſtrong Place on the *Rhine*, belonging likewiſe to the Duke. He had writ, as has been ſaid, but a few Days before, that it was not out of Fear he had left *Conſtance*. But as ſoon as he got out of *Schaffauſen*, he ſent for a Notary and Witneſſes, and in their Preſence declared, that every Thing he had ſworn at *Conſtance* was the Effect of Fear, and that he was not therefore obliged to keep his Oath [r].

Year of Chriſt 1415.

The Fourth Seſſion was held on *Eaſter-Eve*, the 30th of *March*, and the Cardinals were all preſent at it, except thoſe who were indiſpoſed, with about Two Hundred Biſhops, a great Number of Abbots, and the Ambaſſadors of *France*, *England*, *Poland*, *Cyprus*, and *Navarre*. The Emperor aſſiſted in his royal Robes, and the following Articles, drawn up the Day before in a General Aſſembly of the Nations, were read by the Cardinal of *Florence*, and approved by the Council: *That the preſent Council lawfully aſſembled in the City of* Conſtance, *and repreſenting the whole Church militant, holds its Power immediately of Jeſus Chriſt, and all Perſons of whatever State or Dignity (the Papal not excepted) are bound to obey it in what concerns the Faith, the Extirpation of the Schiſm, and the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members.* Thus we have the Superiority of a General Council to the Pope eſtabliſhed and defined by a General Council lawfully aſſembled. What *Schelſtrate* ſays may be true, *viz.* that the Words *concerning the Faith* are not to be found in ſome of the Manuſcripts of the *Vatican* Library. But he owns that they are to be met with in moſt other Manuſcripts as ancient as the Council itſelf, and that in the next Seſſion this very Article was confirmed with the Addition of thoſe Words. The other Articles, approved and confirmed in this

Articles eſtabliſhed by the Council in the Fourth Seſſion.

The Superiority of a General Council to the Pope defined.

[r] Niem. apud Wender. Hardt. tom. 3. p. 403.

Year of Christ 1415.

Session, were, that none of the Officers of the Pope's Court should withdraw from *Constance* without the Permission of the Council, and that his Proceedings against them should be all reputed null; that Three Deputies should be appointed out of each Nation to examine the Reasons that they, who wanted to leave the Council, should alledge for leaving it; that no new Cardinals should be created, and that those alone should be reputed true Cardinals, who had been publicly owned as such before the Pope's Flight from *Constance*.

The Pope notifies his Second Flight.

In the mean Time the Pope notified his second Flight by a Bull dated the 4th of *April*, and addressed to all the Faithful; and in that Bull, openly contradicting again what he writ upon his first Flight to the Emperor, he declares, that he had left *Schaffausen* from a just Apprehension of being put under an Arrest, and thus disabled from executing what he had promised, and that the same Reason had obliged him to retire from *Schaffausen* to *Lauffenberg*. But the Emperor, highly provoked against the Duke of *Austria* for favouring his Escape, and affording him an Asylum in his Dominions, having in the mean Time sent an Army of forty Thousand Men to invade his Territories, the Pope, alarmed at the Progress they made, soon left *Lauffenberg*, and fled first to *Friburg*, and after a short Stay there, to *Brisac*, a very strong Place belonging to the Duke his Protector, and distant three Days Journey from *Constance*. The Council had sent, upon the first Notice they had of his Flight from *Schaffausen*, a solemn Embassy, at the Head of which were the two Cardinals of St. *Mark* and of *Florence*, to invite him back to *Constance*, and assure him, in their Name and the Emperor's, that no Violence should be offered him. If he refused to return, or to appoint Deputies to resign, in due Form, in his Name, they were to let him know that the Council would proceed

A solemn Embassy sent to the Pope by the Council.

proceed againſt him as guilty of Perjury, and the Author of the Schiſm. The Ambaſſadors found him at *Briſac*; and he promiſed to grant them an Audience the next Day. But early in the Morning he left the Place, and went to *Neuenberg*, diſtant two Leagues from *Briſac*. From thence he returned to *Friburg*, and was met there by the Ambaſſadors, who apprehending that he might eſcape early from thence the next Day, as he had done from *Briſac*, went to wait upon him while he was yet in Bed. He received them in a very indecent Poſture, *Scalpendo ſe inferius inverecunde*, heard their Meſſage, and returned to it the following Anſwer; that he was ready to perform his Promiſe, though extorted from him by Fear, and reſign the Dignity to which he had an undoubted Right, upon the following Conditions, and no other. I. That the Emperor ſhould grant him a ſafe Conduct in due Form, ſuch as he himſelf ſhould dictate. II. That a Decree ſhould be iſſued by the Council, granting him entire Freedom and Security, and exempting him from being moleſted upon any Account whatever. III. That a Stop ſhould be put to the War againſt the Duke of *Auſtria*. IV. That after his Reſignation he ſhould be appointed perpetual Legate over all *Italy*, or enjoy, during Life, the *Bologneſe* and the County of *Avignon*, with a yearly Penſion of thirty thouſand Florins of Gold; and laſtly, that he ſhould hold of no Perſon whatever, nor be obliged to give an Account to any Perſon of what he had done, or might thenceforth do[r].

Year of Chriſt 1415.

His Demands.

In the mean Time the fifth Seſſion was held at *Conſtance* on *Saturday* the 6th of *April*, at which preſided Cardinal *Urſini*, Biſhop of *Albano*, and the Emperor aſſiſted in his Imperial Robes with the Electors and other Princes of the Empire. In this

Decrees of the Fifth Seſſion.

[r] Niem. apud Wender. Hardt. tom. 3. p. 403.

Year of Christ 1415.

Session the Determinations of the Fourth were all confirmed, those especially that related to the Superiority of the Council to the Pope; and it was further declared, that the Pope was obliged to obey the Decrees of the Council, and stand to its Decisions; that if he refused to resign, the Faithful should all withdraw their Obedience from him, and he should be looked upon as actually deposed; that his Flight from *Constance* was unlawful, and prejudicial to the Unity of the Church; that if he would return, a most ample safe Conduct should be granted to him, and if he performed his Promise and resigned, he should be provided for, during Life, as should be judged proper by four Persons named by him, and four named by the Council [t].

The Superiority of a General Council to the Pope defined.

As it was defined in the preceding, and confirmed in the present Session, *that Persons of what Rank and Dignity soever (the Papal not excepted) are bound to obey the present Council in what concerns the Faith, the Extirpation of the Schism, and the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members*, the Sticklers for the Papal Supremacy confine that Definition to the present Time, the Time of Schism, when it is not known which of the Pretenders to the Papal Dignity is true and lawful Pope. But in Answer to that it must be observed, I. That the present Council acknowledged *John* XXIII. for lawful Pope; and yet declared him bound to obey the Council in what concerned the Faith, *&c.* which was, in Effect, declaring every Pope, how canonically soever elected, bound to obey a General Council. II. That they actually deposed him at the same Time that they owned him for true and lawful Pope, and consequently believed themselves to be vested with a Power superior to that of a true and lawful Pope.

III.

[t] Idem ibid.

III. That they claimed that Power as repreſenting the whole Church militant, which was declaring the ſame Power to be veſted in every other General Council, as every General Council repreſents the whole Church militant. IV. That the Decrees and Definitions of the preſent Council, and this amongſt the reſt ſubjecting the Pope to a General Council, had ſuch Approbation and Confirmation as has ever been thought ſufficient to make the Decrees of a General Council of unqueſtionable Authority in the Church; and no ſatisfactory Reaſon can be aſſigned why the other Decrees ſhould be received, if this be rejected. In the ſame Seſſion, *Peter d'Ailly*, Cardinal of *Cambray*, *William Philaſterius*, Cardinal of St. *Mark*, *Stephen Coëvret*, Biſhop of *Dol*, *John de Martiniaco*, Abbot of *Citeaux*, and ſeveral Doctors in Divinity and Canon Law were named by the Council to examine the Doctrine of *John Wickliffe*, and *John Huſs*, who was ſtill kept cloſely confined, and not yet allowed to appear before the Council, to which he had appealed. Year of Chriſt 1415.

The Sixth Seſſion. The Deputies of the Nations draw up a Form of Renunciation to be ſent to the Pope.

The Sixth Seſſion was held on *Wedneſday* the 17th of *April*, at which preſided *John de Brogni*, as he did at all the reſt till the Election of a new Pope, being the oldeſt Cardinal and Dean of the College; for he had been preferred to that Dignity by *Clement* VII. in 1385. He was at this Time Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and Vice-Chancellor of the Holy *Roman* Church, but from his firſt Biſhopric he is commonly called the Cardinal of *Viviers*. In this Seſſion the Form of Renunciation, which the Preſidents of the Four Nations had drawn up, in order to its being ſent to the Pope, was read and approved by the Emperor and the whole Council; and it was declared that he was bound by his ſolemn Oath and Vow to receive it, and that the Council would admit of no other Form.

In

Year of Christ 1415.

Seventh Session. The Pope summoned to appear.

In the Seventh Session, held on *Thursday* the 2d of *May*, the Pope was summoned to appear and answer the many Accusations brought against him, and a safe Conduct was offered him, in the Name of the Council, and likewise of the Emperor, *to come, to stay, and to depart with all Safety and Freedom.* The Summons was read at the Church-Door, and Pope John XXIII. was called upon to justify his Flight from *Constance*, and to clear himself from the Crimes of Heresy, of Schism, of Simony, and from many others laid to his Charge.

The Doctrine of Wickliffe *condemned in the Eighth Session.*

The principal Business of the Eighth Session, held on *Saturday* the 4th of *May*, was the condemning of *Wickliffe*'s Doctrine, Books, and Memory. Three hundred Propositions and upwards advanced by him in different Books and at different Times were read in full Council by the Archbishop of *Genoa*, and condemned with one Consent. The principal and most offensive Articles were; The Substance of material Bread, and the Substance of material Wine, remain in the Sacrament of the Altar; the Accidents of the Bread do not remain without a Subject in the Sacrament of the Altar; *Christ* is not himself identically and really in his proper corporeal Presence in the Sacrament; a Bishop or Priest in mortal Sin cannot ordain, nor consecrate, nor baptize; it cannot be proved from the Gospel that *Christ* instituted the Mass; God is obliged to obey the Devil; if a Man be truly contrite, external Confession is superfluous; if a Pope is a Reprobate, and consequently a Member of the Devil, he has received no Power over Believers; it is contrary to the Holy Scripture for Ecclesiastics to have any temporal Possessions; no Prelate ought to excommunicate a Person, unless he knows him to be excommunicated by God, and whoever excommunicates in any other Case, excommunicates himself; he who excommunicates a Clergyman because he has

has appealed to the King, or his Council, is guilty of High Treaſon; ſuch as ceaſe to preach or to hear God's Word, becauſe they are excommunicated by Men, are truly excommunicated, and will be looked upon as Traitors to *Jeſus Chriſt* at the Day of Judgment; all the Mendicant Friars are Heretics, and they who give them Alms are excommunicated; during all the Time that a temporal Lord, or Prelate, or Biſhop, is in mortal Sin, he is neither Lord, nor Prelate, nor Biſhop; the Tithes are mere Alms, and it is lawful for the People to retrench them for the Sins of their Prelates; the Prayers of a reprobate Perſon avail nothing; all Things happen from abſolute Neceſſity; it is contrary to the Inſtitution of *Jeſus Chriſt* to enrich the Clergy; the Church of *Rome* is the Synagogue of Satan; it is lawful for a Prieſt or a Deacon to preach the Word of God without the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, or of any Biſhop; the Election of the Pope by the Cardinals is an Invention of the Devil; all Religious Orders were introduced by the Devil, *&c.* As no Notice is taken of the ſhocking Blaſphemy, *God is obliged to obey the Devil*, either by *Thomas* of *Walden*, or by *William Wildford*, who made it their Study to collect and confute all the *Errors, Hereſies, and Blaſphemies of the Arch-heretic* John Wickliffe, we may well ſuppoſe, with the learned *Lenfant*, that Propoſition to have been falſly aſcribed to him, or to be but a wretched Inference from ſome of his Principles. The above Articles, and many others, were all condemned, ſome of them as notoriouſly heretical, and others as raſh, erroneous, ſeditious, and offenſive to pious Ears; *John Wickliffe* was declared a notorious, obſtinate, and impenitent Heretic, his Books were forbidden, his Memory was anathematized, and his Bones were ordered to be dug up, if they could be diſtinguiſhed from

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Chief Articles of his Doctrine.

Year of Christ 1415.

from the Bones of the Faithful, and to be thrown upon a Dunghill.

Some Account of John Wickliffe.

John Wickliffe, so called from the Place of his Nativity, a Village of that Name near *Richmond* in *Yorkshire*, was Doctor and Professor of Divinity in *Oxford*, and Head of a College founded in that University for the Education of the Youth of *Canterbury*. But the Secular Clergy being in 1370 driven from that College by Cardinal *de Langham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Pope *Urban* V. and the Religious introduced in their Room, *Wickliffe* was obliged to yield his Place to one of them. Whether he was prompted by a true Christian Zeal and the Love of Truth, or instigated by the Spirit of Revenge, as the *Roman* Catholic Writers would make us believe, to advance the above-mentioned Opinions, it matters little to know. However that be, his Doctrine met with a very uncommon Reception, so far, at least, as it tended to confine the Power of the Pope, and the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, both become quite insupportable to the People of *England*. The Bishops were for proceeeding to the Censures of the Church against him. But the Duke of *Lancaster*, who governed the Kingdom with an absolute Sway, the King, *Edward* III. being very infirm, and near his End, having taken *Wickliffe* into his Protection, they were obliged to content themselves with enjoining him Silence, in a Council held at *London* in 1377, though they had received Letters from the Pope, *Gregory* XI. commanding them privately to enquire into the Doctrine said to be taught by *John Wickliffe*, of which he sent them nineteen Articles, with a Mandate to arrest him and keep him closely confined till further Orders, if convicted of holding and teaching such Opinions. *Wickliffe*, depending upon the Protection of his powerful Friend, paid no Regard to the Injunction of the Bishops, but continued

tinued openly to maintain the ſame Opinions both in his Sermons and Writings. However, finding in 1382 that the Biſhops were determined to proceed againſt him as a Heretic, and had gained over the young King, *Richard* II. to their Side, he retracted in a Council held that Year in *London*, at which preſided *William de Courtenay*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and were preſent the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Norwich*, *Worceſter*, *Saliſbury*, *Hereford*, and *London*[u]. But ſoon after he taught the ſame Doctrines again, and retiring, as he could not live peaceably at *Oxford*, to *Lutterworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, of which Place he was Rector, he finiſhed there his *Dialogue*, *Trialogue*, and ſome other Pieces moſtly calculated to confirm the Doctrines he had taught. He died at his Rectory on the laſt Day of *December* 1384, and was buried there. As the Number of his Followers increaſed daily, even after his Death, *Thomas Arundel*, the Succeſſor of *William de Courtenay* in the See of *Canterbury*, condemned anew the chief Articles of his Doctrine in Two Councils, the one held at *London* in 1396, and the other at *Oxford* in 1408. In a General Council held at *Rome* in 1413, under the preſent Pope *John* XXIII. the *Trialogue*, *Dialogue*, and all other Books, Treatiſes, and Opuſcles or ſmall Pieces, bearing the Name of *John Wickliffe*, were ordered to be publickly burnt, and Nine Months were allowed for his Followers or Diſciples to appear at the Tribunal of the Apoſtolic See, and freely to offer whatever they could in Defence of his Memory, leſt he ſhould be condemned as a Heretic after his Death[w]. But all the Endeavours of the Popes, Biſhops, and Councils to ſuppreſs the new Doctrine, proved ineffectual in this,

Year of Chriſt 1415.

[u] Concil. Labbei, tom. 11. & Walſingham in Richard II.

[w] Concil. Labbei, tom. 11. col. 2322. Cochlæus Hiſt. Huſſit. l. 1.

Year of Christ 1415.

this, as well as in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, where it took ſoon deep Root, till Recourſe was had to the unanſwerable Argument of Fire and Faggot. To return now to the Council.

The Pope ſummoned the ſecond Time.

In the ſame Eighth Seſſion the Pope was ſummoned a ſecond Time to appear; and the Summons ſet up at all the Gates and Churches of *Conſtance*. At the ſame Time his Flight from *Conſtance* was again declared prejudicial to the Peace and Unity of the Church, ſhameful, ſcandalous, tending to keep up the Schiſm, and contrary to his Oath and Promiſe.

The Emperor reconciled to the Duke of Auſtria;

The Day after this Seſſion, *Sunday* the 5th of *May*, a general Congregation of the Nations was held, at which the Emperor aſſiſted, in order to acquaint them with the Submiſſion of the Duke of *Auſtria*. For the Imperial Troops, and at the ſame Time the *Swiſs* having invaded his Dominions, and made themſelves Maſters of many of his ſtrong Holds, he had no other Reſource to ſave the reſt, but to recur to the Emperor, and throw himſelf upon his Mercy. Accordingly he came to *Conſtance*, having firſt obtained a Safe Conduct from the Emperor. But *Sigiſmund* would not ſee him till he had conſulted the Nations about the Manner in which he ſhould treat him. The Four Nations being therefore aſſembled, at his Requeſt, in the Place where the *German* Nation uſually met, he laid before them the paſt Conduct of the Duke, who, he ſaid, had contrived the Manner of the Pope's Flight, had encouraged him to it, had aſſiſted him in it, and in open Defiance both of the Church and the Empire, taken him into his Protection. He added, that the ſaid Duke, a Rebel to God as well as to the Empire, had driven out ſeveral Biſhops and Abbots, had ſeized on their Temporalities, had oppreſſed the Widows and Orphans, that for theſe Reaſons he had not only made War upon him, but

ſworn

ſworn that he would never make Peace with him, and he therefore deſired to know of them whether he might grant him the Peace he now ſued for, and receive him into Favour without a Breach of his Oath. They anſwered all with one Voice, that he might; and four Biſhops with the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Burgrave of *Nuremberg*, being thereupon ſent to bring him to the Aſſembly, he threw himſelf at the Emperor's Feet as ſoon as he entered the Room, and ſo did the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Burgrave, begging Forgiveneſs for him in the ſame humble Poſture as he begged it himſelf. He promiſed to put the Emperor in the immediate Poſſeſſion of all his Dominions, and not only to abandon the Protection of the Pope, but to deliver him up into his Hands, provided no Violence was offered to him, or to any belonging to him, either in their Goods or their Perſons. He added, that to convince the Emperor of his Sincerity, he would remain at *Conſtance* as an Hoſtage till he had performed what he had promiſed. *Sigiſmund* forgave him his paſt Conduct, received him into Favour, and ordered ſome of the Places he had taken to be immediately reſtored to him. The *Swiſs* had invaded, as has been ſaid, the Dominions of the Duke jointly with the Emperor; and that, as we are told by *Joannes Swizerus*, in Obedience to the Council commanding them to make War upon the Duke, notwithſtanding a Fifty Years Truce concluded between him and them not long before. *Felix Faber*, who lived nearer theſe Times, ſays, that the Council commanded the *Switenſis*, or *Swiſs*, to declare War againſt *Frideric* Duke of *Auſtria*, and granted to them for ever all the Places they ſhould reduce [a]. Thus did the Council aſſume, as well as the

Year of Chriſt 1415.

who promiſes to abandon the Protection of the Pope.

[a] Joan. Suiz. in Chin ad hunc ann. & Faber in Hiſt. Suevor. l. 1. c. 15.

Year of Christ 1415.

the Pope, the Power of annulling the most solemn Treaties, of absolving those, who made them, from the Obligation of observing them, and transferring Principalities and Dominions from one to another at their Pleasure. In this War the *Swiss* made themselves Masters of *Schaffausen*, of the County of *Harbspurg*, the native Country of the Dukes of *Austria*, and all other Places belonging to that Family in the Diocese of *Constance*. When the Emperor was reconciled with the Duke, he ordered the *Swiss* to restore him to the Places they had taken. But they, pleading the Grant of the Council, paid no Regard to that Command, but continued to keep Possession of these Places; and so they do to this Day. Thus did the House of *Austria* lose, and have never since been able to recover the Place of their Nativity. For they were originally only Counts of *Harbspurg*, or *Habspurg*, and had no other Title till *Rudulph*, one of that Family, elected King of the *Romans* in 1273, having taken *Austria* from *Othocarus*, King of *Bohemia*, gave it to his Son *Albert*, who being raised to the Empire in 1298, exchanged the Title of *Count of Harbspurg* for that of *Duke of Austria*. From *Rudulph*, the present Family derive their Origin, and not from the Kings of *Austrasia*, as some have dreamt.

Ninth Session.

The Duke of *Austria* having abandoned the Protection of the Pope, as has been said, he was summoned anew at the Church Door in the Ninth Session, held on *Monday* the 13th of *May*, and as neither he appeared, nor any Body for him, the Two Archbishops of *Besançon*, and *Riga* were sent by the Council with the *Burgrave* of *Nuremberg* at the Head of 300 Men to arrest him at *Friburg* where he still was, and carry him strictly guarded to *Ratolfell*, a Fortress about Two *German* Leagues distant from *Constance*. He was there kept closely confined, and none were admitted to him but those who were sent

The Pope arrested and imprisoned.

by

by the Council. His own Servants were all dis- Year of Christ 1415.
charged, except his Cook, and others were named by the Council, or the Deputies of the Nations, to their reſpective Offices. *Vitalis*, Biſhop of *Toulouſe*, and eight other Perſons of ſome Note, two out of each of the four Nations, were appointed to keep him Company in his Confinement, or rather as ſo many Spies to obſerve all his Actions. To the Biſhop of *Toulouſe* the Pope delivered, no doubt by Order of the Council, the *Bull*, or *Great Seal*, with which the Popes ſealed their public Letters, Mandates, and Conſtitutions, and the *Privy Seal*, called the *Fiſher's Ring*, which they uſed in their private Letters; and both were ſent by the Biſhop to the Council. At this Seſſion *Benedictus Gratianus*, a *Benedictine* Monk and Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Paris*, preſented a Letter to the Fathers from that Univerſity, to thank them for their Steadineſs in purſuing the great Work of the Union, notwithſtanding the Abſence of the Pope, and to exhort them not to ſeparate till they had brought it, in ſpite of all Oppoſition, to a happy Iſſue [b].

In the Tenth Seſſion, held on *Tueſday* the 14th of *May*, the Liſt of Accuſations againſt the Pope, of which I have ſpoken above, was read. It contained in all ſeventy Articles. But twenty of them appearing to the Fathers too ſcandalous and too ſhocking to be publicly inquired into, they were ſuppreſſed by their Order for the Honour of the Apoſtolic See, and fifty only were read. However, of the Articles that were ſuppreſſed, and are not to be met with in the Acts of the Council, we have a Catalogue in the very curious Collection of *Von der Hardt*, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Helmſtadt*, employed by the Duke of *Wolfembuttle* at a vaſt Expence, to procure from all Places all *Tenth Seſſion.*

[b] Acta Concil. apud Spondan. num. 30.

Year of Christ 1415.

Papers, that could give any Light to the Proceedings of the preſent Council. In that Collection, conſiſting of ſix Volumes in Folio, is exhibited the Liſt of the ſuppreſſed Accuſations from ſeveral Manuſcripts of the ſame Date with the Council itſelf; and they may be reduced to the following Heads: That Pope *John* XXIII. had been of a wicked Diſpoſition from his Childhood, lewd, diſſolute, a Liar, diſobedient to his Father and Mother, and addicted to almoſt every Vice; that he had raiſed himſelf to the Pontificate, by cauſing his Predeceſſor to be poiſoned; that he had committed Fornication with Maids, Adultery with Wives, Inceſt with his Brother's Wife, and with Nuns (in ſome Manuſcripts *with* 300 *Nuns*) and had been guilty of thoſe Abominations, that drew down the Indignation of Heaven upon the Children of Rebellion; that he had agreed to ſell the Head of St. *John Baptiſt* to the *Florentines* for 50,000 Ducats; that he had abſolutely maintained that there is no Life after this, and that the Soul dies with the Body [c]. The Articles, that were read and have been inſerted in the Acts of the Council relate to his Simony, his Tyranny, his amaſſing immenſe Wealth, not only by Sale of the Benefices, Biſhopricks, Indulgences, and every Thing that was ſacred, but by openly ſelling and mortgaging the Lands and Eſtates of the *Roman* Church, and moſt other Churches, leaving ſcarce any Thing for thoſe, who ſerved them, to ſubſiſt upon. Some very notorious Inſtances of his Simony both before and after his Promotion to the Papacy, of his Tyranny, Extortions, and Oppreſſion of all under him, eſpecially of the Poor, while he was Legate of *Bologna*, would ſcarce have been credited, had they

Liſt of Accuſations againſt the Pope read.

[c] Vonder Hardt, l. 4. p. 230.

they not been atteſted and ſworn to, as indeed were all the other Accuſations, by the moſt unexceptionable Witneſſes, by Cardinals, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and ſome of *John*'s own Secretaries. The Author of the Memorial, containing thoſe Accuſations, cloſed it with the following Words; *He is univerſally looked upon, as will be found upon the ſlighteſt Enquiry, as the Sink of Vice, the Enemy of all Virtue, the Mirror of Infamy, and all, who know him, ſpeak of him as a Devil incarnate.* Year of Chriſt 1415.

In the Eleventh Seſſion, held on *Saturday* the 25th of *May*, the Articles not ſuppreſſed were read again by the Biſhop of *Poſen*, and when he had read one Article, another read the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, and their Characters, without naming them. When they had been thus all read, the Council declared them to be fully proved, and then unanimouſly proceeded to the following Sentence: *Whereas to us it has been made manifeſtly to appear, that our Lord Pope* John XXIII. *has, ever ſince his Promotion to the Papacy, ill adminiſtered that Office; that by his damnable Life and execrable Manners, he has ſet a bad Example to the People; that he has, with the moſt notorious Simony, diſpoſed of Cathedral Churches, Monaſteries, Priories, and other Eccleſiaſtical Benefices; and that being charitably admoniſhed to deſiſt from ſuch Practices, and reform his Life, he has perſevered, and ſtill perſeveres, in his wicked Courſes, notoriouſly ſcandalizing the Church of God; for theſe Reaſons we pronounce, decree, and declare, by this our preſent Sentence, that the ſaid Lord Pope* John *ought to be ſuſpended from all Adminiſtration, in Spirituals as well as in Temporals, belonging to him as Pope, and we declare him accordingly actually ſuſpended for his notorious Simony and wicked Life; that he has given great Offence to the whole Church, and forbid him henceforth any ways to concern himſelf with the Adminiſtration or the Government of the Church.* This Sentence was

Eleventh Seſſion.

The Pope ſuſpended.

Year of Christ 1415.

communicated to the Pope by the Biſhop of *Lavaur* and other Biſhops, whom the Council ſent to him for that Purpoſe, and to know whether he had any Thing to offer in his own Defence, that might ſtop any further Proceedings againſt him. *John* returned Anſwer, that he entirely acquieſced in the Sentence they had already pronounced, and was ready to ſubmit to any Sentence they ſhould pronounce, as he knew that the Council could not err. In ſome Manuſcript Accounts of the Acts of the Council, quoted by *Spondanus*, it is ſaid that Five Cardinals were ſent to the Pope on this Occaſion, namely, the Cardinals *Urſini*, *de Chalant*, and thoſe of *Saluzzo*, of *Cambray*, and of *Florence*, and that the Guards would not permit them, as he had been ſuſpended, to kiſs his Foot, but only his Hands and his Mouth[d]. By thoſe who were ſent the Pope wrote a Letter to the Emperor, to put him in Mind of the Endeavours he had uſed with the Electors to get him elected King of the *Romans*; of his readily concurring with him in the Aſſembling of a General Council, and leaving to him the Choice of the Place; of the many Proofs he had given of an inviolable Attachment to his Perſon and his Intereſt, *&c.* He cloſed his Letter with earneſtly intreating him to interpoſe in his Behalf with the Council, and get them to provide for his future Maintenance as well as Safety, in caſe they ſhould deprive him of his Dignity.

Submits to the Sentence.

Twelfth Seſſion.

Upon the Return of the Deputies with the Pope's Anſwer, the Twelfth Seſſion was held on *Wedneſday* the 29th of *May*, and the definitive Sentence of his Depoſition was read in full Council by the Biſhop of *Arras*. It was drawn up in the following Terms: "The General Council of *Conſtance* having invoked "the Name of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and exa-"mined,

The Sentence of Depoſition pronounced againſt the Pope.

[d] Acta Victorina apud Spon. num. 34.

Year of Chriſt 1415.

" mined, in the Fear of God, the Articles exhi-
" bited and proved againſt *John* XXIII. and his
" voluntary Submiſſion to the Proceedings of the
" Council, does pronounce, decree, and declare
" by the preſent Sentence, that the nocturnal Eſcape
" of the ſaid *John* XXIII. in Diſguiſe and in an
" indecent Habit, was ſcandalous; that it was pre-
" judicial to the Unity of the Church, and contrary
" to his Vows and Oaths; that the ſame *John* XXIII.
" is a notorious Simoniſt; that he has waſted and
" ſquandered away the Revenues of the *Roman*
" Church and other Churches; that he has been
" guilty in the higheſt Degree of Mal-Adminiſtra-
" tion both in Spirituals and Temporals; that by
" his deteſtable Behaviour he has given Offence to
" the whole Chriſtian People; that by perſevering
" in ſo ſcandalous a Conduct to the laſt in ſpite of
" repeated Admonitions, he has ſhewn himſelf in-
" corrigible; that as ſuch, and for other Crimes
" ſet forth in his Proceſs, the Council does declare
" him depoſed and abſolutely deprived of the Pon-
" tificate, abſolves all Chriſtians from their Oath of
" Allegiance to him, and forbids them for the fu-
" ture to own him for Pope, or to name him as
" ſuch. And that this Sentence may be irrevo-
" cable, the Council does from this Time, with
" their full Power, ſupply all the Defects that may
" afterwards be found in the Proceſs; and does fur-
" ther condemn the ſaid *John* XXIII. to be com-
" mitted, in the Name of the Council, to ſome
" Place where he may be kept in the Cuſtody of
" the Emperor, as Protector of the Catholic Church,
" ſo long as the Council ſhall judge neceſſary for the
" Unity of the Church, the ſaid Council reſerving
" a Power to themſelves to puniſh him for his
" Crimes and Irregularities according to the Canons,
" and as the Law of Juſtice or Mercy ſhall require."

Year of Christ 1415. This Sentence being read and approved by all who were present, the Council ordered the Seals of *Balthasar Cossa*, presented to them by the Archbishop of *Riga*, to be broken.

Decrees issued in this Session. In this Session two Decrees were issued; the one forbidding a new Pope to be elected without the Consent and Approbation of the Council, and declaring such an Election to be *ipso facto* null; the other excluding for ever *Balthasar Cossa*, *Angelus de Corario*, and *Peter de Luna*, called in their respective Obediences *John* XXIII. *Gregory* XII. and *Benedict* XIII. from being ever re-elected. The Bishop of *Lavaur* was sent to the Pope at *Ratolfcell* to notify to him his Deposition, and deliver into his Hands a Copy of the Sentence. He received the Bishop with the greatest Marks of Respect, and having read Part of the Sentence to himself with great Composure, he begged Leave to peruse it at his Leisure, and dismissed the Bishop. But in the Space of about two Hours he recalled him, and expressing great Contrition for his past Conduct, told him, that he had perused the Sentence with due Attention; that he approved and confirmed it; and laying his Hand upon his Breast, swore that he should never act contrary to it, but renounced that Moment the Pontificate of his own Free Will, and gave up all Right or Claim he had to that Dignity. He added, that he had already caused the Pontifical Cross to be removed out of his Chamber, and that, if he had any Change of Raiment, *Si mutatorias vestes habuisset*, he would immediately quit the Pontifical Robes, and every Badge of the Pontifical Dignity. However the Council, knowing by Experience that his Promises, Vows, and Oaths were not to be relied on, ordered him to be removed from *Ratolfcell* to the Castle of *Gottleben*, within Half a League of *Constance*, where he had *John Huss* for his Fellow-Prisoner. For the Pope's Domestics, who guarded

The Sentence how received by the Pope.

Huss,

Huſs, and treated him, as he himſelf owns, with the greateſt Kindneſs, being upon the Flight of their Maſter gone after him to *Schaffauſen*, he was delivered up to the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, who cauſed him to be conveyed to *Gottleben*, as a Place from which he could not, without great Difficulty, make his Eſcape. When the Pope, ſtiled henceforth in the Acts of the Council *Balthaſar Coſſa*, had been kept but a few Days at *Gottleben*, he was committed by the Council to the Cuſtody of *Lewis*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, who treated him with great Civility and Reſpect, appointed Two Chaplains to perform daily Divine Service in his Preſence, and Gentlemen *honeſtos nobiles* to attend him at his Meals, uſing him rather as his Gueſt than his Priſoner. Thus *de Niem.* But *Platina* and *Nauclerus* tell us, that he was kept confined and narrowly watched by the Duke, who was of *Gregory*'s Party; that his *Italian* Servants were all diſmiſſed; and that none but *Germans* were allowed to come near him, with whom he could only ſpeak by Nods and Geſtures, as he underſtood not the *German* Language, nor they the *Italian*. He was thus kept, according to *Platina*, at *Heidelberg*, or, as we read in *Nauclerus*, at *Manheim*, for the Space of about four Years, that is, till the Year 1419, when we ſhall have Occaſion to bring him again upon the Stage. He had held the Pontificate five Years and four Days, reckoning from his Coronation on the 25th of *May*, 1410, and from his Election on the 17th of *May*, five Years and thirteen Days. Year of Chriſt 1415.

The Decree concerning the Communion in one Kind.

One Pope being thus depoſed and ſecured, the Council thought it neceſſary, before they proceeded againſt the other two, to obviate a Cuſtom, that prevailed, at this Time, almoſt univerſally, in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, the Cuſtom of adminiſtering the Euchariſt in both Kinds to the Laity. That

Year of Christ 1415.

Point was therefore discussed in the thirteenth Session, held on the 15th of *June*, and it was decreed, that thenceforth the Laity should receive this venerable Sacrament under one Kind only, that of Bread. The Words of the Decree are worthy of Notice. *Though* Christ *instituted*, says the Council, *and administered to his Disciples this venerable Sacrament under both Kinds of Bread and Wine; and though it was received by the Faithful in the primitive Church under both Kinds; yet for the avoiding of some Scandals and Dangers the Custom has been introduced, upon reasonable Grounds, that it be received by the Laity under the Kind of Bread only; as it is most firmly to be believed that the intire Body and Blood of* Christ *are contained under the Species of Bread, as well as under the Species of Wine. As this Custom therefore has, upon just Grounds, been introduced by the Church and the holy Fathers, and observed for a very long Time,* diutissime, *it ought to be deemed a Law, that is not to be set aside without the Authority of the Church, nor changed at Pleasure. Hence to say, that it is sacrilegious or unlawful to observe such a Custom, ought to be reputed erroneous, and they who obstinately maintain it, or administer the Sacrament to the People in both Kinds, ought to be excluded from it as Heretics, and severely punished by the Ordinaries, or the Inquisitors against heretical Pravity.*

Owned by the Council itself to be contrary to Christ's *Institution and the Practice of the primitive Church.*

I cannot dismiss this very remarkable Decree without some Observations. And, I. It is to be observed, that the Council itself owns, that *Christ instituted and administered this venerable Sacrament under both Kinds, and that, in the primitive Church, it was received by the Faithful under both Kinds.* And did they not, by owning so much, fully justify those, who then refused, and those, who do still refuse to comply with such a Decree? A Decree, made, by their own Confession, in open Defiance of *Christ*'s Institution, and the Practice of the whole primitive Church!

Church! II. The Council did not think fit to ſpecify in their Decree, the Scandals and Dangers attending Communion in both Kinds, or the *Inſtitution of Chriſt* and the *ancient Practice* of the Church. But the celebrated *John Gerſon*, who was preſent at the Council, and wrote a Treatiſe in Defence of this Decree, tells us that they were, the Danger of ſpilling the Wine, in carrying it from Place to Place, of defiling the Veſſels by their being touched and handled by Laymen; of Laymen dipping their long Beards in the Wine; of keeping the conſecrated Wine for the Uſe of the Sick, as it might be changed into Vinegar, and ſo the Blood of *Chriſt* would ceaſe to be there; the Danger of its becoming loathſome, as many others had drunk of it before; and the Danger of its freezing in Winter [c]. Theſe were the frightful Dangers, theſe the horrible Scandals that induced the Council to ſet aſide *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution, to abrogate his expreſs Command, *drink ye all of it*, and depart from the Practice of the primitive Church; Scandals and Dangers, that the Church either never thought of in thoſe early Times, though Men had long Beards then as well as at the Time of the Council of *Conſtance*, or took Care, if ſhe thought of them, to avoid them by ſome other Means than by breaking in upon *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution. As at the Time of the Inſtitution our Saviour certainly foreſaw all the Scandals and Dangers, that could poſſibly attend the drinking of the Cup, and yet commanded *all to drink of it*, no *Scandals* nor Dangers can excuſe *all* from drinking of it, nor juſtify thoſe, who confine the drinking of it to one Set of Men, to the Prieſthood alone. III. The Cuſtom introduced upon *the reaſonable Grounds* we have ſeen, *has been obſerved*, ſays the Council, *for a very long Time, and therefore ought to be deemed a Law*, or have the Force of a Law. But

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Upon what Grounds Communion in one Kind introduced.

A modern Practice at the Time of the Council.

[c] Gerſon tract. contra hæreſ. de comm. ſub utraque ſpecie.

Year of Christ 1415.

But that Cuſtom was contrary to the Cuſtom introduced and eſtabliſhed by *Chriſt* himſelf, as the Council owns, and therefore could not be deemed a Law, nor have the Force of a Law, had it been obſerved for ever ſo long a Time. Beſides, the Cuſtom in queſtion had not *been obſerved for a very long Time*, but, on the contrary, was of a very late Date at the Time of this very Council. For the learned Cardinal *Bona* has ſhewn, that the whole Church, the Laity as well as the Clergy, received in both Kinds, even in the *Roman* Church itſelf, for the Space of One Thouſand Two Hundred Years [v]; and the Jeſuit *Gregory de Valentia* owns, that the Cuſtom of communicating in One Kind did not begin to be generally received in the *Latin* Church, till a little before the preſent Council, held in the Fifteenth Century [w]. So that a Cuſtom, which had obtained for, at leaſt, Twelve Hundred Years, was made to give Way to One, that had obtained for Two Hundred Years only, *becauſe it had been obſerved for a very long Time*. Add to this, that the Cuſtom of adminiſtering the Euchariſt to the Laity in One Kind had been obſerved at the Time of the Council of *Conſtance*, for Two Hundred Years by the *Latin* Church alone. Whereas the contrary Cuſtom had been moſt religiouſly obſerved by all other Churches throughout the World, was ſtill ſo obſerved at the Time of that Council, and is ſo obſerved to this Day. For though they diſagree in the Manner, the *Greeks* and *Muſcovites* taking the Species mingled together in a Spoon, the *Armenians* dipping the Bread in the Wine, and ſome other Oriental Nations ſucking through Pipes and Quills the conſecrated Wine out of the Chalice; yet they all agree, and have all agreed ever ſince the

[v] Bona de Rebus Liturgicis, l. 2. c. 18. [w] Greg. de Valen. de legitimo uſu Euchariſt. c. 10.

the Inſtitution of this venerable Sacrament, in receiving it in both Kinds. And was the avoiding of the above-mentioned *Dangers* and *Scandals* a ſufficient Reaſon for abrogating a Cuſtom, that had been obſerved by the Church Univerſal ever ſince the Foundation of the Chriſtian Religion, and eſtabliſhing One in its Room, that had been obſerved for Two Hundred Years only, and in the *Latin* Church alone? IV. When, where, or by whom, the Cuſtom of adminiſtering the Euchariſt to the Laity in One Kind was firſt countenanced is altogether uncertain. But certain it is, and can be proved by unqueſtionable Authorities, that for the Space of Eleven Hundred Years, it was condemned both by the Popes and the Councils as contrary to *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution, as well as his expreſs Command. Thus Pope *Julius*, raiſed to the See in 336, in forbidding *Intinction*, or the dipping the Bread into the Wine, ſays, *the giving the Bread and the Wine, each diſtinctly by themſelves, is a Divine Order and Apoſtolic Inſtitution* [x]. Pope *Leo the Great*, in 440, ordered *thoſe who received the Body of* Chriſt, *but refuſed to drink the Blood of our Redemption, to be, by ſacerdotal Authority, caſt out of the Society of Saints*, that is, out of the Church [y]. Pope *Gelaſius*, in 492, condemned *thoſe who received the Bread but abſtained from the Cup, as guilty of Superſtition, and ordered them, either to receive both, or to be excluded from both*; BECAUSE ONE AND THE SAME MYSTERY CANNOT BE DIVIDED WITHOUT SACRILEGE [z]. By the Firſt Canon of the Third Council of *Braga*, held in 675, all were ordered *to receive the Bread apart*,

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Condemned by both Popes and Councils.

[x] Julius apud Gratian. de Conſecrat. diſt. 2. c. 7. [y] Leo, ſermon. 4. de quadrageſima. [z] Apud Gratian. ubi ſup. diſt. 2. c. 12.

Year of Christ 1415.

apart, and the Cup apart, because Christ, *when he commended his Body and Blood to his Disciples, spoke of them as being apart* [a]. Lastly, the Council of *Clermont*, held under Pope *Urban* II. in 1094, forbad any *to communicate at the Altar, unless they received separately the Body, and in like Manner the Blood, except in Case of Necessity, viz.* when it was to be administered to the Sick; and the Pope then allowed the Bread to be dipt in the Wine; which plainly shews, that so late as the latter End of the Eleventh Century it was not yet thought lawful to administer the Eucharist even to the Sick in One Kind only. The preceding Popes had all condemned, as we have seen, the Custom of giving the Bread dipt in, or mixed with the Wine. But nevertheless *Gelasius* chose rather to adopt that Custom in the Communion of the Sick, than allow it to be administered to them under One Species only, that of Wine, as was suggested by some of the Council, because it could be swallowed with more Ease by the sick Person. It is true, the above Passages from the Popes and the Councils were chiefly levelled against the Custom of mixing the Species together. But the Reason they alledged for condemning that Custom as *sacrilegious* and *unlawful*, viz. *because it was contrary to the primitive Institution*, equally affects the Custom in question, owned by the very Council, that established it, *to be contrary to the primitive Institution.* V. The Council approves and commands the Custom of administering the Eucharist to the Laity in One Kind only, as *it is most firmly to be believed that the intire Body and Blood of* Christ *are contained under the Species of Bread as well as under the Species of Wine.* But though the intire Body and Blood of *Christ* be contained, according to the Council, under the Species of

[a] Concil. Bracarens. can. 1.

of Bread as well as under the Species of Wine, though the Diſciples in the receiving the Body, received, according to their Doctrine, the Blood, yet *Chriſt* commanded all to drink of the Cup as well as to eat of the Bread, and the Popes and Councils, quoted above, though they held the ſame Doctrine, as the *Roman* Catholics all tell us, they nevertheleſs looked upon the receiving in One Kind only as the dividing of a Myſtery that *cannot be divided without great Sacrilege*, and ordered thoſe, who did not receive both, to be excluded from both. Eating the Bread, or the Body of *Chriſt*, and drinking the Wine, or the Blood of *Chriſt*, are always joined in Scripture when mention is made of this divine Sacrament, and as we are commanded to eat his Body, ſo are we commanded to drink his Blood. Theſe are Two diſtinct Commands, and we can no otherwiſe comply with them but by eating the conſecrated Bread, and drinking the conſecrated Wine. For though we ſhould allow thoſe who receive only the Species of Bread, to receive, by the Doctrine of *Concomitancy*, not only the Body, but with it the Blood, as a living Body cannot be without Blood, yet they could not be ſaid to drink the Blood, unleſs eating and drinking be the ſame Thing, and by eating the Body we drink the Blood; which is both abſurd in itſelf, and contrary to the expreſs Doctrine of Pope *Innocent* III. declaring, as quoted by *Durandus*, that *neither is the Blood drunk under the Species of Bread, nor the Body eaten under the Species of Wine; for as the Blood is not eaten*, ſays he, *nor the Body drunk, ſo neither is drunk under the Species of Bread, nor eaten under the Species of Wine* [b].

Year of Chriſt 1415.

All commanded to drink of the Wine as well as to eat of the Bread.

Thus have I made it undeniably appear, that, for the Space of Eleven Hundred Years, it was by all *Chriſtian* Churches, throughout the whole World, thought

[b] Durand. Rational. l. 4. c. 42.

Year of Christ 1415.

thought neceſſary for the Inſtitution, the Example, and the Command of *Chriſt*, for all, who received the Euchariſt, to receive it in both Kinds; and that in this they all agree, though they diſagreed in the Manner. But in the Twelfth Century, and not earlier, the Uſe of the Cup began by Degrees to be laid aſide, ſome Biſhops forbidding it, to avoid the above-mentioned *Scandals* and *Dangers* in adminiſtering the Sacrament to the People. By what Biſhops, or in what Churches this Practice was firſt introduced, Hiſtory has not informed us. But from the famous *Thomas Aquinas* it appears, that in his Time, that is, about a Century and a Half before the preſent Council, it was yet only obſerved by a few particular Churches. *In* SOME *Churches*, ſays he, *it is wiſely obſerved that the Blood is not adminiſtered to the People* [c]. That Practice he approved and recommended to all other Churches, and, as he was held by all in the higheſt Eſteem for his Piety and Learning, it was in Proceſs of Time, adopted by all upon his Recommendation; and being thus become, at the Time of the Council, a general Cuſtom in the Weſtern or *Latin* Church, the ſaid Council, interpoſing their *paramount Authority*, ordered it to be thenceforth obſerved as a Law, at the ſame Time that they owned it to be contrary to *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution and Example, as well as to the ancient Practice of the whole Catholic Church; which was, in Effect, aſſuming to themſelves, openly and without Diſguiſe, an Authority not only ſuperior to the Authority of all preceding Popes and Councils, but to that of *Chriſt* himſelf. If they had no ſuch Authority, and who will ſay that they had? their Decree, ſetting aſide, with a *non obſtante*, *Chriſt*'s Inſtitution, and the ancient Practice of

[c] Aquin. 3 part. quæſt. 80. art. 12.

of the Church Univerſal, carries evidently along with it its own Confutation. Year of Chriſt 1415.

And now to return to the Hiſtory of the Council. *John* XXIII. now *Balthaſar Coſſa*, being depoſed and ſecured, the Council reſolved to proceed in like Manner againſt the other Two, if they reſigned not, of their own Accord, in a limited Time. But in the mean while arrived at *Conſtance Charles Malateſta*, Lord of *Rimini*, where *Gregory* ſtill continued to reſide, having been ſent by him to reſign the Pontificate, in his Name, and all Right and Title to that Dignity. He entered *Conſtance* on the 15th of *June*, with a very numerous and ſplendid Retinue, and went the next Day, attended by *John Dominici* Cardinal of *Raguſa*, and *John* Patriarch elect of *Conſtantinople*, *Gregory*'s Nuncios, to wait on the Emperor and acquaint him with his Commiſſion, which, he ſaid, was to treat only with him about the Means of reſtoring Peace to the Church, and not with the Council, as *Gregory* did not acknowlege the Authority of a Council convened by *Balthaſar Coſſa*, ſtiling himſelf *John* XXIII. who had no Power to convene One. He added, that if the Emperor and the Nations conſented to its being convoked anew by his Maſter, he would in that Caſe, but could in no other, own it for a lawful Council. This the Emperor readily agreed to as well as the Deputies of the Nations; and the Fourteenth Seſſion being thereupon held on the 4th of *July*, the Cardinal of *Raguſa* and the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* aſſiſted at it as Nuncios of Pope *Gregory*, and *Charles Malateſta* in the Character of his Proxy, to reſign in his Name. At this Seſſion Cardinal *De Viviers* took the Place of Preſident, as he had preſided at moſt other Seſſions. But *Charles Malateſta* declaring, that he was ordered by *Gregory* to reſign his Dignity into the Hands of the Emperor, *Sigiſmund*, quitting his uſual

Fourteenth Seſſion.

The Council convoked in Gregory's Name, who reſigns.

Year of Christ 1415.

uſual Seat with the Approbation of the Council, placed himſelf as Preſident in a Chair before the Altar; and then, as Preſident, ordered Two Bulls of *Gregory* to be read, both dated at *Rimini* the 13th of *March* in the Ninth Year of his Pontificate. The One was directed to *John*, Cardinal of *St. Sixtus*, commonly called Cardinal of *Raguſa*, to *John* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, to *Werner* Archbiſhop of *Treves*, to *Lewis* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and to *Charles Malateſta*. By that Bull Power was given them by *Gregory* to convoke, in his Name, the Council of *Conſtance*, and after convoking it to own it for a lawful Council. The other Bull was addreſſed to *Charles Malateſta* alone, impowering him to act as his Proxy, and ſubmit, in that Character, to the Deciſions of the Council when lawfully aſſembled. Theſe Bulls being read, the Cardinal of *Raguſa* convoked the Council in the Name of his Lord Pope *Gregory* XII. and then, owning the Aſſembly of Biſhops met at *Conſtance* for a General Council, declared that his Holineſs was ready to ſacrifice his Dignity to the Peace of the Church, and left them to diſpoſe of him as they ſhould think fit. When he had done all the Cardinals gave him the Kiſs of Peace, and the Emperor reſuming his Place, Cardinal *De Viviers* took the Preſident's Seat. A Third Bull was then read from *Gregory*, giving *Charles Malateſta* full Power to reſign the Papal Dignity in his Name. When that was done, *Charles*, riſing up, read, after a ſhort Preamble in Commendation of *Gregory*, the Act of Reſignation drawn up in the following Terms:

The Act of Reſignation.

" I *Charles Malateſta*, Vicar of *Rimini*, Governor
" of *Romagna* for our moſt holy Father in *Chriſt*
" Lord Pope *Gregory* XII. and General of the
" holy *Roman* Church, being authorized by the full
" Power that has juſt now been read, and has been
" received by me from our ſaid Lord Pope *Gregory*,

" compelled

" compelled by no Violence, but only animated " with an ardent Deſire of procuring the Peace " and Union of the Church, do, in the Name of " the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, effectu- " ally and really renounce for my Maſter Pope *Gre-* " *gory* XII. the Poſſeſſion of and all Right and " Title to the Papacy, which he legally enjoys, " and do actually reſign it in the Preſence of our " Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and of this General Council, " which repreſents the *Roman* Church and the " Church Univerſal." This Act of Reſignation was approved and received with great Applauſe by the Council, the *Te Deum* was ſung, mighty Commendations were beſtowed upon *Gregory*, and it was decreed, that *Peter de Luna* ſhould be required in like Manner to reſign in the Term of Ten Days, from the Time the Requeſt of the Council ſhould be notified to him, and that, if he did not, within that Term, comply with their Requeſt, he ſhould be declared a notorious Schiſmatic, an obſtinate and incorrigible Heretic, and as ſuch be deprived of all Honour and Dignity, and caſt out of the Church [d].

Year of Chriſt 1415.

The Council, fully ſatisfied with the Submiſſion and Reſignation of *Gregory*, and at the ſame Time flattering themſelves, that their Kindneſs to him might encourage *Peter de Luna* to follow his Example, decreed that *Angelus Corarius* ſhould retain the Dignity of Cardinal Biſhop ſo long as he lived; that he ſhould be the firſt in Rank after the Pope, unleſs ſome Alteration ſhould be judged expedient, with reſpect to this Article, upon the Reſignation of *Peter de Luna*; and that he ſhould be perpetual Legate of the *March* of *Ancona*, and enjoy undiſturbed all the Honours, Privileges, and Emoluments annexed to that Dignity.

Favours beſtowed upon Gregory *by the Council.*

[d] Acta Concil. apud Spondan. & Lenfant.

Year of Christ 1415.

The Council granted him beſides a full and unlimited Abſolution from all the Irregularities he might have been guilty of, during his Pontificate, exempted him from giving an Account of his paſt Conduct, or any Part of it, to any Perſon whatever, and forbad any to be raiſed to the Pontificate till they had promiſed upon Oath to obſerve this Decree, notwithſtanding all the Canons, Conſtitutions, and Decrees of General Councils to the contrary [e]. *Gregory*, or rather *Angelus Corarius*, no ſooner heard of his Reſignation being approved and received by the Council, than aſſembling all the Biſhops and Clergy, who ſtill adhered to him, and were then with him at *Rimini*, he diveſted himſelf, in their Preſence, of the Pontifical Robes, declaring that he never would reſume them, but laid them down with greater Joy than he ever wore them [f]. He wrote to the Council a moſt ſubmiſſive Letter, declaring that he entirely acquieſced in their Deciſion, and returning them his moſt ſincere Thanks for their Generoſity in providing, beyond what he could have expected, for his future Support as well as his Dignity; which, he ſaid, could only be owing to the Regard they had for the Dignity, with which he had once been diſtinguiſhed. This Letter is dated at *Recanati* the 7th of *October*, and ſubſcribed, *Your humble and devoted* Angelus, *Biſhop and Cardinal of the Holy* Roman *Church* [g]. He died at *Recanati*, about two Years afterwards, in the Eighty-ninth Year of his Age, and was buried in the Cathedral of that City, and not at *Rimini*, as we read in St. *Antonine*. *Oldoinus* tells us, that his Tomb being opened in 1623, his Body was found entire, adorned with the Pontifical Robes all likewiſe entire, and adds, that he had this Information from one, who was

His Death.

[e] Vander Hardt. tom. 4. p. 473. [f] Niem. in vit. Joan. XXIII.
[g] Theſaur. Anecdot. tom. 2. col. 1645.

was preſent at the Opening of the Tomb. This we find frequently alledged as a Proof of an extraordinary Sanctity. But who does not know that Inſtances are not wanting of the Bodies of great Sinners being preſerved free from Corruption, as well as the Bodies of great Saints? The Author of *Roma Subterranea*, who lived in *Rome* more under than above Ground, tells us, that he diſcovered ſeveral Bodies of the old *Pagan Romans* as freſh and entire as they were, when put into their Coffins many Ages before. *Gregory* was guilty, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, of a Breach of the Oath, which he took before and confirmed after his Election, to embrace *the Way of Ceſſion*, if judged neceſſary to procure the Unity and Peace of the Church. He embraced it indeed at laſt, and reſigned his Dignity, but it was when he could no longer hold it, being forſaken by all, who were able to ſupport and protect him. Year of Chriſt 1415.

The chief Buſineſs of the next Seſſion, the Fifteenth, held on *Saturday* the 6th of *July*, was the Condemnation of *John Huſs*, who had been kept Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Gottleben* ever ſince the Flight of Pope *John* to *Schaffauſen*, and had been there frequently examined by the Divines, whom the Council had appointed to enquire into his Doctrine. On the 30th of *May* he was heard in the Aſſembly of the Nations, and upon his declaring that he was ready to retract, if convinced of having advanced any Thing contrary to the Catholic Faith, he was by them referred to the Council, and on the 6th of *June* brought by their Order to *Conſtance*, and lodged, under a ſtrong Guard, in the Convent of the *Minorites*. The next Day he had a public Hearing, and his Accuſers being required to make good the Charge of Hereſy, which they had brought againſt him, and ſpecify the Articles he held and had taught contrary to the received Doctrine of the *Fifteenth Seſſion.*

John Huſs, *when firſt heard by the Council.*

Year of Christ 1415.

Church, *Michael de Cauſis* accuſed him of having taught, after *Wickliffe*, that *the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine remains in the Sacrament of the Altar after Conſecration.* That Accuſation *Huſs* anſwered by calling God to Witneſs that he never had advanced that Propoſition, nor did he believe it, but, on the contrary, had always taught and firmly believed, *that the true Body of* Jeſus Chriſt, *which was conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, which was born of the Virgin* Mary, *which ſuffered upon the Croſs, lay three Days in the Grave, aſcended into Heaven, and ſits at the Right Hand of the Father, is preſent in the Euchariſt, and received by the Faithful.* Theſe are *Huſs*'s own Words in his Treatiſe *on the Body and Blood of* Chriſt [g]. The next Charge brought againſt him was, that he had taught that a Prieſt in mortal Sin neither conſecrates nor baptizes, being no Miniſter of Chriſt, but a Member of the Devil. *Huſs* denied his having ever held ſuch a Doctrine, and, to ſhew how unjuſtly he was accuſed, referred his Accuſers to the Treatiſe I have juſt quoted, where he ſaid, they would find the contrary Doctrine aſſerted in the plaineſt Terms. His Words in that Treatiſe are, *A wicked Prieſt, provided he has an Intention to do what* Chriſt *has commanded, and ſays the Words according to the Inſtitution of the Church, ſuch a Prieſt, by virtue of the Sacramental Words, cauſes miniſterially the Body and Blood of* Chriſt *to be under the Species of Bread and Wine*; *I ſay*, he adds, *miniſterially, becauſe ſuch a Prieſt, as a Miniſter of* Jeſus Chriſt, *does by his Power and Words what* Jeſus Chriſt *does by his own Power, tranſubſtantiating the Bread into his Body, and the Wine into his Blood* [h]. From theſe Words it is manifeſt that *Huſs* held Tranſubſtantiation, nay, and believed the Intention of the Prieſt to be neceſſary in the Adminiſtration

Accuſed of holding Doctrines that he never held.

[g] Opera Huſſ. tom. 1. fol. 38. [h] Opera Huſſ. ibid.

ſtration of the Sacraments. The other Articles of his Indictment were, that he had found Fault with the Emperor *Conſtantine* and Pope *Sylveſter*, for endowing and enriching the Church; that he had maintained Tythes to be mere Alms, and to have been originally free; that he had wiſhed his Soul were in the ſame Place with *Wickliffe*'s; that when the Errors of that Heretic were condemned at *Prague*, he openly eſpouſed his Cauſe, declaring that he was condemned unjuſtly; that he had preached againſt Indulgences, and that being ſummoned by the Pope to *Rome*, he had appealed from him to *Jeſus Chriſt*. To theſe different Charges *Huſs* returned the following Anſwers; that Riches ſerved rather to corrupt than to improve the Manners of the Clergy, and therefore, in his Opinion, *Conſtantine* and Pope *Sylveſter* had better left the Church as they found it; he owned his having taught Tythes to be mere Alms, but had, he ſaid, recommended to all the Payment of them as a Duty; he did not deny his having wiſhed that his Soul were in the ſame Place with *Wickliffe*'s, but had wiſhed ſo, he ſaid, before his Doctrine was condemned in *Bohemia*; he ingenuouſly confeſſed that, in his Opinion, ſome of *Wickliffe*'s Propoſitions did not deſerve the Cenſures with which they were ſtigmatized by the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, and he left the Council to judge whether he could, on that Account, be ſaid to have eſpouſed his Cauſe, or could be arraigned as a *Wickliffeiſt*; he owned that he had preached againſt the Abuſe of Indulgences, againſt their being employed to encourage Chriſtians to cut one another's Throats, but defied his Accuſers to prove that he had ever preached againſt Indulgences themſelves; as to his Appeal from the Pope, he had, he ſaid, been ſummoned to *Rome* upon a falſe Accuſation, had ſent proper Perſons to plead his Cauſe, and convince the Pope of his Innocence, but they were

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Year of Christ 1415.

thrown, unheard, into Priſon, which he hoped would juſtify his not appearing perſonally, but appealing to his only Refuge *Jeſus Chriſt*.

Not allowed to explain his Doctrine.

Huſs was, a few Days afterwards, heard again by the Council, when his Books were put into his Hands, and upon his owning them, twenty-ſix Articles, taken out of his Book *Of the Church*, and his other Works, were read. He owned that thoſe Propoſitions were all to be met with in his Books, but added, that they had a very different Meaning, when joined with the preceding and the ſubſequent Words, from that which they had when taken by themſelves; that by thus curtailing and disjoining Propoſitions, the moſt orthodox Writers might be made to write rank Hereſy, nay, and to impugn the very Doctrine which they had undertaken to maintain; he therefore begged that he might be allowed to explain his Doctrine, promiſing to retract what he could not ſupport with ſolid Arguments. But the Council, inſtead of complying with ſo reaſonable a Requeſt, inſiſted upon his pleading guilty, and retracting thoſe Errors as they were laid to his Charge. *Huſs* anſwered, that ſome of thoſe Propoſitions were falſly and maliciouſly charged upon him by thoſe who ſought his Deſtruction, and therefore deſired they would excuſe him from retracting them, ſince that would be owning he had held them. As for thoſe which he had really held and taught, he was ready, he ſaid, to retract and abjure them the Moment he was convinced of their being erroneous, or contrary to any Article of the Catholic Faith. As he perſiſted in that Anſwer, he was ſent back to Priſon. The Council ſent ſeveral Biſhops and Divines to perſuade him to own his Errors, and retract them: But to all he returned the ſame Anſwer, *viz.* that he would neither retract Opinions that he had never held, nor thoſe that he had really held, till he was convinced that they were

were erroneous. It was therefore determined, after much Altercation, in an Aſſembly of the Nations, that the Council ſhould proceed, without further Delay, againſt *John Huſs*, as an obſtinate and incorrigible Heretic. He was, accordingly, carried the next Day from his Priſon before the Council by the Archbiſhop of *Riga*, and being placed upon a high Stool, that all might ſee him, the Biſhop of *Lodi* preached a Sermon upon the Words of St. *Paul, that the Body of Sin might be deſtroyed.* When he had done, the Biſhop of *Concordia* read a Decree of the Council, enjoining all Perſons of what Rank or Dignity ſoever, whether Emperors, Kings, Cardinals, Archbiſhops, to keep Silence on Pain of Excommunication, and Two Months Impriſonment. A very extraordinary Decree indeed! In the next Place Sixty Articles were read, extracted, or pretended to be extracted, out of *Wickliffe*'s Works, and Thirty out of *John Huſs*'s Book *Of the Church*, and other Books, which he owned to be his. Theſe Articles were all condemned as *raſh*, *ſeditious*, *erroneous*, *offenſive to pious Ears*, and *contrary to the received Doctrine of the Catholic Church*; the Books from which they were taken, were ordered to be publicly burnt; and *John Huſs*, who had taught and refuſed to retract them, was condemned, as an obſtinate and incorrigible Heretic, to be degraded from the Order of Prieſthood. This Sentence *Huſs* received on his Knees, without uttering a ſingle Word, or betraying the leaſt Concern. The Ceremony of Degradation was immediately performed by the Archbiſhop of *Milan*, and the Biſhops of *Feltri*, *Aſti*, *Alexandria della Paglia*, *Bangor*, and *Lavaur*, who ordered him to apparel himſelf with the Veſtments as if he were going to celebrate Maſs, and ſtript him of them all, one by one, with a Curſe at the taking off of each of them. They then put a Paper Mitre upon his Head, on which were painted

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Is condemned to be degraded.

Year of Christ 1415.

three Devils, with this Inscription, *Heresiarch*, and being thus declared a Layman, he was delivered over to the Secular Power. The Emperor, in Defiance of whose Safe Conduct he was condemned, ordered the Elector *Palatine*, as Vicar of the Empire, to receive him, and consign him up to Justice. The Elector put him into the Hands of the Magistrates of *Constance*, who immediately delivered him to the Executioner, with Orders to burn him alive with his Clothes and every Thing about him, even his Purse and the Money in it. The Executioner, having tied his Hands behind his Back, carried him, under a strong Guard, to the Suburbs of *Constance*, the Place appointed by the Magistrates for his Execution. When he was fastened to the Stake, and the Executioner was upon the Point of setting Fire to the Wood piled about him, the Elector *Palatine* and the Count of *Oppenheim*, Marshal of the Empire, riding up to him, exhorted him once more to retract and save his Life. He answered, that he had rather suffer the cruellest Death, than retract Doctrines that he had never held, or those that he really held, but was not convinced of their being erroneous. The two Princes, finding him unalterable in that Resolution, withdrew not without great Concern, and Fire being set to the Pile upon their withdrawing, his Body, with every Thing belonging to him, was burnt to Ashes, and the Ashes were, by the Order of the Council, thrown into the *Rhine*, lest his Followers should honour them as Reliques[i].

Is degraded, delivered over to the Secular Power, and burnt alive.

Dies with great Firmness and Constancy.

That *John Huss* died with a Firmness and Constancy truly heroic, without ever betraying the least Fear or Concern, and would, on that Account, have deserved

[i] Acta Concil. Cochlæus, l. 2. et Vander Hardt. apud Lenfant Hist. du Concile de Const.

deſerved a Place amongſt the moſt renowned Martyrs of the Church, had he ſuffered in a better Cauſe, is allowed by all, without Exception, who have ſpoken of him. *His Life was entirely blameleſs*, as we have ſeen owned above by one, whom we cannot ſuſpect of beſtowing Praiſes upon him that he did not deſerve [k]. As to his Doctrine, *Florimund de Raymund*, and *Herebert Reſweide*, both declared, after peruſing his Works with the greateſt Attention, that he did not deviate, in any material Point, from the Sentiments of the Church of *Rome* [l]. He held the real Preſence, and believed Tranſubſtantiation, as has been obſerved above: He allowed the Invocation of Saints, eſpecially the Virgin *Mary*; for he ſays, in expreſs Terms, that *a Sinner cannot poſſibly be ſaved without the Interceſſion of the Virgin Mary* [m]: He held the Doctrine of Purgatory; *in praying for the Dead, we procure Relief*, ſays he, *for the ſleeping Church* [n]. Of Image-Worſhip he expreſſes himſelf thus; *the Knee may be bent, Prayers addreſſed, Offerings made, and Wax-Tapers lighted up to the Image of* Jeſus Chriſt, *or of any Saint whatever, provided it be not done for the Sake of the Image itſelf, but of him whoſe Image it is* [p]: He admitted the Seven Sacraments [q]: And was, it ſeems, perſuaded of the Neceſſity of Confeſſion; for upon his Condemnation he demanded a Confeſſor, but the Council would not allow him one, unleſs he retracted [r]. Add to theſe indiſputable Proofs of *Huſs*'s Orthodoxy (out of his own Works) the unqueſtionable Teſtimony of *Conrad*, Archbiſhop of *Prague*, proteſting, in an Aſſembly of the Lords of *Bohemia*, that *he had never met with one ſingle Error in the Writings of* John

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Differed in no material Point from the Church of Rome.

[k] See above, p. 260, 261. [l] Florimund. de ortu hæreſ. l. 4. p. 40 et Reſweide de fide hereticis ſervanda, c. 18. p. 196. [m] Opera Huſſ. l. 1. fol. 147, 148. [n] Ibid. l. 2. fol. 49 et 183. [p] Ibid. l. 11. fol. 343. [q] Ibid. l. 1. fol. 37. [r] Ibid. fol. 37.

[r] Year of Christ 1415.

John Huſs [s], and that of *Nicholas*, Biſhop of *Nazareth*, and Inquiſitor for the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, declaring that, *in the many Conferences he had with* John Huſs, *he had always found him a ſound Member of the Catholic Church* [t]. He was therefore guilty of no Hereſy; but, what was no leſs unpardonable, being himſelf a Man of a *moſt auſtere and blameleſs Life*, and not able to bear with the irregular and debauched Lives of the Clergy, he inveighed, perhaps, with too much Boldneſs and Acrimony, againſt their Vices, reproaching them with Pride, Avarice, Ambition, Ignorance, Incontinence, *&c.* ſparing neither Biſhops, nor Cardinals, nor the Pope himſelf. Beſides, he talked too freely of the Corruptions of the Church, and demanded its Reformation with too much Boldneſs. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ. While* John Huſs *declaimed againſt the Vices of the Laity, every body ſaid that he had the Spirit of God, but he became odious as ſoon as he fell upon the Clergy, becauſe that was like touching a galled Horſe.* Thus the Author of an antient Manuſcript Preface to the Works of *John Huſs*, as quoted by *Lenfant* in his admirable Hiſtory of the preſent Council; and to him I am chiefly indebted for the Account I have given of *John Huſs* and his Doctrine. Indeed no Man can ſuppoſe that, had *Huſs* been conſcious to himſelf of having taught any Doctrine or Doctrines condemned by the Church, and manifeſtly heretical, he would have come to *Conſtance*, and much leſs that he would, by Papers ſet up in *Prague*, and in all Places on the Road, have invited thoſe, who ſuſpected him of Hereſy, to repair thither, and convince him, before the Pope and the Council, of having ever preached or maintained any Doctrine contrary to the received Faith of the Church. To conclude, *John Huſs* was *a ſound Member of the Catholic*

The true Cauſe of the Perſecution raiſed againſt him.

[s] Ibid. fol. 10. [t] Ibid. fol. 11.

Catholic Church, as ſound a Member as any of the Biſhops who ſat in the Council; and it was not any Hereſy, or Error in Point of Faith, obſtinately maintained by him, that brought him to the Stake, but his having diſobliged the whole Body of the Clergy by expoſing their Vices, and thus ſtriving to reform their Manners, and baniſh the Abuſes they had introduced into the Church. *Martinus Cruſius* tells us, in his *Suevian Annals*, that *John Huſs* ſhould have ſaid, when Sentence was pronounced againſt him, *An hundred Years hence you ſhall anſwer to God and to me* [u]. That he had really ſaid ſo was believed, and Money was coined in *Bohemia* with theſe Two *Latin* Inſcriptions, on the one Side, *Centum revolutis annis Deo reſpondebitis et mihi*; and on the other, *Credo in Unam Eccleſiam Catholicam, I believe in one Catholic Church.* That Prophecy was afterwards improved by others, pretending that *Huſs* ſhould have added, *You now burn a Gooſe*, (the Import of the Word *Huſs* in the *Bohemian* Language) *but an hundred Years hence a Swan will come, whom you ſhall not burn*, alluding to *Luther*, who came about one hundred Years after *Huſs*. But theſe Prophecies were never heard of till after the *Swan* was come [w].

Year of Chriſt 1415.

In the ſame fifteenth Seſſion was condemned the following Propoſition; *It is lawful, and even meritorious, for any private Man, Subject, or Vaſſal, to kill a Tyrant by lying in Ambuſh for him, or by any other Method whatſoever, without Order from any one whomſoever, or any Form of Law, and notwithſtanding any preceding Reconciliation or Oath to the contrary.* This Aſſertion was maintained by *John Petit*, a *Franciſcan* Friar, and Doctor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Paris*, in a Piece he publiſhed under the Title of *A Juſtification of the Duke of* Burgundy. For

The Doctrine concerning the killing of a Tyrant condemned by the Council.

[u] Cruſius Annal. Suevic. l. 6. c. 10. [w] See Gretzerus de Numiſ. cuſo in laudem Huſſi, &c.

Year of Christ 1415.

For the Duke, who was Uncle to the *French* King *Charles* VI. had cauſed the Duke of *Orleans*, the King's only Brother, to be baſely murdered, when they had been reconciled but two Days before, and, in Token of an entire Reconciliation, had aſſiſted at Maſs, and received the Sacrament together. This treacherous and horrid Murder the abandoned and venal Friar, who was Privy Counſellor to the Duke of *Burgundy*, undertook to defend, nay, and to prove, that it was meritorious, and that the Duke deſerved not to be puniſhed, but ought to be thanked by the whole Kingdom, and amply rewarded. For in the Piece I have mentioned the Friar painted the deceaſed Duke as a lawleſs Tyrant, a Character which he did not at all deſerve, charged him with aſpiring to the Crown, with recurring to Magic and Magicians, in order to procure the Death of the King, *&c.* blackening his Memory with a thouſand groundleſs Calumnies, and ſtabbing his Reputation more barbarouſly than the Aſſaſſins had done his Body. *Petit*'s Book was condemned in 1414 by *Gerard de Montaigu*, Biſhop of *Paris*, and *John Polet*, Inquiſitor. But the Duke of *Burgundy* appealing from them to Pope *John* XXIII. their Sentence was reverſed by that Pope, who then ſtood in great Need of the Duke's Protection. However, the above Propoſition being examined, at the Requeſt of *John Gerſon*, by the preſent Council, it was condemned as erroneous, ſcandalous, and heretical, and all, who obſtinately maintained ſo pernicious and dangerous a Doctrine, were ordered to be puniſhed as guilty of Hereſy. But, out of Reſpect to the Duke of *Burgundy*, no Mention was made in the Sentence either of the Book or the Author[w].

In

[w] Acta Concil. Seſſ. 15.

In the next Seſſion, the Sixteenth, held on *Thurſday* the 11th of *July*, the Emperor acquainted the Council with his Deſign of ſetting out in a few Days for *Perpignan*, in order to meet there *Peter de Luna*, called in his Obedience *Benedict* XIII. and *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, who ſtill adhered to him, but expreſſed a great Deſire to ſee the Church ſettled in Peace, and had promiſed to contribute all in his Power towards it. This Interview had been long before agreed upon. For *Benedict*, ſoon after the Opening of the Council, had ſent Nuncios to *Sigiſmund* to excuſe his not aſſiſting at a Council, which he could not look upon as lawfully convened, ſince it had not been convened by him, and at the ſame Time to propoſe a Congreſs to be held at *Nizza* or *Villafranca*, at which his Holineſs, ſaid the Nuncios, would aſſiſt in Perſon with his beloved Son King *Ferdinand*, no leſs deſirous than himſelf of putting an End to the preſent Troubles. When the Time of the Congreſs drew near, *Benedict* ſent other Nuncios to *Sigiſmund* to beg he would excuſe him from repairing to the Place appointed, on account of the great Diſtance, for he was then in *Arragon*, and invite him to *Perpignan*, where he promiſed to meet him. The Emperor plainly ſaw that *Benedict* only wanted to gain Time; but nevertheleſs reſolved to undertake that Journey, being determined to ſpare no Pains nor Fatigue to complete the Work he had begun, and flattering himſelf that he ſhould be able to prevail upon the King of *Arragon*, and the other *Spaniſh* Princes to abandon their Pope, if he continued to keep up the Schiſm by obſtinately refuſing to part with the Dignity, which he had ſo often promiſed and ſworn to reſign. The Emperor having imparted this Reſolution, in the preſent Seſſion, to the Council, the Archbiſhop of *Tours*, with other Biſhops, Abbots, and Doctors, in all Twelve, were appointed to attend him, and aſſiſt with him

Year of Chriſt 1415.

Sixteenth Seſſion.

The Emperor propoſes to meet Benedict *at* Perpignan.

at

Year of Christ 1415.

at the Congreſs. On this Occaſion *John Gerſon*, in wiſhing with the reſt that *Peter de Luna* might be prevailed upon to reſign, and Peace be again reſtored to the Church, added pleaſantly with the Words of the Seventy-ſecond Pſalm, *But I fear we ſhall have no Peace* SO LONG AS THE MOON ENDURETH[x].

Seventeenth Seſſion. The Emperor ſets out for Perpignan.

In the Seventeenth Seſſion, held on the 15th of *July*, Cardinal *de Viviers*, Preſident of the Council, wiſhed the Emperor, who was upon the Point of ſetting out for *Spain*, a good Journey and a ſafe Return in the Name of the whole Aſſembly; and it was decreed, that, during his Abſence, general Proceſſions ſhould be made every *Sunday*, and Maſſes celebrated for his Safety, that all, who aſſiſted at thoſe Maſſes or Proceſſions, ſhould gain a hundred Days Indulgence, and all a forty Days Indulgence who ſhould ſay devoutly One *Pater-Noſter*, and one *Ave-Mary* a Day for the Health and Preſervation of ſo religious a Prince. At the ſame Time dreadful Excommunications were thundered out againſt any who ſhould ſtop or any-ways moleſt him on his Journey, or thoſe who attended him. He ſet out from *Conſtance* on the 19th of *July*; but finding, upon his Arrival at *Narbonne*, that King *Ferdinand* was indiſpoſed, and not in a Condition to aſſiſt at the Congreſs, he remained in that City till the 19th of *September*. On that Day he made his public Entry into *Perpignan* with the Deputies of the Council, and found there King *Ferdinand* with the Ambaſſadors of all the Princes of *Benedict*'s Obedience, whom *Ferdinand* had invited to the Congreſs. But *Benedict* himſelf refuſed to come, unleſs the Emperor ſent him a Safe Conduct, and promiſed to receive and treat him as Pope. *Sigiſmund* anſwered, that it did not belong to him to give a Safe Conduct in the Dominions of another Prince,

[x] Ibid Seſſ. 16.

Prince, and that he could not receive him as Pope, but would receive him as Cardinal of the Holy *Roman* Church, and treat him with all the Reſpect due to that Dignity. Year of Chriſt 1415.

As the Congreſs was of *Benedict*'s own appointing, and the Place of his own chuſing, the Ambaſſadors of the Princes of his Obedience all joined in preſſing him to repair to it, and even threatened to withdraw, in their Maſter's Name, their Obedience from him if he declined it, the rather, as the Emperor had undertaken ſo long a Journey on Purpoſe to meet him. Thus he was at laſt prevailed upon to yield; and he made his Entry into *Perpignan*, attended by his five Cardinals, in the latter End of *October*. But when the Emperor and Deputies of the Council put him in Mind of his Oath, and exhorted him to follow the Example of his Two Competitors, the Terms he propoſed were ſuch as plainly ſhewed, that he was determined to reſign upon no Terms whatever. Theſe were, that all the Decrees, publiſhed to that Time againſt him, or thoſe who adhered to him, ſhould be declared null; that the Aſſembly at *Conſtance*, calling itſelf a General Council, ſhould be diſſolved; that a lawful General Council ſhould be convened by him at *Lions*, or *Avignon*, or at ſome other Place that ſuited his Convenience; that he alone ſhould elect the new Pope; that after his Reſignation he ſhould retain the Dignity of Cardinal and perpetual Legate *a latere*, with an unlimited Power, both in Spirituals and Temporals, in all the Countries then under his Obedience; that he ſhould be firſt in Rank and Dignity after the Pope, and it ſhould not be lawful to appeal from him. Upon theſe Subjects *Benedict*, though then in the 77th Year of his Age, harangued for the Space of ſeven Hours without the leaſt Alteration in his Voice or Countenance, ſtriving to prove that he alone was lawful Pope, and

Congreſs of Perpignan, *and* Benedict's *Propoſals.*

Year of Christ 1415.

and that, if the Good of the Church required him to resign, he alone had a Right to elect the new Pope, being the only undoubted Cardinal then alive, as having been created before the Schism, and consequently by an undoubted Pope, *viz. Gregory* X.. in 1375; whereas the rest had been all created in the Time of Schism, and it might therefore be doubted whether the Popes, who created them, were true Popes, and consequently whether they be true Cardinals, and have a Right to vote in the Election of a Pope y.

Congress of Narbonne.

As *Benedict* obstinately insisted upon these Terms, the Emperor, despairing of being able to overcome his Obstinacy, left *Perpignan*, and retired to *Narbonne*, in order to return to *Germany*. But King *Ferdinand*, his Son *Alphonso*, and the Ambassadors of the Princes in the Obedience of *Benedict*, promising to abandon him if he did not resign, *Sigismund* was prevailed upon to suspend his Journey, and remain at *Narbonne*. There a second Congress was held, at which were present the Emperor, with the Deputies of the Council, and the Ambassadors of all the Princes, who still acknowledged *Benedict*, that is, of the Kings of *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Castile*, and the Counts *de Foix* and *Armagnac*. At this Congress several Articles were agreed and sworn to by all, and this among the rest by the Ambassadors of the Princes in *Benedict*'s Obedience in their Masters Names, that if he did not voluntarily resign agreeably to his Oath and repeated Declarations, they would withdraw their Obedience from him, would send Ambassadors to the Council, and join in all their Proceedings against him. *Benedict* no sooner heard of what had passed at *Narbonne*, than, apprehending that the Emperor or the King might cause him to be arrested, he left *Perpignan* in great Haste, and retired with four of his Cardinals, the fifth

All agree to withdraw their Obedience to Benedict, *if he does not resign.*

y Valla in vit. Ferdinandi Regis Arragon. et Mariana, l. 10. c. 7

fifth being indiſpoſed, to *Colliour*; but not thinking himſelf ſafe there, he ſoon withdrew from thence to *Peniſcola*, a very ſtrong Place, ſituated on a Rock in a Peninſula of the Kingdom of *Valentia*, not far from *Tortoſa*, now known by the Name of *Roccha de Truena*. Year of Chriſt 1415.

King *Ferdinand*, being informed of his Flight, ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to acquaint him with the Reſult of the Congreſs of *Narbonne*, and exhort him to reſign, of his own Accord, a Dignity, which he himſelf could not but know it was impoſſible for him to hold, as all, who had hitherto obeyed him, had ſworn to renounce his Obedience, if he renounced not the Pontificate. *Benedict* anſwered, that his Two Competitors having reſigned, and renounced all Right and Claim to the Pontifical Dignity, the Conteſt was ended, that he alone was now Pope, and that they could by no other Means reſtore Peace to the Church more effectually, than by acknowledging and obeying him as ſuch. He added, that he never would abandon the Church, which it had pleaſed the Almighty to commit to his Care, and at the ſame Time declared all excommunicated who did not acknowledge him, whether Emperors, Kings, Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, or Biſhops, as Rebels to St. *Peter* and his Church. *Ferdinand*, provoked beyond Meaſure at *Benedict*'s Obſtinacy and Preſumption, publickly renounced his Obedience, and on the 6th of *January*, 1416, an Edict was publiſhed by his Order, requiring all his Subjects in general, of whatever Rank or Dignity, to withdraw from the Obedience of *Peter de Luna*, ſtiling himſelf *Benedict* XIII. and the Eccleſiaſtics in particular, on Pain of forfeiting their Benefices and Preferments[z]. *Benedict's Obſtinacy.* Ferdinand *of* Arragon *renounces his Obedience.*

[z] Concil. Labbei, tom. 12. col. 1532.

Year of Chriſt 1415.

In Anſwer to this Edict, *Benedict*, after reproaching the King with Ingratitude, thundered out, undaunted, the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, abſolved his Subjects from their Allegiance, and declared the Throne vacant.

Benedict excommunicates him.

The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Seſſions.

While theſe Things paſſed in *Spain*, the Seſſions of the Council were continued at *Conſtance*. In the Eighteenth, held on *Saturday* the 17th of *Auguſt*, nothing was tranſacted worthy of Notice. But in the Nineteenth, held on *Monday* the 23d of *September*, paſſed the famous Decree relating to Safe Conducts, granted by temporal Princes to Heretics, or to Perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy. The Decree was drawn up and publiſhed in the following Words: *The holy Synod declares, that no Safe Conduct, granted by the Emperor, Kings, and other ſecular Princes to Heretics, or Perſons accuſed of Hereſy, in Hopes of reclaiming them from their Errors, by what Tie ſoever they may have bound themſelves, ought to be of any Prejudice to the Catholic Faith, or to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, nor be any Hindrance that ſuch Perſons may and ought to be examined, judged, and puniſhed by a competent and Eccleſiaſtical Judge, as Juſtice ſhall require, if thoſe Heretics obſtinately refuſe to renounce their Errors; and that, though they ſhould have come to the Place of Judgment relying upon a Safe Conduct, and would not have come without One; and the Perſon, who ſhall have promiſed them Security, ſhall be under no Obligation, when he ſhall have done all that it was in his Power to do.* By this Decree all Safe Conducts, granted by ſecular Princes to obſtinate and unrepenting Heretics, are declared null. But it is to be obſerved, that the Council does not here decree, in general, *no Faith to be kept with Heretics*; nay, on the contrary, by theſe Words, *Nec ſic promittentem, cum feceret quod in ipſo eſt, ex hoc in aliquo remanſiſſe obligatum*, the Council tacitly declares the Perſon, who has promiſed Safety, or given a Safe Conduct,

All Safe Conducts granted to Heretics by ſecular Princes declared null.

Conduct, to be bound, in Virtue thereof, to do all in his Power that his Safe Conduct take Place, and his Promiſe be made good. Year of Chriſt 1415.

Another Decree relating to Safe Conducts.

Vander Hardt has produced from the Library of *Vienna* another Decree in a Manuſcript bearing the Name of *John Dorre*, Canon of *Worms*, who was preſent at the Council, and ſpeaks of this Decree as having been iſſued in the ſame Nineteenth Seſſion y. It is there declared, that, *according to the natural, divine, and human Laws, no Faith ought to have been kept with* John Huſs. Now unleſs it can be proved, ſays *Lenfant*, and very juſtly, that the Caſe of *J. Huſs* was different from that of all other Heretics, it follows evidently from thence, that, according to the Council, no Faith is to be kept with any Heretic whatever. But as this Decree is not to be met with in any of the printed Copies of the Council, nor in any Manuſcript, except that in the Library of *Vienna*, Occaſion has been taken from thence to queſtion its Authenticity; and it was rejected as ſpurious by the *Roman* Catholic Writers, as ſoon as brought to Light. Father *Pagi*, among the Reſt, looks upon it as a mere Forgery, and argues thus; to declare, that according to the natural, divine, and human Laws, no Faith ought to have been kept with *J. Huſs*, was evidently to declare, that, according to the ſame Laws, no Faith ought to be kept with any Heretic whatever, ſhould he have a Safe Conduct even from a General Council, as no Council can have a Power to act contrary to thoſe Laws. Now the *Huſſites* of *Bohemia*, ſays *Pagi*, came to the Council of *Baſil*, held Fourteen Years after that of *Conſtance*, with Safe Conducts from the Emperor and the Council, and conſequently muſt either have then been ignorant of that Decree, which is altogether incredible, had ſuch a Decree been publiſhed;

Whether genuine.

y Vander Hardt. l. 4. p. 521, 522.

Year of Christ 1415.

liſhed; or muſt have come relying upon Safe Conducts, which they knew to have been declared *contrary to the natural, divine, and human Laws*; which is ſtill, if poſſible, more incredible. That Writer adds, that the Decree in Queſtion was unknown to the Proteſtants both in *France* and *Germany* at the Time of the Council of *Trent*. For *Catherine de Medicis*, Queen of *France*, told the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, the Pope's Legate, that the Proteſtants demanded, before they came to the Council, a Revocation of the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, declaring *that an Eccleſiaſtical Judge may proceed againſt Heretics, notwithſtanding the Safe Conducts of ſecular Princes*; and the Ambaſſador of the Duke of *Saxony* told the Council, that the *Proteſtants of* Germany *were not yet come on Account of a certain Decree of the Council of* Conſtance, *declaring that no Faith ought to be kept with Heretics, nor with Perſons ſuſpected of Hereſy, though they ſhould come with Safe Conducts from the Emperor, or from Kings*. Had the Proteſtants known of the other Decree, they would have certainly taken Notice of it, and inſiſted upon its Revocation. As that Decree therefore is to be met with in no printed Copies of the Acts of the Council, and in one Manuſcript Copy only; as it was unknown to the *Huſſites* in *Bohemia* Fourteen Years after the Council, that is ſuppoſed to have iſſued it, and ſtill unknown to the Proteſtants of *France* and *Germany* One Hundred and Thirty Years after that Council, Father *Pagi* concludes, and I cannot help concluding with him, the Decree of *John Dorre* to be a poſthumous One [z].

Twentieth Seſſion.

In the Twentieth Seſſion, held on the 21ſt of *November*, a Monitory was publiſhed againſt *Frideric*, Duke of *Auſtria*, who had ſeized on the Temporalities of the Biſhop of *Trent*. From this Time no

[z] Pagi Breviar. Pontific. Roman. tom. 4. p. 423, 424, 425

no Seſſion was held till the 30th of *May* 1416, the Emperor being abſent, and many of the Biſhops having laid hold of that Opportunity to viſit their Sees. However, on the 30th of *January* a general Congregation of the Nations was convened to hear the Articles agreed upon at the Congreſs of *Narbonne*, the Deputies of the Council, who had attended the Emperor into *Spain*, being returned to *Conſtance*. Thoſe Articles were all approved in this Aſſembly, and ſworn to in another, on the 4th of *February*, by all who were preſent. It is on this Occaſion obſerved in the Acts of the Council, that the Cardinals and Biſhops in Swearing laid their Hands on their Breaſts, and the others touched the Goſpels. Year of Chriſt 1415.

In this Seſſion, held on the 30th of *May*, the famous *Jerom* of *Prague*, ſo called becauſe a Native of that City, was condemned by the Council, and delivered over, as an obſtinate and incorrigible Heretic, to the Secular Power. He was, according to all the Accounts we have of him, a Man of moſt extraordinary Parts, of great Eloquence, and univerſal Knowlege; entertained the ſame Sentiments as *John Huſs*, with whom he lived in the greateſt Friendſhip and Intimacy, and, though a Layman, was no leſs zealous than he for a Reformation. When he heard of the Impriſonment of his Friend he haſtened to *Conſtance* to ſupport him; but being told by ſome of his Friends that an Information was lodged againſt himſelf, he withdrew in ſuch Haſte that he left his Sword at the Inn behind him. *Cochlæus* writes, that he cauſed a Paper in Defence of *John Huſs* to be ſet up at the Door of the Cathedral, where the Council met, and fled immediately with a Deſign to return to *Bohemia*. Upon his Flight the Council ſummoned him to appear in the Term of Fifteen Days, in order to anſwer what ſhould be objected to him concerning his Doctrine, *Twenty-firſt Seſſion.* Year of Chriſt 1416. *Some Account of* Jerom *of* Prague, *condemned in this Seſſion.*

Year of Christ 1416.

or in Matters of Faith, and a Safe Conduct was ſent to him in the Name of the Council. The Words of the Safe Conduct were: *For this, and that no Violence may be offered you, we give you, by theſe Preſents, a plenary Safe Conduct, ſaving nevertheleſs Juſtice, ſo far as it is incumbent upon us, and the Orthodox Faith requires.* As this was a Safe Conduct to come to, but not to return from, *Conſtance*, *Jerom*, paying no Regard to it, purſued his Journey back to *Bohemia*. Some Authors tell us, that he wrote to the Emperor for a Safe Conduct, but that the Emperor flatly refuſed him One, leſt he ſhould have the Mortification of ſeeing his Authority again trampled upon by the Council. Others ſay, that the Emperor granted him One, but with this Declaration, *ſo far as he had a Right to do it*[a].

Be that as it may, *Jerom* continued his Journey, and got ſafe to a Town in the *Black Foreſt*. But being there invited by the Parſon of the Place to an Entertainment, that he made for his Brethren, *Jerom* (having drunk, as *Maimburg* ſuppoſes, too freely) broke out into moſt furious Invectives againſt the Council, calling it the *School of the Devil*, and *the Synagogue of Satan*. Of this Notice was immediately given to the Governor of the Place, who thereupon arreſted him, and delivered him up to the Duke of *Saltzbak*, by whom he was ſent, under a ſtrong Guard, to *Conſtance*. The Council ordered him to be impriſoned in a neighbouring Caſtle, probably of *Gottleben*; and a few Days afterwards he was examined in a General Congregation, held in the Convent of the *Minorites*, and after Examination ſent back to his Priſon, though no Error in Point of Faith had been proved upon him. But *John Huſs* being in the mean Time condemned and executed, in the Manner we have ſeen, and *Jerom* threatened, as

Jerom is arreſted and ſent to the Council.

Makes a ſolemn Retractation.

[a] Opera Huſs, l. 2. fol. 343. 354. apud De Hardt & Lenfant.

as a Diſciple of his, with the like Treatment, if he did not acknowlege the Juſtice of his Sentence, and publicly abjure the Errors that *Huſs* had held, he yielded, being overcome with Fear, owned *Huſs* to have been juſtly condemned, retracted all the Errors they were pleaſed to charge him with, and declared himſelf willing to undergo all the Penalties inflicted by the Canons upon Heretics, if he ever relapſed into the ſame Errors. This ſolemn Profeſſion and Recantation *Jerom* delivered to the Council, written with his own Hand. However, he was remanded to Priſon, and only allowed a little more Liberty than before. He there began ſeriouſly to reflect on the Baſeneſs of his Conduct, and, ſincerely repenting it, he declared, in a General Congregation, held on Occaſion of ſome new Articles being exhibited againſt him, that he honoured the Memory of *John Huſs*, and ever ſhould, who, he ſaid, had led a moſt blameleſs Life, had never deviated from the Truth, but had been accuſed of many Things of which he was innocent. At Two other Congregations, the One held on the 23d, and the other on the 26th of *May* of the preſent Year 1416, he declared that *John Huſs*, of bleſſed Memory, had neither held nor taught any Doctrines contrary to, or inconſiſtent with the received Doctrines of the Catholic Church; that nothing but the Fear of being burnt alive had made him own, baſely and againſt his Conſcience, the Juſtice of the Sentence pronounced againſt that holy Man and condemn his Doctrines; and that he now retracted his Retractation, as the greateſt Crime he had ever been guilty of.

Year of Chriſt 1416.

Repents and retracts his Retractation.

Upon this Change, quite unexpected, the Aſſembly ordered him to be more ſtrictly confined than ever, and ſome of the ableſt Divines of the Council were ſent to ſatisfy him, that *John Huſs* had been juſtly condemned, to repreſent to him the

Year of Chriſt 1416.

fatal Conſequences of his departing from his late Declaration, and exhort him to adhere to it. But, their Endeavours proving all ineffectual, he was on the 30th of *May* brought before the Council, when he declared anew, that he had done nothing in the whole Courſe of his Life, which he repented of ſo much as his having revoked Doctrines, which he believed to be true, and he therefore now revoked, with all his Soul, his former Revocation. The Biſhop of *Lodi* then charged him, in a Speech, related at length by *Cochlæus* [b], with all the Errors imputed to *John Huſs*, and warmly exhorted him to repent, as it was not yet too late, and ſave his Soul by ſaving his Body. When the Orator had done, *Jerom*, after expatiating in praiſe of *John Huſs*, who, he ſaid, had been moſt unjuſtly condemned, ſolemnly renewed his laſt Retractation, proteſting at the ſame Time, that he would never depart from it, but would rather ſuffer the moſt cruel Death than ſave his Life at the Expence of his Conſcience.

Is condemned and burnt alive.

And now the Council deſpairing of being ever able to overcome his Obſtinacy, as they called it, the final Sentence was drawn up by their Advocate, and pronounced in their Name againſt him, declaring him a relapſed, impenitent, and incorrigible Heretic, and ordered him to be delivered over, as ſuch, to the Secular Arm. The Sentence was no ſooner pronounced than the Magiſtrates of *Conſtance*, receiving him, conſigned him to the Executioner, by whom he was carried that Moment to the Place of Execution, with the ſame Kind of Mitre on his Head as was given to *John Huſs*, and is ſtill given in *Spain* and *Portugal* to condemned *Jews* and *Heretics*. He ſung Pſalms the whole Way, without the leaſt Alteration in his Voice or Countenance, and

Dies with great Firmneſs and Conſtancy.

[b] Cochlæus Hiſt. Huſſit. l. 3.

and when the Executioner, after tying him to the Stake, approached the Pile behind his Back, in order to ſet Fire to it without being ſeen by him, *Come forward* he ſaid, *and put Fire to it before my Face; For had I been afraid, I ſhould not have come to this Place, as I might have eaſily avoided it.* When the Pile was fired, he ſung aloud, *Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*; and continued repeating theſe Words till the Flame ſtopt his Mouth [c]. The contemporary Writers, namely *Æneas Silvius*, afterwards Pope *Pius* II. *Theodoric de Niem*, then at the Council, *Theodoric Urie*, and *Poggius* the *Florentine*, who was an Eye-witneſs of *Jerom*'s End, all agree in extolling the heroic Firmneſs and invincible Conſtancy, with which he ſuffered ſo cruel a Death. *Poggius*, after giving an Account of his Death, in a Letter to *Leonardo* of *Arrezo*, *thus died*, he added in a Kind of Rapture, *this Man, eminent beyond all Belief —— O glorious Man, truly worthy of immortal Memory! If he entertained Sentiments contrary to thoſe of the Church, I do not commend him on that Account; but I admire his prodigious Knowlege and Eloquence, which, I fear, Nature gifted him with only for his Ruin —— I was an Eye-witneſs of his End: Whether he was guilty of Inſincerity or Obſtinacy, I know not; but no Death was ever more philoſophical*—Mutius *did not, with ſo conſtant a Reſolution, endure the burning of One Member, as he did the burning of his whole Body, nor did* Socrates *more chearfully drink off the poiſonous Draught, than he embraced the Stake. What a Pity that ſo fine a Genius ſhould go aſtray from the Faith! allowing however what is ſaid of him to be true. For it does not belong to me to judge of an Affair of ſuch great Importance, and I refer it to thoſe, who know more*

Year of Chriſt 1416.

[c] Opera Huſs. l. 2. fol. 354. & De Hardt, l. 4. p. 772. apud Lenfant.

Year of Christ 1416.

more of it than I do [d]. *Poggius* durſt not call *Jerom*'s Death a *Chriſtian* Death; but, if it was not truly *Chriſtian*, I ſhould be glad to know what Martyr's was; neither was he convinced, as appears plain enough from his Words, of *Jerom*'s having entertained Sentiments contrary to thoſe of the Church, but he thought it not ſafe to ſpeak out. As he was a Man of Note and of Learning, for he had been Secretary to the depoſed Pope *John* XXIII. and had ſpent the greateſt Part of his Life at the Court of *Rome*, he was, no doubt, preſent at all the Examinations of the pretended Heretic, and his ſpeaking ſo doubtfully of his Guilt, is a ſtrong Argument, at leaſt, of its not being ſufficiently proved. Indeed *Jerom* agreed intirely in his Sentiments with *John Huſs*, and *Huſs* differed, as has been ſhewn, in no material Point from the Church. But the Clergy, alarmed at the Spirit of Reformation, which they diſcovered in both, and looking upon both as dangerous Men, perhaps upon *Jerom* as the moſt dangerous of the Two, as he was a Man of quicker Parts than the other, and much greater Eloquence, they determined to remove both out of the Way.

The Ambaſſadors of the Princes in the Obedience of Benedict join the Council.

To return now to the Council. In the Six following Seſſions, held in the preſent Year 1416, the chief Buſineſs of the Fathers was to receive, and admit to the Council the Ambaſſadors of the Kings of *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Caſtile*, and thoſe of the Count *de Foix*, ſent by their reſpective Maſters to acknowlege the Council and join in the Reſolutions, that ſhould be taken by that Aſſembly againſt *Benedict*, if he refuſed to reſign. On the 27th of *January* of the following Year 1417, the Emperor returned to *Conſtance*, when he had been abſent a Year and a Half. From *Spain* he went to *France*, and

[d] Poggius Epiſt. 3. ad Leonard Aretin. apud Lenfant.

and from *France* to *England*, to negociate a Peace between the Two Kings, *Charles* VI. of *France* and *Henry* V. of *England*. He was received with all poſſible Marks of Joy by the Council, and thenceforth aſſiſted, as he had done before, at all the Seſſions. In the Thirtieth Seſſion, held on *Wedneſday* the 10th of *March*, *Bernardus de Planchea* and *Lambertus de Stipite*, Two *Benedictine* Monks, who had been ſent by the Council to ſummon *Benedict* to appear in Two Months and Ten Days, gave an Account to the Council of what had paſſed between him and them at *Peniſcola*. They delivered, they ſaid, the Summons into his own Hands, in the Preſence of Three of his Cardinals, of a great Number of Biſhops, who ſtill adhered to him, and of Three Notaries, whom he had ordered to attend on the Occaſion. When he had peruſed it, he returned Anſwer, that no Council had any Power over him who was lawful Pope; that as for the Aſſembly of *Conſtance*, it was entirely compoſed of Men, who had been excommunicated for their Diſobedience to their lawful Lord, and could not therefore repreſent the Church, that nevertheleſs, for the Good and the Safety of the Church, he was willing to reſign, provided they allowed him, as the only undoubted Cardinal, to name his Succeſſor. *Poggius* tells us, that *Benedict*, turning to thoſe about him when the two Monks were introduced to him, *Let us hear*, he ſaid, alluding to the Colour of their Habit, *the Ravens of the Council*; and that one of them returned Anſwer, *No Wonder that Ravens ſhould flock to a Carcaſe*.

Year of Chriſt 1416.

Benedict *ſummoned by the Council.*

Year of Chriſt 1417.

In the following Seſſions ſeveral Regulations were made concerning the Order, that ſhould be obſerved by the Nations when they gave their Votes; the Articles of *Narbonne* were approved by the Ambaſſadors of all the Princes in *Benedict*'s Obedience; *Peter de Luna* was ſummoned over and over again at

He is depoſed.

Year of Christ 1417.

at the Church Door; and, as he did not appear, nor any Body for him, the Council proceeded, at laſt, to the final Sentence, which was read by *William Fillaſtre*, Cardinal of *St. Mark*, in the Thirty-ſeventh Seſſion, held on *Thurſday* the 26th of *July*.

The Sentence.

By that Sentence *Peter de Luna*, called in his Obedience *Benedict* XIII. was declared a Diſturber of the Peace of the Church, an Abetter of the Schiſm, that had ſo long kept the whole Body of the Faithful divided among themſelves; notoriouſly guilty of Perjury in breaking the Oath, that he had ſolemnly taken before his Election, and had ſolemnly confirmed after it; a manifeſt, obſtinate, and incorrigible Heretic, ſtanding up againſt the Article *One Holy Catholic Church*, and as ſuch deprived of all Honour, Title, and Dignity, and cut off, as a rotten Member, from the Body of the Church. By the ſame Sentence all were abſolved from the Oaths they might have taken to him, and forbidden to obey him, or afford him any Relief, or Retreat in their Territories or Dominions, under any Pretence whatever. However, *Peter* continued to thunder out, undauntedly, from his inacceſſible Rock, Excommunications and Anathemas againſt the ſchiſmatic Aſſembly at *Conſtance*, and all the Princes and Biſhops who aſſiſted at it, or received its Definitions or Decrees, *calculated to foment and perpetuate ſo dangerous a Schiſm in the One holy Catholic and Apoſtolic Church*; ſo that *the One holy Catholic and Apoſtolic Church was now* to be found only at *Peniſcola*, and all but *Peter de Luna* and the few Clerks there with him, were Schiſmatics [e].

Decree concerning the Aſſembling of General Councils.

In the Thirty-ninth Seſſion, held on *Saturday* the 9th of *October*, it was decreed, that Five Years after the Concluſion of the preſent General Council another ſhould be held; that a Second ſhould be con-

[e] Acta Concil. Seſſ. 37.

convoked within the Term of Seven Years after the breaking up of that, and thenceforth One ſhould be aſſembled every Tenth Year, reckoning from the Time when the preceding Council ended. The Pope for the Time being was to name the Places, with the Approbation of the Council, where theſe Councils ſhould meet; and that a Month before the End of each Council. In the Abſence of the Pope the appointing of the Place was left to the Council. The Pope was allowed, upon any emergent Occaſion, to ſhorten the Time between the Councils, with the Advice of his Cardinals; but he was, on no Account, to prorogue any of them, nor to change the appointed Place, without apparent Neceſſity. Should a Schiſm happen, and two Popes be elected, a Council was ordered to meet the very next Year; and all Biſhops, as well as the Emperor, and other Kings and Princes, were enjoined, on Pain of Excommunication, to repair to it, or to ſend their Ambaſſadors, to extinguiſh, as it were, a general Conflagration. It was further ordained, that if he, who was firſt elected, ſhould hear of another Election after his, he ſhould, on Pain of an eternal Curſe, *maledictionis æternæ*, and of forfeiting all the Right he had, in the Term of a Month, convene the Council in the Place appointed before; that neither he nor his Competitor ſhould preſide at it, but ſhould be both actually ſuſpended from the Adminiſtration the very Moment the Council met. By the ſame Decree every Election, not quite free, was declared null, nor was it to be deemed valid, ſhould they, with whom Violence had been uſed, concur freely in it afterwards; and the Cardinals were forbidden to proceed to a new Election till the Affair was determined

Year of Chriſt 1417.

Year of Christ 1417.

mined by a General Council, unless the Elect should in the mean Time die or resign [f].

Confession of Faith to be made by every new Pope.

In the same Session a Confession of Faith was drawn up to be made by every new Pope before his Election was made public. It was as follows: *In the Year of our Lord One Thousand,* &c. I. N. *elected Pope, do confess and profess with my Heart and my Mouth before Almighty God, who has committed the Government of his Church to me, and before St.* Peter, *Prince of the Apostles, that as long as I live I shall inviolably hold, to the minutest Article, the holy Catholic Faith, according to the Tradition of the Apostles, of the General Councils, and of the other holy Fathers, particularly of the Eight General Councils, namely, of the First Council of* Nice, *the Second of* Constantinople, *the Third of* Ephesus, *the Fourth of* Chalcedon, *the Fifth and Sixth of* Constantinople, *the Seventh of* Nice, *the Eighth of* Constantinople, *and likewise of the General Councils of the* Lateran, *of* Lions, *of* Vienna; *and that I will preach, maintain, and defend the Faith at the Hazard of my Life and to the Effusion of my Blood. I will likewise unalterably observe the Rite of the Sacraments of the Catholic Church, as it is prescribed. I have signed this Confession, written in compliance with my Order by a Notary and Register of the Holy* Roman *Church; and I offer it to thee, Almighty God, with a pure Heart and a devout Conscience, upon such an Altar, in the Presence of such and such Persons* [g].

Decree concerning the Manner of electing a new Pope.

The Apostolic See being now vacant by the Deposition of the Two surviving Pretenders to it, the Council decreed, in the Fortieth Session, held on *Saturday* the 30th of *October*, that a new Pope should be forthwith elected, notwithstanding the Absence of *Peter de Luna*'s Cardinals, who, nevertheless, should be admitted, if they came before the Election

[f] Acta Concil. Sess. 39.

[g] Acta Concil. ibid.

tion was made, and adhered to the Council. It was at the ſame Time ordained, that, for this Time only, Six Prelates, or Eccleſiaſtical Perſons in holy Orders, out of each of the Five Nations then preſent at the Council, ſhould be added to the Cardinals, and that he, who ſhould be elected by Two Parts in Three of the Cardinals, and the Deputies of the Nations, ſhould by all be received for lawful and undoubted Pope. The Nations were originally only Four, as has been ſaid; *viz.* the *Italian*, the *German*, the *French*, and the *Engliſh*. But the *Spaniards*, upon their joining the Council, were allowed the Privilege of forming a Fifth Nation. By this Regulation each Nation was to have a Share in the Election of the new Pope, which would induce each of them, as was wiſely judged by the Fathers, to look upon him as its own Pope, and adhere to him as ſuch.

Year of Chriſt 1417.

MARTIN

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS, JOHN PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperors of the East.* **MARTIN V.** SIGISMUND, *Emperor of the West.*

The Two Hundred and Fifth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1417. Martin V. *elected and inthroned.*

THE Apoſtolic See having been declared vacant in the Fortieth Seſſion, the Cardinals of the Three Obediences, according to ſome Twenty-one, or, as others will have it, Twenty-three, and the Thirty Deputies of the Nations, entered the Conclave in the Town-houſe of *Conſtance* on *Monday* Evening the 8th of *November*, after taking the uſual Oaths in the Preſence of the Emperor, who, on that Occaſion, warmly exhorted them to elect One capable and willing to reform the many Abuſes that had been introduced, during ſo long a Schiſm, and disfigured the whole Face of the Church. As the Electors were of ſo many different Nations, and it was in the Power of Three out of the Six of each Nation to hinder the Election it was apprehended that the Conclave would laſt ſome Months, and that great Diſorders would happen, it being natural for every Nation to give their Suffrages to One of their own Country. But to the great Surprize of all, *Otto Odo*, or *Eudes de Columna*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. George ad Velum Aureum*, was elected in the Evening of the Third Day, having the Suffrages of Seventeen Cardinals, of the Six *Engliſh* Electors, and of Four at leaſt out of the Six Electors of the Four other Nations. He was attended the ſame Evening by the Emperor and the Council to the Cathedral, was there inthroned amidſt the loud Acclamations of Men of all Ranks; and on that Occaſion he took the Name of *Martin* V. having been elected on that Saint's Day, the 11th of *November*.

Oldoinus

Oldoinus tells us, that the Emperor, upon the first Notice he had of the Election of Cardinal *de Columna*, flew to the Conclave, forgetful of his Dignity, and quite unattended, to thank the Electors for the Choice they had made, and that proſtrating himſelf before the Elect, he kiſſed his Foot, recommending to him, with Tears in his Eyes, the diſtracted State of the Church, while he on his Side raiſing the Emperor up, and tenderly embracing him, returned him his moſt ſincere Thanks for the Zeal he had exerted, and the many, almoſt unſurmountable, Difficulties he had overcome to reſtore the ſo long wiſhed for Tranquillity to the Chriſtian World [p]. Year of Chriſt 1417.

Martin, on the very Day of his Election, wrote circulatory Letters to acquaint the Biſhops and the Chriſtian Princes with his Promotion: And it is obſervable, that though he was not Biſhop, nor indeed Prieſt, being only Deacon, yet he did not ſtile himſelf *Biſhop Elect*, as was uſual when the Elect was not a Biſhop, but took the Title of Biſhop without that Addition, *Martin, Biſhop, Servant of the Servants of God, &c* [q]. He was ordained Prieſt on *Saturday* the 20th of *November*, and the next Day firſt conſecrated Biſhop, and then crowned with the uſual Solemnity. After his Coronation he rode in the Pontifical Attire, as was cuſtomary, through the City, that he might be ſeen by all, the Emperor holding his Bridle on Foot on the Right Hand, and the new Elector, *Frideric*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, on the Left [r].

Some Account of his Family.

Martin was the Son of *Agapetus de Colnmna*, or, as they are now called, *Colonna*, a *Roman* Family ſtill ſubſiſting in *Rome*, and one of the moſt illuſtrious in *Europe*. *Raynald*, Duke of *Juliers* and *Gelderland*, in the Letter he wrote to congratulate

[p] Oldoin. addition. ad Ciacon. [q] Papebroc. in Paralipomenis, p. 112. [r] Acta Concil.

Year of Christ 1417.

Martin upon his Promotion, owned his Family to be deſcended from the *antient and high Family* of the *Colonnas* of *Rome*, which he reputed, he ſaid, a great Honour. The preſent Royal Family of *Pruſſia* derived its Original, as I have obſerved above, from the *Colonna* Family of *Rome*. For *Martin*, in a Letter he wrote to *Ladiſlaus*, King of *Poland*, on Occaſion of a Marriage between his Daughter *Heduiges*, and *Frideric*, the Son of *Frideric*, Burgrave of *Nurenberg*, the firſt Elector of *Brandenburg*, of whom I have ſpoken above, expreſſes himſelf thus: *According to what has been handed down to us by an ancient Tradition, our Family* de Columna *of* Rome, *and that of the Burgraves of* Nurenberg, *which is likewiſe ſaid to have been originally* Roman, *are derived from the ſame Stock, Hence, as we were before well affected to your Serenity for your eminent Virtues, for your extraordinary Merit, and good Offices to the Chriſtian People, we ought now to be, and ſhall be, ſtill more ready to favour your Excellence to the utmoſt of our Power, in Conſideration of this new Connexion with your Highneſs by Affinity. For in honouring the* Brandenburg *Family with illuſtrious and royal Nuptials, you have, at the ſame Time, honoured ours*[f]. The *Colonna* Family can, perhaps, boaſt of more great Men than any Family this Day in *Europe*. It has produced, in its different Branches, many Princes, Kings, Popes, and even ſome Emperors. In the Beginning of the thirteenth Century, Cardinal *John de Columna*, being ſent by Pope *Honorius* III. with the Character of his Legate to the Holy Land, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that War, and upon his Return Home brought with him a Column or Pillar, ſuppoſed to be the Pillar at which our Saviour was ſcourged; and from that Time they have taken the Name *De Columna*, and been authorized, ſays *Molinet*,

[f] Longinus Hiſt. Poloniæ, l. 11.

linet, to carry a *Column* in their Coat of Arms [t]. But Father *Bonanni*, the Jeſuit, has made it undeniably appear, from an ancient Inſcription in the Church of *St. Praxedes*, where the Pillar is to be ſeen to this Day, that the Family bore the Name *De Columna* before the Time of that Cardinal. For in the Inſcription, it is ſaid, that *the Cardinal by bringing the holy Column conſecrated his Name, and added a new Luſtre to it.* The ſame learned Jeſuit produces many indiſputable Teſtimonies to ſhew that the *Colonna* Family bore that Name, and a Column in their Coat of Arms ſome Ages before the holy Column was brought by the above-mentioned Cardinal to *Rome* [u]. I have ſpoken above of the cruel Perſecution the *Colonna* Family ſuffered from *Boniface* VIII. who even cauſed a Cruſade to be preached againſt them, and of their being reſtored by *Benedict* XI. at the Interceſſion of *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, to their former Rank, Honours, and Poſſeſſions [w]. Year of Chriſt 1417.

Martin, come of this ancient and noble Family, ſtudied Canon Law at *Perugia*, and upon his Return to *Rome* he was by *Urban* VI. made Prothonotary and Referendary, by *Boniface* IX. Nuncio to the States of *Italy*, and by *Innocent* VII. Cardinal Deacon of *St. George ad Vleum Aureum*. He eſpouſed the Cauſe of *Gregory* XII. and ſteadily adhered to him, when forſaken by all the other Cardinals, till he was depoſed by the Council of *Piſa*. *John* the XXIIId appointed him Apoſtolic Legate for the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, and Vicar-General of the Apoſtolic See in *Umbria*; and in theſe Employments he is ſaid to have acquitted himſelf to the entire Satisfaction of all under him, being a Man of a moſt humane Temper and peaceable Diſpoſi- *His Employments before his Promotion.*

[t] Du Molinet. Hiſtoire Metallique ad Martin V. [u] Bonanni nummi Pontif. tom. 1. p. 71. [w] See above, p. 232, Vol. VI.

Year of Christ 1417.

tion. *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, who had ſpent the greateſt Part of his Life at the Court of *Rome*, and muſt have been perfectly well acquainted with the Characters of all the Cardinals, ſays, that Cardinal *Colonna* was not commonly reputed a Man of great Penetration, but that *Martin* V. undeceived the World by his extraordinary Sagacity. That Writer adds, that he deſerved no greater Commendations in any other Reſpect [x]. But moſt other Authors ſpeak of him as a Man not only of Parts, but of Probity equal to his Parts. His Election plainly ſhews in what Eſteem he was held by his Brethren the Cardinals, as well as by the Deputies of the Nations. If *Martin* was not free from Faults, ſays M. *Lenfant* in his Hiſtory of the preſent Council, he was certainly endowed, for thoſe Times, with many good Qualities.

His Character.

Legates ſent by Martin *into* Arragon *againſt* Peter de Luna.

Year of Chriſt 1418.

When *Peter de Luna*, ſtill at *Peniſcola*, heard of the Election of *Martin*, he aſſembled the Four Cardinals, and the few Clerks he had with him, and calling that Aſſembly *a General Council* and *the Catholic Church*, he ſolemnly excommunicated, as Schiſmatics, all who had had any Share in the Election of the Antipope *Otho de Columna*, ſtiling himſelf *Martin* V. and all who ſhould acknowledge or obey him. On this Occaſion many of the *Spaniſh* Biſhops, repairing to *Peniſcola*, earneſtly intreated him to yield at laſt, ſeeing the whole Chriſtian World had declared againſt him. The Biſhops were joined even by ſome of *Peter*'s own Cardinals. But to all he returned the ſame Anſwer, that *Chriſt* had entruſted him, as his Vicar upon Earth, with the Care of his Church, and that he never would betray his Truſt, nor yield the See of *St. Peter* to an Uſurper. The new Pope, ſoon after his Election, ſent firſt *Bernard* of *Bourdeaux*, and afterwards Cardinal

[x] Leonard Aretin. Hiſt. Flor. l. 3.

dinal *Alaminus Ademarius*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Piſa*, into *Arragon*, to oblige, with the Cenſures of the Church, ſuch as in that Kingdom ſtill ſided with *Peter de Luna*, to forſake him. He was accordingly forſaken by all, even by all his own Cardinals, except two, *viz. Julian Dobla*, and *Dominic de Bonnefoy*, a *Carthuſian*. *Peter* finding himſelf thus left almoſt alone, in order to gain Time, publiſhed a Manifeſto, declaring that he would treat with none but the Perſon himſelf, who held his See, and that he did not at all doubt but they ſhould agree, if he was worthy of the Character which he generally bore. The Cardinal, provoked beyond Meaſure at his Obſtinacy, cauſed him to be publicly anathematized in all the chief Towns of *Arragon*, and with him his Two Cardinals, and all who acknowledged, obeyed, or aſſiſted him. Theſe Anathemas *Peter* anſwered with others, in the ſame Style, againſt all who acknowledged, obeyed, or aſſiſted the Uſurper of his See y.

Year of Chriſt 1418.

His Obſtinacy

Martin, elected in the Manner we have ſeen, preſided at the four remaining Seſſions of the Council, the forty-ſecond, forty-third, forty-fourth, and forty-fifth, held on the 28th of *December*, 1417, on the 21ſt of *March*, the 19th of *April*, and 22d of the ſame Month, 1418. In the firſt of theſe Seſſions, the forty-ſecond, the Emperor and Duke of *Bavaria*, to whoſe Cuſtody *John* XXIII. now *Balthaſar Coſſa*, had been committed, applied to the Council to know how they were to diſpoſe of him; and it was decreed, that he ſhould be delivered up to the Pope, as ſoon as it ſuited his Holineſs's Convenience to receive him. The Schiſm being now extinguiſhed, or confined to the Rock of *Peniſcola*, the Council were, in the next Place, for

Martin preſides at the Four remaining Seſſions.

y Acta Concil. Surita Hiſt. Aragon, l. 12, c. 66, 67. Raynald. Annal. Eccleſ. tom. 17. p. 3, Platina in Martin V.

Year of Christ 1418.

for proceeding to the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members, the other great and neceſſary Work for which they had met. The Articles of the intended Reformation had been drawn up in the Aſſemblies of the Nations, and were read in the forty-third Seſſion. They chiefly related to *Simonical Preſentations*, *Reſervations*, *Annats*, *Expectative Groces*, *Commendams*, *Diſpenſations*, *Reverſions*, *to the Number and the Quality of the Cardinals*, *to Appeals*, *Alienations*, *Elections*, &c.

The Work of the Reformation put off.

But the new Pope ſhewing himſelf extremely backward with reſpect to the Work of Reformation, many Things were treated of, ſays *Gobelinus Perſona*, who wrote at this Time, but very few were concluded. The Pope, ſays Father *Paul*, in his Treatiſe on Benefices, being unwilling that the Council ſhould meddle with Affairs of that Nature, and the Biſhops being all impatient to return to their Sees after ſo long an Abſence, the Reformation under Colour that it required a great deal of Time, was left to the Council, which was to meet in the Term of five Years [z]. That Council was, in the forty-fourth Seſſion, appointed by the Pope to meet in the City of *Pavia*, and all were required to attend it. In the forty-fifth Seſſion the Pope made a Diſcourſe, and when he had done, Cardinal *Brancuccio*, by his Order, and the Order of the Council, pronounced theſe Words, *Domini*, *ite in Pace*, *Gentlemen*, *depart in Peace*; to which the whole Aſſembly anſwered, *Amen*. Thus was an End put to the preſent Council, when it had ſat from the 16th of *November*, 1414, to the 22d of *April*, 1418, and had obliged one Pope to reſign, and depoſed two others. As the Pope, in confirming the Acts of the Council, declared that he approved of all that had been done *conciliariter*, ſome have taken Occaſion,

End of the Council.

[z] F. Paul, c. 42.

ſion, from the Ambiguity of that Word, to ſay that he did not confirm the Decree, eſtabliſhing the Superiority of the Council to the Pope. But it matters little to uſe the Words of the learned *Du Pin*, whether the Pope confirmed that Decree or not; it is enough for us to know, that it was iſſued by a General Council, repreſenting the Church Univerſal, and compoſed of all the learned Men at that Time in the Church. Year of Chriſt 1418.

Upon the breaking up of the Council the Pope was earneſtly intreated on the one hand by the Emperor to remain ſome Time longer in *Germany*, and on the other by the *French* to reſide among them in his own City of *Avignon*, at leaſt, till he could return with Safety to *Rome*. To both *Martin* returned the ſame Anſwer, that his Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary at *Rome*, left in his Abſence to the Mercy of lawleſs Tyrants, that the Baſilics of the Apoſtles and the other Churches of the City, viſited by the moſt diſtant Nations, were all gone to Decay, and would, if not ſpeedily repaired, be turned into Heaps of Ruins; that the Citizens, abandoned, in a Manner, by their lawful Lord, ſided ſome with one Uſurper, and ſome with another; and thus was the City of *Rome*, and with it the whole Patrimony of *St. Peter*, become the Theatre of a civil and moſt bloody War. He therefore begged they would excuſe him from complying with their Requeſt, but, to gratify, in ſome Degree, both Nations, he promiſed to remain ſome Time at *Geneva*, ſituated between both, and there diſpatch what Affairs they wanted to be ſettled by the Authority of the Apoſtolic See [a]. He continued at *Conſtance* till the 16th of *May*, when he ſet out in great State for *Geneva*. *Reichental*, who was preſent at this Proceſſion, as he calls it, gives us the following Account *Martin ſets out in great State from Conſtance.*

[a] Platina in Martino V.

Year of Christ 1418.

of it. First came twelve led Horses caparisoned with Scarlet, and next to them four Gentlemen on Horseback, carrying four Cardinals Hats. They were followed by a Priest with a Golden Cross in his Hand, which he presented to the Multitude. After him walked twelve Cardinals in their proper Attire, and next to them rode a Priest on a white Horse, carrying the Sacrament under a Canopy, in the Midst of a mixed Multitude with burning Tapers in their Hands. After him came another Priest, carrying a Cross of Gold, and surrounded by the Canons, of whom *Reichental* was one, by the Senators, and the Magistrates of the City in their Formalities, all with burning Torches in their Hands. At last his Holiness appeared on a white Horse under a Canopy in all his Pontifical Ornaments, with a Triple Crown on his Head. The Canopy was supported by four Counts, and his Horse led, on the Right Hand, by the Emperor, and on the Left by the Elector of *Brandenburg*, both on Foot, while the Duke of *Bavaria*, with four other Princes of the Empire, on the one Side, and the Duke of *Austria*, with as many on the other, held up the rich Cloth that covered his Horse and reached to the Ground. At the Gate of the City the Pope dismounted, gave his Benediction to the numerous Multitude, and, changing his Habit and his Horse, set out for *Gottleben*, attended by the Emperor and all the *German* Princes, and there taking his Leave of the Emperor, he embarked on the *Rhine* for *Schaffausen*. From thence he went to *Bern*, staid some Days there in the Convent of the *Dominicans*, and then pursuing his Journey to *Geneva*, made his public Entry into that City on the 11th of *June*, being attended by twelve Cardinals, by the Duke of *Savoy*, and by all the Persons of Distinction in that Neighbourhood. At *Geneva* he was met by the Ambassadors of the City of *Avignon*,

Resides some Time at Geneva.

non, ſent to ſwear Fealty to him in their Name. Of this Pope we have ſeveral Bulls dated at *Geneva*, and one among the reſt, granting to *John*, Earl of *Foix*, who had married the eldeſt Daughter of *Charles*, King of *Navarre*, deceaſed, without any Children by him, a Diſpenſation to marry the other Siſter [b]. Year of Chriſt 1418.

Diſturbances in Bohemia.

As the depriving the Laity of the Cup in the Sacrament, and the Execution of *John Huſs* and *Jerom* of *Prague* made a great Noiſe in *Bohemia*, and on that Account dreadful Diſturbances were raiſed in that Kingdom, *Martin*, being ſtill at *Geneva*, diſpatched from thence *John Dominici*, Cardinal of *Raguſa*, with the Character of his Legate, into *Bohemia*, to appeaſe thoſe Troubles by the Authority of the Apoſtolic See. But the Cardinal ſoon found, that the Apoſtolic See had loſt all its Authority there, and therefore wrote to the Emperor, that the Sword alone could bring thoſe perverſe and obſtinate Heretics back to their Duty. But *Sigiſmund* did not think it adviſeable, nor did the King, *Wenceſlaus*, to employ the Sword till all other Remedies had proved ineffectual. The Cardinal, not thinking it ſafe for him to continue in *Bohemia*, where the *Huſſites* were become very numerous, retired to *Buda*, and died there [c].

Martin at Florence. Year of Chriſt 1419.

The Pope, having paſſed about three Months at *Geneva*, left that City on the 3d of *September*, and repaired to *Milan*, where he was received by Duke *Philip* with extraordinary Marks of Honour. From *Milan* he ſent out for *Mantua* on the 25th of *October*, being attended by eleven Cardinals, and remained there till the 7th of *February* of the following Year 1419, when paſſing through *Ferrara*, *Ravenna*, and *Forli*, but avoiding *Bologna*, then in open Rebellion, he arrived at *Florence* on the 27th of

[b] Apud Raynald. num. 34. [c] Ibid num. 9. et Antonin. tit. 22. c. 3. et tit. 23. c. 11.

Year of Christ 1419.

of *February*, and was received there with all possible Marks of Distinction by the Clergy, the People, and the Magistrates of that then powerful Republic [d]. As many Cities of the Ecclesiastical State were held by petty Tyrants, and *Rome* itself among the rest, *Martin* continued at *Florence* for the Space of near two Years; for no sooner could the State be cleared from those Tyrants, nor could he return with any Safety till it was.

Four of Peter de Luna's Cardinals submit to him

Soon after his Arrival at *Florence*, that is, on the 17th of *March*, came four of *Peter de Luna*'s Cardinals to attend him with the other Cardinals as the only lawful Pope. They had withdrawn their Obedience from *Peter* the preceding Year, and *Martin* had thereupon created them anew, and by a Bull, dated at *Geneva* the 1st of *August*, ordered them to be acknowledged by all for Cardinals of the holy *Roman* Church. He himself received them as such, and confirmed all the Grants the Antipope had made to them. Not long after *Martin* had the far greater, and quite unexpected Satisfaction of seeing *Balthasar Cossa*, heretofore *John* XXIII. prostrate at his Feet, and throwing himself entirely upon his Mercy. Some say that he purchased his Liberty of the Elector *Palatine*, to whose Custody he was committed, with the Sum of Thirty Thousand Crowns of Gold, while others tell us, that he found Means to make his Escape out of *Heidelberg*, where he had been kept Prisoner for the Space of near four Years. Be that as it may, he appeared, to the great Surprize of all, at the Pope's Court in the Beginning of *June* of the present Year, and, throwing himself at his Feet without any previous Stipulations or Conditions whatever, acknowledged him for the lawful Successor of St. *Peter* and Christ's Vicar upon Earth.

And likewise Balthasar Cossa.

Martin,

[d] Contelorius ad ann. 1419.

Martin, ſcarce able to believe what he ſaw and heard, immediately raiſed him up, and, tenderly embracing him, congratulated him upon ſo ſudden a Change, that could be owing to Heaven alone, and would prove ſo beneficial to the Church Univerſal. On the 14th of *June*, *Balthaſar* ratified and confirmed all the Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance* relating to himſelf, and to the Election of *Martin*, renounced, in a ſolemn Manner, all Right and Title to the Popedom, and was thereupon created by the Pope Cardinal Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, was made Dean of the Sacred College, and it was ordained, that he ſhould always ſit next to the Pope, and his Seat ſhould be ſomewhat raiſed above the Seats of the other Cardinals. But he did not long enjoy theſe Honours much inferior to his Ambition. For he died at *Florence* of Grief, or, as ſome ſay, of Poiſon, on the 20th of *December* of the preſent Year, and was buried in the Baptiſtery or Chapel of St. *John the Baptiſt*, where his moſt affectionate Friend *Coſmis de Medicis*, a Citizen of *Florence*, procured a moſt magnificent Tomb to be erected over his Remains with this Epitaph, *Here lies the Body of* Balthaſar Coſſa, *heretofore Pope* John XXIII. This, *Coſmus* owed, in Gratitude, to his deceaſed Friend and Benefactor; for with his Money, ſays *Platina*, he had ſo increaſed his own Wealth, that he was thought to be poſſeſſed of greater Riches than any, not only at *Florence*, and in all *Italy*, but perhaps in any other Country[e]. The immenſe Treaſures that this Citizen had accumulated by the Friendſhip of Pope *John*, during his Pontificate, enabled his Poſterity to enſlave their Country, and raiſed them from the Rank of Citizens to a Dignity inferior to the Royal alone. *John* left ſeveral Bulls behind him, and a Poem *De varietate fortunæ*, probably compoſed

Year of Chriſt 1419.

How received by Martin.

His Death.

[e] Platina in Mart. V.

Year of Christ 1419.

compoſed during his Captivity. He was certainly a Man of Parts; but the many Irregularities that were laid to his Charge, and proved by unexceptionable Witneſſes, would alone have juſtified his Depoſition.

Embaſſy from Joan II. *Queen of* Naples.

Martin had not been long in *Florence*, when *Joan* II. Queen of *Naples*, who had ſucceeded to her Brother King *Ladiſlaus*, deceaſed without lawful Iſſue, ſent a ſplendid Embaſſy, at the Head of which was *John Caraccioli*, her chief Favourite and Gallant, to congratulate the new Pope upon his Promotion, to do Homage to him in her Name, and to beg his Holineſs would ſend a Legate *a latere* to crown her with the uſual Solemnity. As the diſſolute Life ſhe led, and the undeſerved Treatment her Huſband met with at her Hands, had raiſed a ſtrong Party againſt her, in order to engage the Pope in her Intereſt *Caraccioli* was ordered to promiſe the Reſtitution of the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, of *Oſtia*, and *Civita Vecchia*, which the late King, her Brother, had ſeized, nay, and to aſſure his Holineſs, that, as ſoon as ſhe was crowned, ſhe would ſend all the Forces of her Kingdom to aſſiſt him in driving out the Tyrants, who had ſeized, and, in a Manner, divided among themſelves the Patrimony of St. *Peter*. The Pope, in the firſt Audience he granted to the Ambaſſadors, expreſſed his greateſt Regard for their Miſtreſs, beſtowed the higheſt Commendations upon her for her Attachment to the Apoſtolic See, and, in Compliance with her Requeſt, promiſed to ſend, without Delay, a Legate *a latere* to perform the Ceremony of the Coronation. But he abſolutely inſiſted upon her firſt ſetting the King, her Huſband, at Liberty, and living with him as his Wife. She had married *James*, Count *de la Marche*, of the Blood Royal of *France*; but, to indulge her Amours without Reſtraint, had cauſed him to be ſhut up in one of the Caſtles, and ordered all the

French

French to leave the Kingdom in the Space of eight Days. The Pope therefore, at the preſſing Inſtances of the *French* King and the other Princes of the Blood, whom he was unwilling to diſoblige, peremptorily refuſed to ſend a Legate to crown the Queen till the King was reſtored to his Liberty. This *Caraccioli* immediately notified to the Queen, adviſing her by all Means to comply with the Pope's Requeſt, leſt he ſhould be prevailed upon by the *French* King to proceed to the Cenſures of the Church againſt her. The Queen hearkened to his Advice, and the Pope, upon the firſt Notice he had of the King's Deliverance, diſpatched Cardinal *Maurocenus* with the Character of his Legate to crown the Queen. The King no ſooner recovered his Liberty, than, finding that his Countrymen had been all baniſhed the Kingdom, and that the Queen was intirely governed by *Caraccioli*, his mortal Enemy, he left *Naples*, and, returning to *France*, embraced there a religious Life among the *Minorites*. Soon after his Departure the Queen was crowned with great Solemnity by the Legate, and received the Inveſtiture, in the Pope's Name, at his Hands[e].

Year of Chriſt 1419.

Martin *prevails upon her to ſet her Huſband at Liberty.*

Is crowned by the Pope's Legate.

The Queen, immediately after her Coronation, not only cauſed all the Places that her Brother had ſeized and garriſoned in the Eccleſiaſtical State to be reſtored, but ſent *James Sforza*, a Soldier of Fortune and a renowned Commander, with the Flower of her Troops againſt *Braccio* of *Perugia*, another Soldier of Fortune, and no leſs famous in War than he. *Braccio*, upon the Depoſition of Pope *John*, had made himſelf Maſter of moſt of the Cities belonging to the Church, and of *Rome* itſelf, where he ruled with an abſolute Sway, ſtiling himſelf *Lord of Rome*; which Title he afterwards laid down at the Deſire of the *Roman* People, and took that of *Defender*

Sends an Army to aſſiſt the Pope.

e Sommont. Hiſt. Neapol. l. 4. c. 3.

Year of Christ 1419.

fender of the City of Rome in its ſtead. He did not wait till *Sforza* approached *Rome*, apprehending the Friends of the Pope would join him, but went to meet him in the Neighbourhood of *Viterbo*; and an Engagement enſuing, *Sforza* was, after a moſt gallant Reſiſtance, driven out of the Field, and *Braccio*, having purſued him with great Slaughter to the Borders of the Kingdom of *Naples*, returned triumphant to *Rome*. Upon the News of this Defeat the Pope, recurring to his Spiritual Weapons, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Braccio* by Name, and againſt all who ſerved under him, or ſhould lend him any Aſſiſtance whatever. But of that Sentence *Braccio* made ſo little Account, that he in his Turn, by Way of Contempt and Deriſion, excommunicated the Pope, and all who adhered to him [f]. However, by the Interpoſition of the *Florentines*, an Agreement was ſoon after concluded between *Martin* and *Braccio*, the latter conſenting, upon his being allowed to hold ſome Cities, as Vicar of the Apoſtolic See, to deliver up *Rome* and all the reſt into the Hands of the Pope; nay, *Martin*, being entirely reconciled to him, not only abſolved him from the Excommunication, but, taking him and his Mercenaries into his Service, reduced by his Means all the Rebel Cities, and among the reſt the City of *Bologna*, that had revolted at the Inſtigation of one of the *Bentivoglio* Family, and ſet up the Standard of Liberty [g].

Which is defeated by Braccio.

Who afterwards ſubmits to the Pope.

The Tyrants being every-where driven out, and a perfect Tranquillity reſtored throughout the Eccleſiaſtical State, *Martin* reſolved to leave *Florence*, and repair, as he might with all Safety, to *Rome*. The *Florentines* had received and treated him, during his long Stay among them, with all the Reſpect that was

[f] Antonin. tit. 22. c. 7. [g] Leonard. Aretin. Hiſt. Rerum Italic.

was due to his Dignity, had prevailed upon *Braccio* to ſubmit to him upon very reaſonable Terms, and had, on every other Occaſion, interpoſed their good Offices in his Behalf. However, at his Departure he did not ſeem to be entirely ſatisfied with their Behaviour; but, on the contrary, complained to his Secretary, *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, of their having ſuffered him to be publicly inſulted in the Streets. As *Martin* was not in a Condition to live up to his Dignity, but obliged to moderate his Expences for Want of Money, which alone procures Reſpect in rich trading Cities, he was deſpiſed by ſome of thoſe wealthy Citizens, and the Children ſung publicly in the Streets, *Papa Martino non vale un qualterno*; that is, Pope *Martin* is not worth a Farthing. This the Pope highly reſented, not in the Children, but in the Magiſtrates, whoſe Duty it was, he ſaid, if they had any Regard for him, to have reſtrained them, and not ſuffered his Name to be thus expoſed, in the public Streets, to the Contempt of the Populace. But his Secretary repreſenting to him, that Ballads, ſung by Children in the Streets, were beneath his Notice, and even beneath the Notice of the Magiſtrates; that his being able to return, in Safety, to *Rome*, was chiefly owing to the Interpoſition of the Republic; that the Magiſtrates had taken Care no Offence ſhould be offered, and none had been offered, even to the meaneſt of his Servants, during his long Abode in their City; that had the Magiſtrates known, that his Holineſs thought the Behaviour of the Children in the Streets worthy of his Reſentment, they would have thought it worthy of Puniſhment, and would have puniſhed it with the utmoſt Severity. *Leonardo* added, that his Holineſs would find the *Florentines* on all Occaſions ready to employ their good Offices in his Behalf, and not their good Offices alone. *Martin* owned what

Year of Chriſt 1419.

Martin complains of the Florentines.

Year of Christ 1419.

what his Secretary ſaid to be true; and, being thus appeaſed, ſent for the Magiſtrates at his Departure, and after thanking them for their many good Offices, and the many Proofs they had given of their Attachment both to his Perſon and the Apoſtolic See, he erected the Epiſcopal See of their City into a Metropolis, and ſubjected to it the two neighbouring Sees of *Fiſcoli* and *Piſtoia*; *Theſe Two*, ſays *Antonine, and no other*; but to theſe Two *Platina* adds a Third, the See of *Volterra*[h].

Is appeaſed, and erects their See into a Metropolis.

Martin *arrives at* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1420.

Martin left *Florence* on the 9th of *September* 1420, and arriving at *Rome* on the 28th of the ſame Month, reſted the next Day, *Sunday*, at the Church of *St. Mary de Populo*, near the Gate of the City, and on *Monday* made his public Entry into *Rome*, attended by the Clergy in a Body, by the Senate, the Nobility, and immenſe Crowds of People, all crying aloud, *Long live Pope* Martin. He found the City in a moſt deplorable Condition, moſt of its ſtately Edifices lying in Ruins, the Churches quite neglected and ready to fall, the Streets all covered with Rubbiſh and Filth, and the People reduced to the utmoſt Poverty, even to want the Neceſſaries of Life. *Martin* immediately cauſed Proviſions to be brought, in great Plenty, from all Parts, and having ordered the Streets to be cleaned, rebuilt or repaired, at his own Expence, the ruinous Churches, and with them the Houſes of ſuch of the Inhabitants as were not able to repair them themſelves. Thus was *Rome* by his Means reſtored, in the Space of leſs than two Years, to its antient Splendor and Beauty; which procured him the Name of *Romulus the Second*[i].

In the mean Time *Peter de Luna*, confined to *Peniſcola*, and acting there as High Pontiff, thundered

[h] Leonard. & Antonin. ubi ſupra. 1420. & Platina in Martin V.

[i] Contelerius ad ann.

dered out anew the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the Uſurper of his See, and all who adhered to him, eſpecially the *Romans*, who inſtead of ſhutting their Gates againſt him, as it was their Duty to have done, had received him as the true Vicar of *Chriſt* upon Earth. He was countenanced at this Time under-hand, and ſupported by *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*, provoked at *Martin*'s refuſing to comply with his exorbitant Demands. For, as his Father *Ferdinand*, and he himſelf, upon his Father's Death, had expended, as he pretended, vaſt Sums, and ſpared no Trouble to extinguiſh the Schiſm, and gain over ſuch as ſtill adhered to *Peter de Luna*, he demanded, in return, Leave of the Pope to diſpoſe, for a long Term of Years, of all the vacant Benefices in his Dominions, to enjoy the Revenues ſo long as they remained vacant, and to ſhare with his Holineſs all the Money, that ſhould be levied in the Kingdom of *Arragon* for the Benefit of the Apoſtolic See. *Martin* endeavoured to ſatisfy the King of the Unreaſonableneſs of his Demands: But *Alphonſo*, flattering himſelf that by eſpouſing the Cauſe of his Competitor, he ſhould frighten him into a Compliance, began, with that View, to countenance all who adhered to *Benedict*, nay, and to ſuffer the Validity of *Martin*'s Election to be publickly queſtioned, and the Council of *Conſtance* to be openly arraigned of Injuſtice and Partiality. This occaſioned a Miſunderſtanding between the Pope and the King, which ſoon ended in an open Rupture on the following Occaſion.

Year of Chriſt 1421.

Miſunderſtanding between the Pope and the King of Arragon.

As *Caraccioli*, of whom I have ſpoken above, Prime Miniſter to *Joan*, Queen of *Naples*, and her Gallant, governed that Kingdom more like a Sovereign than a Prime Miniſter, *Sforza*, who commanded the Queen's Troops, not able to bear with his imperious, haughty, and inſolent Behaviour, began to form a Party againſt him, with a Deſign

What gave Occaſion to it.

Year of Christ 1421.

to oblige the Queen to diſmiſs him. Of this *Caraccioli* was ſoon informed, and applying thereupon to the Queen, ſo prejudiced her againſt *Sforza*, as if he intended to impoſe upon her what Miniſters he pleaſed, and engroſs, by their Means, all Power to himſelf, that ſhe no longer admitted him to her Councils, and but very ſeldom to her Preſence, though ſhe had hitherto placed an intire Confidence in him, and in all Matters of Moment adviſed with him as well as with *Caraccioli*. From this Change in the Queen *Sforza* concluded, that the Command of the Army would be ſoon taken from him, and therefore, in order to be revenged both upon the Queen and her Favourite, and maintain himſelf in Power in Spite of both, he ſent his Secretary privately into *France*, to invite *Lewis* III. Duke of *Anjou*, to come and take Poſſeſſion of his paternal Kingdom, aſſuring him, that moſt of the Barons, no leſs diſſatisfied than he was himſelf, with the tyrannical and deſpotic Government of the Prime Miniſter, would readily join him. *Lewis*, the preſent Duke of *Anjou*, was the Son of *Lewis*, whom *Ladiſlaus*, Queen *Joan*'s Brother, had driven out, and the Grandſon of *Lewis*, whom Queen *Joan* I. had adopted. Upon that Adoption, as it was confirmed by the Apoſtolic See, the Dukes of *Anjou* founded their Claim to the Crown of *Naples*, ſtiling themſelves, in all their public Writings, *Kings of Apulia*, or of *Hither Sicily*. *Lewis* accepted with great Joy the Invitation; and *Sforza*, upon the Return of his Secretary, who brought with him a conſiderable Sum of Money, ſent back to the Queen her Standard with his Truncheon, and at the Head of his Army, cauſed *Lewis* III. of *Anjou* to be proclaimed King of *Apulia*. He was ſoon joined by many of the diſcontented Barons and their Vaſſals; and his Army being thus reinforced, he reduced moſt of the ſtrong Holds, that, in the Neighbourhood of *Naples*,

Naples, held out for the Queen. In the mean Time *Lewis*, having with incredible Expedition equipped a Fleet at *Marſeilles*, appeared with it unexpectedly off *Naples*, and landing without Oppoſition, was received by *Sforza* and his Army with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy. As the Queen had no Army to make Head againſt theirs, ſhe retired, with ſuch of the Barons as ſhe could confide in, to the Caſtle *Dell Uovo*, in the City of *Naples*, then thought impregnable. She was there ſoon beſieged by *Lewis* and *Sforza*; and having no Proſpect of Relief, ſhe was for capitulating, and adopting, as ſhe had no Children of her own, *Lewis* for her Son, her Heir, and Succeſſor. But *Caraccioli*, dreading to fall into the Hands of *Sforza*, his avowed Enemy, inſtead of *Lewis* propoſed *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*, a powerful Prince, who, he ſaid, would ſoon drive out both *Lewis* and *Sforza*, and leave her, as he had many other Kingdoms, to govern her Kingdom, as ſhe pleaſed, quite undiſturbed. With this Propoſal the Queen immediately cloſed, and it was no ſooner notified to *Alphonſo*, who was then riding off *Sardinia* with a very numerous Fleet and a powerful Army on board to make a Deſcent upon *Corſica*, than, dropping that Enterprize for the preſent, he ſet ſail for *Naples*, and landing his Army, vaſtly ſuperior in Numbers to that of *Lewis*, obliged him not only to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle, but to abandon that Neighbourhood, and retire with his Army into *Calabria*. The Queen, being now delivered out of all Danger, adopted her Deliverer, with great Solemnity, and he was univerſally acknowleged for lawful Heir to the Crown. As the Kingdom of *Apulia* was a Fief of the Apoſtolic See, *Alphonſo* wrote immediately to the Pope to acquaint him with his Adoption, and beg his Holineſs would confirm it. But *Martin*, inſtead of complying with his Requeſt, returned

Year of Chriſt 1421.

The King of Arragon *adopted by Queen* Joan.

That Adoption oppoſed by the Pope.

Year of Christ 1421.

returned Answer, that *Lewis* had an undoubted Right to that Crown; that his Grandfather *Lewis* I. had been adopted by Queen *Joan* I. with the Consent and Approbation of *Clement* VII. that the succeeding Popes had all confirmed that Adoption, and therefore that he neither could nor ever would consent to the Adoption of any other. He added, that he had allowed the Queen to enjoy the Kingdom during her Life, and had even sent a Legate to crown her in his Name; but had not impowered her to dispose of it to whom she pleased, either in her Life-time or after her Death, and consequently that her Adoption was in itself null. *Alphonso*, provoked beyond Measure at the Pope's Answer, declared for *Peter de Luna*, took all, who adhered to him, into his Protection, and spared no Pains to get him acknowleged throughout the Kingdom of *Arragon*. On the other Hand *Martin* declared *Lewis* III. of *Anjou* lawful Heir to the Crown of *Apulia*, created *Sforza* Standard-Bearer of the Church, sent him a Thousand Horse under the Command of *Tartalia Lavetto*, an Officer of great Experience, and forbad any Tribute or Taxes to be paid by the People of *Apulia* to Queen *Joan*[k].

In the mean Time the Barons, dissatisfied with the arbitrary Government of the King of *Arragon*, and flocking from all Parts to join *Lewis*, that Prince, in a very short Time, found himself at the Head of an Army able to contend with that of his Rival. He marched, accordingly, into the Neighbourhood of *Naples*; and his Friends in that City, encouraged at his Approach, fell unexpectedly upon the *Arragonians*, cut many of them in Pieces, and obliged the King himself to fly for Refuge to one of the Castles, the greatest Part of his Army being, at that Juncture, employed in reducing the distant

[k] Apud Rainald. ad ann. 1421. num. 112.

diſtant Fortreſſes of the Kingdom. As *Alphonſo* had obliged the Magiſtrates and all other Officers to ſwear Allegiance to him, and diſpoſed of all Places without conſulting the Queen or *Caraccioli*, ſhewing but too plainly, by his whole Conduct, that he intended to deprive her of all Authority, and govern the Kingdom as his own, even in her Life-time, ſhe reſolved to revoke his Adoption, and adopt *Lewis* in his Room. This Reſolution was ſuggeſted and earneſtly recommended to her by her Favourite Miniſter, as the only Means of engaging the Pope in her Intereſt, who, he ſaid, would not fail, for the Sake of *Lewis*, to ſupport her, to the utmoſt of his Power, againſt *Alphonſo*. The Queen therefore, leaving *Naples* immediately, retired to *Averſa*, and being there received by *Sforza*, to whom ſhe had privately notified her Deſign, ſhe there declared the Adoption of *Alphonſo* null, and with great Solemnity adopted *Lewis*, diſtinguiſhing him with the Title of *Duke of Calabria*, the Title given in that Kingdom to the apparent Heir to the Crown. *Lewis* was then at *Rome*, whither he had gone to ſolicit Succours of the Pope; and being, on his Return from thence, received by the Queen as her Son and Heir, a moſt bloody War was kindled in the Bowels of that unhappy Kingdom, which I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of more than once in the Sequel.

Year of Chriſt 1421.

The Queen revokes her Adoption of Alphonſo *and adopts* Lewis.

Year of Chriſt 1422.

And now to return to Pope *Martin*; he had in the Forty-fourth Seſſion of the Council of *Conſtance* appointed another Council to meet at the End of Five Years, agreeable to a Decree iſſued by that Aſſembly in the Thirty-ninth Seſſion [1], and had, with the Approbation of the Fathers of the Council, choſen the City of *Pavia* for the Place of their Meeting.

Council of Pavia.

Year of Chriſt 1423.

[1] See above, p. 198.

Year of Christ 1423.

Translated to Siena.

In the Beginning therefore of the Year 1422, he wrote circulatory Letters to put the Biſhops in Mind of the Determination of the Council of *Conſtance*, and invite them to that, which would be held the following Year at *Pavia*, the Fifth after the ending of that of *Conſtance* in 1418. The Council was opened in the Beginning of *May* 1423; but as very few Biſhops were yet come, and a Plague broke out in the City, the Council was adjourned to the City of *Siena*, and all were required to repair thither by the 1ſt of *November* of the preſent Year. In that City the firſt Seſſion was held on the 25th of *November*, when moſt ſevere Decrees were thundered out againſt the *Wickliffites* and *Huſſites*; and the temporal Princes were not only enjoined to drive them out of their Dominions, but the ſame Indulgences, that were gained by thoſe, who went in Perſon to the Holy Land, were granted to all, who ſhould inform againſt any Heretic whatever, or deliver him into the Hands of the Inquiſitors; and it was ordained that the Decree, granting theſe Indulgences, ſhould be read yearly to the People, with an audible Voice, on the Firſt and Fourth *Sunday* in *Lent*, and on the Feſtivals of the Nativity and the Reſurrection of our Lord, to the end none might be ignorant of it. In the other Seſſions ſeveral Attempts were made towards a *Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members*. But as the Pope was not preſent in Perſon, and the Number of Biſhops was too ſmall, as was pretended, to undertake ſo great and ſo important a Work, it was left to the Council, that was to meet, agreeably to the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, at the End of Seven Years [c]. But what haſtened the Diſſolution of the Council was a Motion, made by ſome of the Biſhops, to have the Decree of the Council of *Conſtance*, aſcertaining the Superiority of

[c] See above, p. 198.

of the Council to the Pope, confirmed by the present Council. That Point the Pope would not ſuffer to be brought into Debate, nor any other concerning the Power and Authority of the Apoſtolic See, and he therefore diſpatched to *Siena* *Dominic de Cupranica*, his Secretary, with a Bull, declaring the Council of *Siena* diſſolved, and appointing another to meet, in the Term of Seven Years, at *Baſil* in *Switzerland*. The Bull is dated the 26th of *February* 1424, and in the following *April* the Pope wrote to the People of *Baſil* to acquaint them with the Honour he had done them in chuſing their City for the Place, where the Biſhops of the whole Chriſtian World were to aſſemble; which would render it memorable in all future Ages [d].

Year of Chriſt 1423. *Is diſſolved.* Year of Chriſt 1424.

It is obſerveable that the Council of *Siena*, in confirming the Sentence, pronounced by the Council of *Conſtance* againſt *Peter de Luna*, calls him *Peter de Luna damnatæ memoriæ, of condemned Memory*; and hence, as that Mode of Speech is never uſed in mentioning Perſons ſtill living, *Surita*, *Mariana*, and moſt other *Spaniſh* Writers ſuppoſe *de Luna* to have been dead at the Time that Decree was iſſued, and conſequently to have died either in 1423, or early in 1424, as the Council ſat from *November* of the former Year to the End of *February* of the latter. But that the Council was miſinformed, that *de Luna* was ſtill living when ſuppoſed by the Council to be dead, nay, that he lived ſeveral Months after the Diſſolution of that Council, appears from a Letter of *John Carrerius*, one of his Cardinals, to *John*, Count of *Armagnac*, and to the Faithful in general. For in that Letter the Cardinal tells them, that *Benedict*,

The Year of Peter de Luna's Death aſcertained. [b]

[d] Acta Concil. Senenſ. et Raymund. ad ann. 1423.

Year of Chriſt 1424.

of holy Memory, was taken ill on the 17th of *November* 1424; that on the 27th of the ſame Month he created four Cardinals, of whom *Carrerius* himſelf was one, though then abſent, and that he died on the laſt Day but one, or on the 29th of that Month [e]. Some *Spaniſh* Writers, quoted by *Mariana*, aſcribe his Death to Poiſon, adminiſtered to him, ſay they, by a Monk named *Thomas*, at the Inſtigation of the Cardinal of *Piſa*, whom the Pope had ſent with the Character of his Legate to apprehend him. Thoſe Writers add, that the Monk was convicted and executed, and that the Legate, who reſided in the Neighbourhood of *Peniſcola*, withdrew in great Haſte out of *Spain*, to avoid falling into the Hands of the two Nephews of the Deceaſed, *Roderic* and *Alvarez de Luna*, determined to revenge upon the Legate, without any Regard to his Character, the Murder of their Uncle [f]. But as no Notice is taken by the contemporary Hiſtorians of what we are told by theſe more modern Writers, we may well conclude with *Bellegarde*, in his *General Hiſtory of Spain*, that *Peter de Luna* died of no other Poiſon than that of old Age, being Ninety at the Time of his Death [g].

Acts the Pope to his laſt Breath.

Of what Death ſoever he died, certain it is, that he acted the High Pontiff to his laſt Breath, and was, or pretended to be, ſo fully perſuaded of his being the only true Pope, that at the Point of Death he made the Cardinals, who were then with him, ſwear upon the Goſpels, that after his Deceaſe they would elect another in his Room, nay, the anonymous Writer of *Bourdeaux*, who lived at this Time, tells us, that when he could no longer ſpeak, he wrote down, with great Difficulty,

[e] Theſaur. Novus Anecdot. col. 1714. [f] Mariana, l. 20. c. 10. [g] Bellegard. tom. 3. p. 500.

culty, the following Injunction, addreſſed, as his laſt Will, to his Cardinals; *I injoin you, upon Pain of an eternal Curſe, æternæ maledictionis, to chuſe another Pope after my Death*, His Body was depoſited in the Chapel of the Fortreſs of *Peniſcola*, where he died; but it was tranſlated from thence Six Years after wards by *John de Luna*, one of his Nephews, to *Igluera*, a City of *Arragon*, belonging to the *de Luna* Family. If what we read in ſome Writers, who lived not at a great Diſtance from thoſe Times, be true, *viz.* that his Body was found free from all Corruption, and exhaled a ſweet Smell, when it had lain Six Years under Ground, that could be only owing to the Drugs, or Spices, with which it muſt have been embalmed. *Peter de Luna* is allowed by all, who ſpeak of him, to have been one of the greateſt Men, if not the greateſt of the Age he lived in; and we find nothing laid to his Charge, even by his moſt inveterate Enemies, beſides the numberleſs Shifts and Subterfuges he made uſe of to avoid the *Way of Ceſſion*, which he had promiſed upon Oath, both before and after his Election, to embrace, if judged neceſſary, or expedient for the Peace and Unity of the Church. His Character, therefore, muſt have been quite irreproachable in every other Reſpect, and his Life entirely blameleſs. He wrote a Treatiſe, calculated to prove, *that no Council has any Power over the Pope*, and another Piece, intituled, *Comforts againſt all the Troubles and Adverſities that can happen to a Man in this miſerable Life.* Both theſe Pieces are ſaid to be ſtill preſerved in Manuſcript in the *Vatican* Library.

Year of Chriſt 1424.

His Burial, Character, and Writings.

St. *Antonine*, ſpeaking of *Peter de Luna*, ſays, that *to complete his Condemnation he ſurpaſſed, in his Pon-*

Whether the Pope is told at his Co-

Year of Chriſt 1424. *nation that he ſhall not ſee the Years of St. Peter.*

Pontificate, the Year of St. Peter[h]; that is, his Pontificate exceeded in Length of Years the *Roman* Pontificate of St. *Peter*, who is ſuppoſed to have ſat at *Rome* only twenty-five Years, whereas *de Luna* held that See, or, at leaſt, acted as Pope from the 28th of *September*, 1394, to the 29th of *November*, 1424, that is, for the Space of thirty Years and thirty two Days. This St. *Antonine* ſeems to have alledged as a Proof of his not being a true and lawful Pope, and conſequently to have believed, what is ſtill commonly believed, that no true Pope is to ſee the Years of St. *Peter*, and that he is told at his Coronation, *Non videbis annos Petri.* It is indeed true, and is by ſome looked upon as myſterious, that no lawful Pope has ever yet ſeen the Years of St. *Peter*, or held the *Roman* See twenty-five Years, as that Apoſtle is ſuppoſed to have done, though many have been raiſed to it, whoſe Ages and robuſt Conſtitutions promiſed a long Life. But it is abſolutely falſe that the new Pope is told ſo at his Coronation, no ſuch Words as *Non videbis annos*, or, *Dies Petri* being to be met with in the *Ritual of the Holy* Roman *Church*, containing every Ceremony, even the minuteſt, that is uſed at the Coronation of the Pope. In the Beginning of the preſent Century, *Clement* XI. held the See twenty Years and ſome Months; and when the Cardinals came to congratulate him, according to Cuſtom, upon his entering into a new Year, the twenty-firſt, of his Pontificate, and to wiſh him many more, he put them in Mind, ſmiling, of the Saying, *Non videbis annos Petri.* But Cardinal *Ottoboni* quickly replied, that the Saying his Holineſs had quoted was to be underſtood, as including the twenty-

[h] Anton. in parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

twenty-five Years St. *Peter* had ſat at *Rome*, and the ſeven he had ſat before at *Antioch*. But *Clement* died that very Year. Year of Chriſt 1424.

One would have thought that the Death of the laſt of the three Antipopes would have put an End to the Schiſm. But his Cardinals, mindful of his laſt Will and Injunctions, elected another in his Room, as I ſhall have Occaſion to relate the following Year, when that memorable Election was brought about. To purſue in the mean Time the other Events of the preſent Year 1424; *Martin*, having now recovered out of the Hands of the petty Tyrants all the Places they had ſeized, and reſtored the Eccleſiaſtical State to its former Condition, reſolved to employ the whole Power of his See in Favour of *Lewis* againſt his Rival *Alphonſo*, both claiming, as has been ſaid, the Kingdom of *Apulia*, or, as it is now called, of *Naples*, by virtue of the Adoption of Queen *Joan*. *Lewis* had undoubtedly the better Right of the two, as has been ſhewn above; nay, *Alphonſo* had, in Truth, no Claim at all to that Crown, Queen *Joan* having revoked his Adoption, upon which alone he grounded his Claim. Beſides, Reaſons of State were not wanting to make the Pope heartily join the *Angevin* Party, and ſpare no Pains nor Expence to drive out *Alphonſo*, and eſtabliſh *Lewis* on the Throne. As *Lewis* poſſeſſed but ſmall Territories in *France*, *Martin* well knew that he could not defend his *Italian* Dominions without his Aſſiſtance, and would therefore be obliged to court his Favour, and, in a Manner, to depend upon him and his Succeſſors. But *Alphonſo* was one of the moſt powerful Princes at this Time, in the Weſt, being not only poſſeſſed of the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valencia*, but of *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica* and *Sicily*. *Martin* therefore, not caring to have ſo powerful a Neighbour, and apprehending that, were he ſuffered to add

The Pope aſſiſts to the utmoſt of his Power Lewis *of* Anjou *againſt* Alphonſo *of* Arragon.

Year of Christ 1424.

add the Kingdom of *Apulia* to his other Dominions, he would, in a very ſhort Time, make himſelf Maſter of all *Italy*, formed privately a ſtrong Confederacy againſt him, at the Head of which was *Philip Viſconti*, Lord of *Milan*, then the moſt powerful and warlike Prince in that Country. To the Troops of the Allies the Pope added his own, and, with the Approbation of the Queen, appointed *Sforza* Commander in Chief of the allied Army, and ſent him a conſiderable Sum to defray the Expences of the Campaign. *Sforza*, without Loſs of Time, marched ſtraight to *Naples*, and having defeated and put to Flight a Body of Troops ſent by *Alphonſo* to oppoſe him, laid Siege to the City. *Alphonſo*, ſenſible that ſo populous a Place would ſoon be obliged to ſubmit for want of Proviſions, thought it adviſeable to abandon it for the preſent, and returning to *Arragon*, raiſe a new and more numerous Army there. He accordingly embarked, in the latter End of the preſent Year, on board his Fleet, conſiſting of twelve large Ships and eighteen Gallies, which the *Neapolitans* no ſooner ſaw under Sail, than opening their Gates, they received *Lewis* and *Sforza*, and ſoon afterwards the Queen, with great Rejoicings, that laſted ſeveral Days. The King of *Arragon* had taken the celebrated *Braccio* with his mercenary Troops into his Pay, who had reduced ſeveral Cities that held out for the Queen; and he uſed to boaſt, that he would reduce the Pope, her Protector, to ſo low a Condition, as to be glad to earn One *Baiocco* (One Halfpenny) a Day by ſaying private Maſſes[i]. He was then employed in reducing the City of *Aquila*, that had declared for *Lewis* and the Queen. *Sforza* was therefore ſent to relieve the Place, that had ſtood a long Siege, but was upon the Point of ſurrendering. But that brave Commander,

Who is obliged to quit Naples, *and return to* Spain.

[i] Antonin. tit. 22. c. 7.

Commander, in paſſing the River *Peſcara*, was unfortunately drowned. The Army, however, proceeded on their March under the Command of *Francis Sforza*, the deceaſed General's Son, and *Lewis Colonna*, one of the Pope's Nephews. *Braccio* met and engaged them; but being mortally wounded, his Men, diſheartened at ſeeing him fall, betook themſelves to a diſorderly Flight, when Victory had begun to incline to their Side, and left the Queen's Troops Maſters of the Field. *Braccio* was taken Priſoner, but died the next Day of his Wounds, and his Body was ſent to the Pope, who cauſed it to be thrown upon a Dunghill without the Gate of *St. Lawrence* [k]. The Pope tranſmitted an Account of this Victory, or, as he calls it, Triumph, to *John*, King of *Caſtile*, then at Variance with the King of *Arragon*, and likewiſe to *Frideric*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who, at this Time, commanded the Army employed againſt the *Huſſites* in *Bohemia*. His Letters to both theſe Princes have reached our Times [l]. And now the Queen, being Miſtreſs of the whole Kingdom, except the Iſland of *Iſchia* alone, where *Alphonſo* had left a ſtrong Garriſon, revoked anew his Adoption, and confirmed that of *Lewis*, but upon Condition that he aſſumed not the Title of King, nor meddled with public Affairs ſo long as ſhe lived.

Year of Chriſt 1424.

Braccio *defeated and killed.*

The Antipope *Benedict* XIII. died, as has been ſaid, in his Fortreſs of *Peniſcola*, on the 29th of *November*, 1424; and now let us hear from one of his Cardinals, or, as they are called, Anti-Cardinals, what happened, in this and the following Year, after his Death. He made a Promotion of four Cardinals two Days before his Deceaſe, as I have related above; and the Perſons, whom he promoted, were *Julian*

The Two Cardinals, who were with Benedict *at the Time of his Death, conceal it, and divide all his Effects between them.*

Year of Chriſt 1425.

[k] Collinuci Hiſt. Neapol. l. 5. Raynald. num. 16. [l] Apud Raynald. ibid.

Year of Christ 1425.

Julian Loba, and *Exemino Daha*, both *Arragoneſe*, and *Dominic de Bonnefoi* and *John Carriere*, both *French*. Two Cardinals only, the two *Arragoneſe*, were preſent at his Death, and they carefully concealed it from the other Two, and from every-body elſe, ſeizing in the mean Time, and conveying away what Money he died poſſeſſed of, with the Gold and Silver Croſſes, Chalices, Jewels, precious Stones, Reliquiaries, and even the Veſtments and Ornaments of his Chapel, and the whole amounting, in Value, to an immenſe Sum, they divided between them. They publiſhed Bulls, and Briefs in his Name, ſealed them with his Seal, granted Indulgences, as if he were ſtill living, and when they had ſecured whatever was valuable and worth carrying off, they privately notified his Death to *Roderic de Luna*, one of his Nephews, and at the ſame Time diſpatched a Meſſenger to acquaint King *Alphonſo* with it, and conſult him about the Election of his Succeſſor. The King, highly provoked at *Martin*'s ſo warmly eſpouſing the Cauſe of his Rival *Lewis* of *Anjou*, privately encouraged the Cardinals to proceed to a new Election. The two *Arragoneſe* Cardinals, therefore, and the Cardinal *de Bonnefoi*, entering into the Conclave at *Peniſcola*, elected *Gilles*, or *Ægidius Munox*, Canon of *Barcelona*, and gave him the Name of *Clement* VIII. At firſt the two *Arragoneſe* Cardinals choſe one another. But *Roderic de Luna* recommending *Ægidius*, as is ſuppoſed, in the King's Name, and repreſenting to them that he had twenty-three thouſand Florins in Caſh, and was able to ſupport them ſuitably to their Dignity, they ſent for him, and upon certain Conditions, evidently Simoniacal, which they made him ſign, and ſwear to, they unanimouſly concurred in his Election. In the mean Time Cardinal *Carriere*, who was abſent, and had not heard of the Death of *Benedict* till News was brought him of the Election

Ægidius Munox or Magnus elected under the Name of Clement VIII. *by Three of his Cardinals.*

Election of his Succeſſor, arrived at *Peniſcola*. But ſuſpecting, from what he had heard, that the Election of the new Pope was not quite free from Simony, before he preſented himſelf to him, he privately proteſted, in the Preſence of a Notary and three Witneſſes, that his outwardly behaving to him as true Pope gave him no other Right to that Dignity, but what he had by his Election, and that it was only upon a Suppoſition of his having been canonically elected, that he acknowleged him for Pope. He afterwards ſecretly enquired into all the Circumſtances of that Election, and finding it to have been entirely owing to Simony, he declared it null, and in the Preſence of ſome of his Friends nominated another Pope, pretending that he alone had a Right to elect, the other three, the only true Cardinals, having forfeited their Right by their Simony, agreeably to the Bull of Pope *Nicholas* II. *Si quis pecuniam*, &c. This new Pope ſoon diſappeared, and we know no more of him than that he was a Native of *Aquitain*, and took the Name of *Benedict* XIV. no Writer having ſo much as taken Notice of his Family, or his original Name. After this Election Cardinal *Carriere*, who has himſelf given us this whole Account, left *Peniſcola* in the Dead of the Night, being let down by his Friends with a Rope from the Wall of the Fortreſs, and travelling Night and Day, though greatly indiſpoſed, got ſafe to the Territories of his Friend the Count of *Armagnac* [m].

Year of Chriſt 1425. *And* Benedict XIV. *by a Fourth.*

Martin was ſenſible that the Election of *Clement* was not made without the Privity, but probably by the Direction of King *Alphonſo*; and he therefore ſent Cardinal *de Foix*, Brother to the Count of that Name, and nearly related to the Royal Family of *Arragon*, to complain to the King of his fomenting the

Martin *ſends a Legate into* Arragon, *who is forbidden by the King to enter his Dominions.*

Year of Chriſt 1426.

[m] Theſaur. Novus Anecdot. col. 1736. et ſeq.

Year of Christ 1426. the Schism in his Dominions, when all other Christian Princes had made it their Business to extinguish it in theirs. But the Cardinal Legate was met on the Road by a Messenger from the King, forbidding him to enter his Dominions till further Orders; and in the mean Time by an Edict, which he caused to be published by Sound of Trumpet in all the Countries subject to the Crown of *Arragon*, he forbad the Bishops and all other Ecclesiastics to receive any Letters from the Pope, or his Legate, on Pain of incurring his Displeasure, and forfeiting their Dignities and Revenues. In that Edict *Martin* was taxed, and not undeservedly, with putting off, under frivolous Pretences, the necessary Work of the Reformation, so strictly enjoined by the Council of *Constance*, and with dissolving the Council of *Siena* as soon as they began to attempt it.

Alphonso *summoned to* Rome. That Edict the Pope answered with a Summons, requiring *Alphonso*, King of *Arragon*, to appear personally at the Tribunal of the Apostolic See, in the Term of one hundred Days from the Date of the said Summons, on Pain of incurring the Sentence of Excommunication, and having all his Dominions put under an Interdict. This Sentence is dated at *Rome* the 15th of *July*, in the ninth Year of *Martin*'s Pontificate, that is, in 1426; and it was, by the Pope's Order, set up at the Gates of the Basilics of St. *John Lateran*, and of St. *Peter* at *Rome*, and of the Cathedrals of *Narbonne* and *Avignon*, that no Room might be left for the King to plead Ignorance [n].

He submits, and receives the Legate with extraordinary Marks of Honour. As *Alphonso*'s Conduct in supporting the Antipope, and keeping the Schism still alive, was generally disapproved even by his own Subjects, he thought it adviseable to prevent, by an Agreement with the Pope, the Disturbances, which, he had

Year of Christ 1427. Reason

[n] Apud Raynald. ad hunc ann. num. 1. et seq.

Reaſon to believe, would inevitably attend the Excommunication, and Interdict, with which he was threatened. He therefore wrote to the Legate, Cardinal *de Foix*, granting him Leave to enter his Territories, and perform all the Functions of his Office throughout his Dominions. The Cardinal acquainted the Pope therewith, who ordered him to repair, without Delay, to the Kingdom of *Arragon*, but to enter into no Agreement with the King, till the Articles were approved by him, and the College of Cardinals. The Legate, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, or, as it is called, Diploma, went ſtraight to *Valentia*, where the King then reſided, and was received by him with moſt extraordinary Marks of Honour, ſuch as were quite degrading in a King. For he went out in Perſon with the whole Royal Family to meet him at ſome Diſtance from the City, being attended by a great many Biſhops, by all the Nobility, by the Clergy in a Body, and the Magiſtrates of the City, all in their Formalities, and placing him, after the Kiſs of Peace and mutual Salutations, on his Right Hand, an Honour which the Legate ſtrove in vain to decline, he inſiſted on his covering his Head with his Red Hat, while he himſelf walked the whole Way with his Head uncovered, converſing familiarly with him. He thus attended him to the Gate of the City, and there begging him to excuſe his proceeding no further, as the Day was far ſpent, and his Palace ſtood without the Walls, he took his Leave of him with many Proteſtations of Friendſhip for him, and of the higheſt Regard and Veneationfor his Holineſs, who had ſent him. The Legate proceeded, in ſolemn Proceſſion, to the Cathedral, where the *Te Deum* was ſung, and he then retired, attended by the Biſhops and Clergy, as well as the Magiſtrates, to the Epiſcopal Palace, Year of Chriſt 1427.

Year of Chriſt 1427.

which had been magnificently fitted up, at the Expence of the King, for his Reception °.

The Legate's imprudent Conduct.

The next Day the Legate, preſuming upon the kind Reception he had met with from all Ranks of People, and upon the Fear the King betrayed of having his Dominions put under an Interdict, cauſed a Paper to be ſet up at the Doors of the Cathedral and the Epiſcopal Palace, giving Notice to all, whom it might concern, that, in Two Days Time, the Auditors, or Judges of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, whom he had brought with him from *Rome*, would begin their Sittings, and do Juſtice to all, who thought themſelves aggrieved and had Recourſe to them. This *Alphonſo* highly reſented, as a manifeſt Encroachment upon the undoubted Rights of his Crown, and forgetting all his Fears, he cauſed an Edict to be publiſhed the very next Day, by Sound of Trumpet, forbidding his Subjects, upon the ſevereſt Penalties, to carry any Cauſe whatever to the Tribunal of the Legate or his Delegates.

He corrects it.

The Cardinal, unwilling to provoke the King, or any-ways diſoblige him at ſo critical a Juncture, thought it adviſeable to yield, and he, accordingly, cauſed the Papers, which he had ſet up, to be taken down, and, having thus appeaſed him, he had ſeveral Conferences with him; the Reſult of which was, that both the King and the Cardinal ſhould ſet down their reſpective Demands, in Writing, that the Cardinal ſhould go with them in Perſon to *Rome*, and, having laid them before the Pope, return with his Holineſs's Anſwer.

The Demands of the Legate.

The Demands of the Legate were, I. That the King ſhould uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade *Ægidius* at *Peniſcola*, and thoſe, who acknowleged him, to return, of their own Accord, to the Unity of the Church, or ſhould deliver them up into his

° Apud Raymund. ad hunc ann. num. 7.

his Holineſs's Hands. II. That he ſhould revoke all the Edicts againſt the Authority of the High Pontiff, or his Legates. III. That the Collectors of the Holy See ſhould be allowed to collect undiſturbed the Dues of the Apoſtolic Chamber. IV. That the *Roman* Church, and all other Churches, ſhould enjoy unmoleſted all their Rights, Liberties, and Privileges. V. That the Prelates and other Eccleſiaſtics, who had been baniſhed, ſhould be all recalled, and full Reſtitution made to them of all they had loſt. VI. That the King ſhould, by no Means, give any further Trouble to the Kingdom of *Apulia*, or of *Naples*, but ſhould ſubmit his Pretenſions to the Judgment of impartial Perſons, to be named by his Holineſs. The King inſiſted, upon the excepting of ſome Eccleſiaſtics, whom he ſhould name in the general Pardon, and declined giving any poſitive Anſwer to the Demand concerning the Kingdom of *Apulia*, but to all the other Demands he agreed without any Limitation, or Reſtriction whatever. Year of Chriſt 1427.

The Demands of the King.

On the other hand, the King demanded, I. That the Body of St. *Lewis*, heretofore Biſhop of *Toulouſe*, ſhould be granted to him. II. That his Holineſs ſhould remit all the Arrears, due to the Apoſtolic Chamber on Account of vacant Sees and Benefices. III. That he ſhould, in like Manner, remit the Arrears of the yearly Rents due for the Iſlands of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corſica*, and for the future accept, in lieu of thoſe Rents, during the King's Life, a Cloke of Cloth of Gold to be preſented to his Holineſs every Five Years. IV. That in Conſideration of the vaſt Sums his Father and himſelf had expended, and the indefatigable Pains they had both taken to extinguiſh the Schiſm, Fifteen Thouſand Florins ſhould be paid to him out of the Apoſtolic Chamber by Way of Indemnity and Recompence. V. That he ſhould be allowed

Year of Chriſt 1427.

to tranſlate the Order of St. *Mary de Monteſia* from the Kingdom of *Valentia* to the Iſland of *Sicily*, aſſigning them other Revenues in that Iſland. VI. That he ſhould have the Diſpoſal of all vacant Benefices and Abbies in his Dominions till the preſent Agreement was finally concluded. VII. That he ſhould nominate Six Perſons, Two of whom ſhould be promoted by his Holineſs to the Dignity of Cardinal. VIII. and Laſtly, That all Damages and Injuries done, or ſuppoſed to have been done by him to the Apoſtolic See, ſhould be forgiven, and he be abſolved from all the Cenſures he might have incurred [p].

St. *Lewis*, whoſe Body the King demanded, was the Second Son of *Charles* II. King of *Sicily*. In the Time of *Celeſtine* V. he embraced a religious Life among the *Minorites*, was preferred to the See of *Toulouſe* by *Boniface* VIII. the Succeſſor of *Celeſtine*, died in *Provence* in 1297, and was canonized in 1317, Twenty Years after his Death, by *John* XXII. who had been his Preceptor. His Body was tranſlated from the Place, where he died, to *Marſeilles*, and moſt ſtupendous Miracles were ſaid to be wrought daily at his Tomb. He could not, however, defend the City, nor indeed himſelf, againſt the King of *Arragon*. For as *Marſeilles* belonged to *Lewis*, Duke of *Anjou*, *Alphonſo*, in returning from *Naples*, on board his Fleet, to *Spain*, attacked it unexpectedly, plundered it, ſet Fire to it in many Places, and carried off with him the Body of their Wonder-working Saint and Protector. The People of *Marſeilles* complained to the Pope of the *ſacrilegious Robbery*, as they called it, earneſtly intreating him to interpoſe his Authority, and cauſe the Body of the holy Biſhop, who had choſen to die among them, to be reſtored to them. But *Alphonſo*,

[p] Apud Raynald. num. 22.

Alphonſo, loth to part with ſo invaluable a Treaſure, made it One of the Articles of his Agreement with the Pope, and indeed the Firſt, that it ſhould be yielded to him, and the People of *Provence* and *Marſeilles* be obliged to give up all Claim to it 9. Year of Chriſt 1427.

The above Articles being ſigned both by the Legate and the King on the 17th of *October* of the preſent Year, the Legate, repairing to *Barcelona*, found there Two of the King's Gallies ready to receive him and convey him to *Rome*, in order to lay the Articles before the Pope, and return with his Holineſs's final Anſwer to them. He embarked on the 20th of *October*; but the Weather proving very ſtormy, and the Winds unfavourable, he did not reach *Rome* till the Beginning of the following Year. As a Peſtilence then prevailed in that City, and moſt of the Cardinals had retired into the Country, the whole Year 1428 paſſed before the Pope could aſſemble and conſult them concerning the King's Demands. But in the mean Time he wrote a moſt kind and obliging Letter to the King, and even granted to him, at his Requeſt, the Fortreſs of *Peniſcola*, which, at that Time, belonged to the Knights of *Rhodes*, now of *Malta*, who had fortified it at a very great Expence. The following Year the Cardinals came back to *Rome*, and the Articles being by all approved of, the Legate returned to *Spain* to acquaint the King therewith, and ſee they were executed on his Part. He ſet out from *Rome* on the 28th of *January*, and, travelling by Land, arrived at *Barcelona* on the 12th of *May*, and was there received with extraordinary Marks of Honour by the King, who went out to meet him, as he had done at *Valencia*. But he declined, under various Pretences, entering with the

The King's Demands carried by the Legate to Rome, *and approved by the Pope.* Year of Chriſt 1428.

The Legate returns to Spain. Year of Chriſt 1429.

9 Wadingus in annalibus minor. ad ann. 1317. num. 48. et ſeq.

Year of Christ 1429.

Legate upon the Affairs of his Legation. However, being at *Catabayud*, he was at last, with great Difficulty, prevailed upon by his Brother *John*, King of *Navarre*, to grant the Legate an Audience, when he had waited for it, and followed him changing daily Places, from the 12th of *May* to the 15th of *June*. In that Audience he declared, that he would revoke none of his Decrees against the Authority of the Pope and the Legates of the Apostolic See in his Dominions, till the Legate had publicly cleared him from the Accusation of his having countenanced or promoted the Schism of *Peniscola*. The Legate replied, that he had no Instructions with respect to that Demand, quite unexpected, and therefore could not comply with it. But the King peremptorily insisting upon it, the Negociation was broken off. The King was to set out the next Day to invade the Kingdom of *Castile* jointly with his Brother the King of *Navarre*, and the Legate expressing a great Desire to see him once more before he pronounced the Sentence of Excommunication against him, and laid his Dominions under an Interdict, he consented at the pressing Instances of his Brother, to admit him just as he was mounting his Horse to head his Army, and proceed on his March. No one expected that this Interview would be attended with any the least Success, the King appearing absolutely determined to perform none of the Articles till his Demand was complied with. But the Legate had scarce begun to put him in Mind of the indefatigable Pains he had taken, and the many Dangers he had exposed himself to, both by Sea and Land, for his Welfare, and the Welfare of his Kingdom, when, becoming at once quite another Man, to the great Astonishment of all who were present, he thanked him in the kindest Terms for his Zeal and incessant Endeavours to procure his Happiness and that of his

The King refuses to agree to the Articles.

But is suddenly changed.

his Kingdom, adding, that to convince him how ſenſible he was of the Obligations he owed him, he would, that Moment, ſign all the Articles, and perform whatever elſe either he or his Holineſs ſhould require of him. The Articles were, accordingly, ſigned that Moment by the King, who, though in great Haſte to ſet out with his Army for the Borders of *Caſtile*, would attend the Legate with the King of *Navarre*, to the Cathedral, and aſſiſt there at the *Te Deum*, &c. ſung with great Solemnity, to return Thanks for ſo ſudden and ſo unexpected an Event, that could only be owing to him, *in whoſe Hands are the Hearts of Kings*. When the Ceremony was over, the Legate gave his Benediction to both the Kings; and they immediately began their March [r].

Year of Chriſt 1429.

The Day after the King's Departure all the Edicts he had iſſued, any-ways prejudicial to the Authority of the Apoſtolic See or its Legates, were publicly revoked, purſuant to the Order he had left, and Two of his chief Counſellors were ſent to *Peniſcola* to ſettle all Matters there to the Satisfaction of the Legate. Theſe *Clement* received in the moſt obliging Manner, and upon their declaring to him, that it was the King's Will and Pleaſure that he ſhould reſign the Pontificate, and acknowlege *Martin* V. for lawful Pope, he ſolemnly proteſted, that he had accepted that Dignity much againſt his Will, and would, in Obedience to the King, lay it down without Reluctance, nay with Pleaſure. However, to act as true Pope to the laſt, he inſiſted upon his being allowed to promote one *Francis Rovera*, a Man of great Probity and Learning, to the Dignity of Cardinal before his Reſignation, that he might direct, as a Perſon of known Prudence and Diſcretion, his other Cardinals in the Election of a new

Abdication of Clement.

Some Circumſtances attending his Abdication.

[r] Raymund. & Bzovius ad ann. 1429.

Year of Chriſt 1429.

Pope, when the See became vacant by his Abdication. As *Rovera* acknowleged *Martin* for lawful Pope, he, at firſt, refuſed to receive that Dignity at the Hands of the Antipope. But *Clement* declaring, that he was determined not to reſign till he had diſtinguiſhed his Pontificate by the Promotion of a Man of *Rovera*'s Merit, the Two Counſellors interpoſed, and obliged him to accept, for the Good of the Church, the offered Dignity. Having therefore conſented, with great Reluctance, to his Promotion, he was created Cardinal of the Holy *Roman* Church, with all the Pomp and Solemnity, that were uſed on the like Occaſion at *Rome*, and all were enjoined to reſpect and honour him as ſuch. *Clement* then, placing himſelf upon his Throne in the Attire of High Pontiff, with the Triple Crown on his Head, and all the other Badges of the Pontifical Dignity, he revoked, with great Solemnity, and annulled all the Sentences of Excommunication pronounced by his Predeceſſor *Benedict* XIII. or by himſelf, againſt all who did not acknowlege and obey them, and, in particular, againſt *Odo de Columna*, ſtiling himſelf *Martin* V. reſtored them to all the Rights and Privileges they ever had enjoyed, and declared each of them, and *Odo de Columna* by Name, thenceforth capable of receiving any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity whatever, the Papal not excepted. As for himſelf he ſolemnly proteſted, that he had always had the Unity of the Church above all Things at Heart; that he had accepted the Pontificate with no other View or Deſign but to procure it more effectually; that he had always thought the Way of *Ceſſion* the moſt effectual as well as expeditious, and would have embraced it as ſoon as elected, had he not by others been diverted from it (by King *Alphonſo*, as is ſuppoſed); but being now at full Liberty to keep his Dignity, or reſign it, he reſigned it with Joy, for the Glory of God, the Good of the

the Church, and the Peace of his own Conſcience; and now, he added, the See being vacant, the Cardinals may proceed to a new Election. He then came down from his Throne, delivered into the Hands of the King's Commiſſioners the Act of his Reſignation, drawn up in due Form; and, diveſting himſelf of his Pontifical Robes, reſumed his former Habit, that of a Canon, and retired into the Crowd [f]. The Act, or, as ſome call it, the Bull, of *Clement's* Reſignation, is dated at *Peniſcola* the 26th of *July* 1429, in the Fifth Year of his Pontificate. He muſt therefore have been elected, as we may obſerve by the Way, in 1424, and not in 1423, as is ſuppoſed by the learned *Raymund.* Year of Chriſt 1429.

As *Clement* had declared the See vacant by his Reſignation, his Cardinals, being in all Three, entered the ſame Day into the Conclave. Theſe were *Ægidius Munox*, his Nephew, Precentor and Canon of *Gironne*, whom he had created Cardinal, *Francis Rovera*, whom he juſt preferred to that Dignity, and *Julianus Dobla*, One of the Four Cardinals, whom *Benedict* had created a little before his Death. As for the other Three Cardinals of *Benedict*'s Creation, *Eximinus Daha* and *Dominic Bonnefoi* were kept Priſoners at *Peniſcola*, being charged with a Deſign of ſetting up a Third Pope. Of Cardinal *Carriere*, whom I have had Occaſion to mention above, no farther Notice is taken by any Hiſtorian, and we know not whether he ever abjured the Schiſm, or what became of him. The Three above-mentioned Cardinals being ſhut up in a Room in the Fortreſs, which they called the *Conclave*, the Doors of the Room were locked, Guards were placed at all the Avenues to it, the *Veni Creator*, &c. was ſung, and every other Order and Ceremony Martin *elected by his Cardinals.*

[f] Apud Raymund. & tom. 12. Concil. col. 406.

Year of Christ 1429.

mony obſerved at *Rome*, in the Election of a new Pope, was punctually complied with in this mock Election on the Rock of *Peniſcola*. The Cardinals had been but a few Minutes in the Conclave, when they elected, with one Conſent, *Odo de Columna*, and acknowleged him for lawful Pope under the Name of *Martin* V. The Election being publiſhed, the Three Cardinals, attended by the Two Commiſſioners, and the Clergy, in a Body, went, in ſolemn Proceſſion, to the chief Church of the Place, to ſing the *Te Deum*, &c. and thank the Almighty for the Unanimity, with which he had inſpired them [t]. Was not all this mere Mockery?

The Antipope and his Cardinals abſolved by the Pope's Legate.

On the 14th of the following *Auguſt*, *Ægidius Munox*, and his Three Cardinals, hearing that the Cardinal Legate was at *St. Matthew*'s, a ſmall Place, diſtant but Three Leagues from *Peniſcola*, repaired thither in order to ſubmit to him and receive Abſolution from the Cenſures they had incurred. Being introduced to the Cardinal, *Ægidius* addreſſed him thus: *Moſt Reverend Father, I and they, who are with me, have heard from Perſons worthy of Credit, that you are a Legate* a latere *of the Apoſtolic See, and of our moſt holy Lord* Martin V. *by Divine Providence Pope. We are therefore come to acknowlege our ſaid Lord Pope* Martin V. *in you as his Repreſentative, for the true Vicar of* Chriſt *upon Earth, and the lawful Succeſſor of St.* Peter, *and to offer ourſelves ever ready to obey his Commands and yours.* When he had done, the Legate, taking him by the Hand, *Do you then promiſe*, ſaid he, *and ſwear, that henceforth you will be faithful and obedient to our moſt holy Lord* Martin V. *by Divine Providence Pope, and to his Succeſſors canonically elected? So I promiſe*, replied *Ægidius*, *and ſo I ſwear.* At theſe Words, *Alphonſus Borgia*, One of the Commiſſioners, interpoſed

[t] Concil. tom. 22. col. 407. & ſeq.

posed in his Behalf, begged that he might be absolved, as well as his Companions, from all the Censures, which they had incurred, might be readmitted into the Bosom of the Church, and restored to all the Rights and Privileges which they had forfeited, he by assuming the Papal Dignity, and they by adhering to him. As they had given the most convincing Proofs of an unfeigned Repentance, and the Two Commissioners took upon them to answer for their future Conduct, the Legate granted them, that Moment, a full and general Absolution from all Censures, and at the same Time revoked all the Sentences till that Day pronounced against them. The next Day, the 15th of *August*, being the Festival of the Assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, the Legate celebrated High Mass, at which assisted the Three above-mentioned Cardinals, or rather Anticardinals, in the Habit of private Clergymen, having first renounced that Dignity in a formal Manner, and delivered all the Badges of it into the Hands of the Legate [u].

Year of Christ 1429.

His Cardinals resign their Dignity.

As most of the Inhabitants of *Peniscola* had acknowleged *Benedict*, and his Successor *Clement*, but were now desirous of returning to the Unity of the Church, the Legate repaired thither in Person to receive their Submission. They all abjured the Schism, owned *Martin* for the only true Successor of St. *Peter*, and were by the Legate re-united to the Church. The Two Anticardinals, *Eximius Daba* and *Dominic de Bonnefoi*, whom the Antipope *Clement* had imprisoned, as has been said, were set at Liberty by the Legate; and upon their joining the rest in submitting to *Martin*, and divesting themselves of the Ensigns of their pretended Dignity, they were received again into the Church. The Legate, in leaving *Peniscola*, delivered it up to the King's Commissioners,

All at Peniscola submit.

That Place yielded to King Alphonso.

[u] Bzovius & Raynald.

Year of Chriſt 1429.

ers, to be held for ever by *Alphonſo* and his Succeſſors. From thence he went to *Tortoſa*, and in a Council, which he had appointed to meet in that City, ſeveral Regulations, ſuggeſted by him to extirpate the Abuſes that had crept into thoſe Churches during the Schiſm, were approved and ordered to be univerſally obſerved [w].

And now the Schiſm was confined to the Territories of the Count of *Armagnac* alone, who had adhered to *Peter de Luna*, and after his Death to *Ægidius Munox* his Succeſſor, affording a ſafe Aſylum to all who refuſed to ſubmit to *Martin*. Being on that Account ſummoned by *Martin* to *Rome*, and not complying with the Summons, he was, on the 4th of *March* of the preſent Year, ſolemnly excommunicated, and his Territories were all put under an Interdict. As all the other Princes therefore, and even his own Pope, had ſubmitted to *Martin*, he was eaſily prevailed upon by the Legate to follow their Example; and he accordingly abjured the Schiſm in the latter End of the preſent Year, and owning *Martin* for the lawful Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, was thereupon abſolved by the Legate from the Excommunication, and all ther Cenſures, Pains, and Penalties that he had incurred [x].—As for *Ægidius*, he was, at the Recommendation of King *Alphonſo*, preferred by the Pope to the Biſhopric of *Majorca*, his Anticardinals were all rewarded, for their ready Submiſſion, with conſiderable Benefices, and *Alphonſus Borgia*, one of the Commiſſioners, was by the Intereſt of the Legate, who in a great Meaſure owed the Succeſs of his Legation to his Zeal, nominated by the Pope to the Biſhopric of *Valencia*; and we ſhall ſee him afterwards raiſed to the Dignity of High Pontiff under the Name of *Calixtus* III. Thus was an End put at laſt to the preſent Schiſm, known by the Name of

The Great Schiſm ended.

the

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Apud Bzovium et Raynald. ad ann. 1429.

the great Weſtern Schiſm. It had laſted from the 20th of *September* 1378, when *Clement* VII. was elected in Oppoſition to *Urban* VI. to the 26th of *July* 1429, when *Clement* VIII. the laſt Antipope, reſigned that Dignity, as has been ſaid. Year of Chriſt 1429.

Martin, having now no Rival to contend with, made it his chief Buſineſs to unite the Princes of *Germany*, and promote Cruſades againſt the *Huſſites* of *Bohemia*. We have ſeveral Letters of his to the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, to the King of *Poland*, to the Great Duke of *Lithuania*, and to other Princes, exhorting them to join their Forces, and either extirpate thoſe Rebels to the Church, or oblige them to return to her Boſom. The *Huſſite* War broke out ſoon after the Council of *Conſtance*, and was carried on with a dreadful Effuſion of Blood, during the whole Time of *Martin*'s Pontificate, chiefly at his Inſtigation. Of that War, one of the moſt barbarous and bloody we read of in Hiſtory, of the wonderful, I had almoſt ſaid the miraculous, Succeſs that attended the *Huſſites*, under the celebrated *Ziſka*, during the Courſe of it, and the many ſignal Victories, gained by that renowned Commander, over the numerous Armies ſent againſt him, we have a full Detail in *Lenfant*'s *Hiſtory of the Huſſites*; and to him, as ſuch an Account is foreign to my Subject, I refer the Reader. Martin *ſtirs up the Emperor and other Princes againſt the* Huſſites.

Martin, a little Time before his Death, condemned a Practice that had begun to prevail in moſt Places of *Italy*. Of that Practice and its Condemnation we have the following Account from St. *Antonine*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*, who lived at this Time. A *Minorite* of *Siena*, named *Bernardine*, who has ſince been canonized, having a particular Veneration for the Name of Jesus, a Name, *which is above every Name*, and at which *every Knee ſhould bow, of Things in Heaven, and Things in Earth, and Things under the Earth*, he cauſed that Name to be curiouſly *Prohibits the Picture of the Name of* Jesus.

Year of Chriſt 1430.

curiouſly painted upon a Board, and expoſed it thus painted to the Adoration of the People in all the Places where he preached. For he was a famous Preacher, and travelling from Place to Place is ſaid to have awakened, with his Sermons, even the moſt hardened Sinners, to a Senſe of Religion and a Reformation of their Lives. That new Kind of Worſhip was embraced with great Ardour by the People, the rather as it was recommended by One held in the higheſt Eſteem for his Sanctity; and the Word JESUS was every-where painted with many Ornaments around it, was every-where expoſed to the Adoration of the People, and even carried by the *Minorites* in their public Proceſſions before the Croſs. But that Practice, though promoted and propogated with a pious Intention by its Author, met not, ſays *Antonine*, with the ſame Reception from the Learned as it did from the illiterate Multitude. On the contrary, it was cenſured by them as ſuperſtitious, nay and as idolatrous, or, at leaſt, as calculated to lead the People into Idolatry. As the *Minorites* continued to propagate the ſame Practice, in ſpite of all the Reaſons and Arguments urged againſt it, their Oppoſers applied, in the End, to the Pope; and his Holineſs, after conſulting many Biſhops and all the ableſt Divines, declared, upon the moſt mature Deliberation, the Practice in queſtion to be dangerous, *becauſe the People would be apt to direct their Worſhip to the Name of* JESUS *more than to* JESUS *himſelf*, ordered the *Minorites*, upon that Conſideration, thenceforth to forbear it, and, in order to remove all Danger of Superſtition or Idolatry, prohibited their Pictures[y]. I ſhall leave thoſe, who ſtand up for the Uſe of the Images of our Saviour and the Saints in Places of Worſhip, who pray before them, and carry them, expoſed to the Worſhip

[y] Antonin. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

ſhip of the People, in their public Proceſſions, *&c.* to reconcile ſuch Practices with the preſent Declaration and Prohibition of their infallible Pope. If it was dangerous to expoſe Pictures or Images of our Saviour's Name to the Worſhip of the People, it muſt certainly be more ſo thus to expoſe Pictures or Images of our Saviour himſelf, Objects better calculated to attract the Adoration of the People. Certain it is that the Reaſon, alledged by the Pope for prohibiting all Pictures of our Saviour's Name, evidently holds good againſt all Pictures, Images, Figures, and Repreſentations whatever of his divine Perſon; and, a *fortiori*, of the Saints. Year of Chriſt 1430.

The following Year *Martin* died of an Apoplexy, on the 20th of *February*, after a Pontificate of Thirteen Years Three Months and Ten Days, reckoning from the Day of his Election, the 11th of *November* 1417. He was buried in the *Lateran* near the Heads of the Apoſtles St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, and the following Epitaph, to be ſeen to this Day, was engraved on his Tomb. *Pope* Martin V. *ſat* 13 *Years* 3 *Months and* 12 *Days. He died on the* 20*th of* February *in the Year of our Lord* 1431. *He was the Happineſs of his Times.* But the Blunder in the Epitaph plainly ſhews it to have been written long after theſe Times. For if *Martin* was elected on the 11th of *November* 1417, as he certainly was, and died on the 20th of *February* 1431, as we read in the circulatory Letter of Pope *Eugene* IV. his immediate Succeſſor, and in the Epitaph itſelf, he could not have ſat 12 Days, as is evident, over and above the Thirteen Years and Three Months. Great Commendations are beſtowed upon *Martin*, by almoſt all the contemporary Writers. *I have ſeen* Martin V. ſays *Gobelinus* in the Preface to the Firſt Book of his *Commentaries*, *have ſeen* Eugene IV. Nicholas V. *and* Calixtus III. *who were all condemned by the People while they lived, but extolled with great Encomiums after* *His Death*, Year of Chriſt 1431. *and Character*

A. Year of Christ 1413.

after their Death. The Three Popes, mentioned with *Martin*, were his Three immediate Succeſſors; and thoſe *Commentaries* are generally aſcribed to *Æneas Sylvius*, who ſucceeded *Calixtus* III. under the Name of *Pius* II. I find Two Things only laid to the Charge of *Martin* by thoſe, who ſpeak leſs favourably of him, the Love of Money, and Nepotiſm. But that he was very undeſervedly taxed with Avarice, or the Love of Money, ſufficiently appears, as was obſerved by *Antonine*, from the immenſe Sums he expended in the *Huſſite* War, as well as in repairing or rebuilding the Churches of *Rome*, nay, and, in a Manner, rebuilding the City itſelf, grudging no Expence to embelliſh his Capital[z]. As to the other Imputation, he certainly preferred in the Diſpoſal of all lucrative Employments, his Relations and Nephews to all others, however deſerving, and by that Means left them, at his Death, poſſeſſed of immenſe Wealth. *Martin* ſoon after his Arrival at *Rome* cauſed the Houſe, in the Neighbourhood of the Church of the *Twelve Apoſtles*, which belonged to his Family, and in which he was born, to be pulled down, and a magnificent Palace to be built in its Room. In that Palace he reſided, during the 6 laſt Years of his Life, as appears from his Bulls; and there the *Colonna* Family reſides to this Day.

Whether juſtly charged with Avarice and Nepotiſm.

Platina gives a remarkable Inſtance of this Pope's Conſtancy and Fortitude. He had two Brothers, whom he tenderly loved, *Jordan* and *Lawrence*. *Jordan*, the Elder of the Two, whom Queen *Joan* had created Prince of *Salerno*, died of the Plague, the other was burnt alive in a Tower ſet accidentally on Fire, and the Pope heard, much about the ſame Time, of the unhappy Fate of the one and the other, without

Inſtance of his Fortitude.

[z] Antonin. chron. parte 3. tit. 22. c. 7.

out uttering a ſingle Word of Complaint, or betraying the leaſt Symptom of Impatience, or Dejection [a]. *Angelus Clavaſius* writes in his *Summa*, that *Martin*, by a very extraordinary Diſpenſation, allowed a Man to marry his own Siſter; and that he advances upon the Authority of St. *Antonine*. But *Antonine*, in the Place quoted by that Writer, ſpeaks only of a Diſpenſation, allowing a Man to marry the Siſter of a Woman with whom he had had a ſecret Intrigue, which would have become public, had the Pope refuſed the Licence, for which the Man had privately applied [b]. Year of Chriſt 1431

In 1419, *John* and *Albert*, the Two Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, the one of *Guſtrow*, the other of *Schwerin* or *Swerin*, founded an Univerſity at *Roſtock* in that Dukedom, jointly with the Senate of that City, then, as it ſtill is, a *Hanſe Town* or Free City. That Foundation *Martin* not only approved, but, upon the Application of the Two Dukes, granted the ſame Privileges to their new-founded Univerſity as had been granted by his Predeceſſors to thoſe of *Erfort* and *Leipſick* [c]. The preſent Dukes of *Mecklenburg Schwerin* and *Strelitz* are deſcended from the Two Dukes mentioned here. In 1688 died the laſt Duke of *Guſtrow*, and upon the Extinction of that Branch enſued a Law-ſuit between the Two remaining Branches of *Schwerin* and *Strelitz* about the Succeſſion, which laſted till the Year 1701, when it ended in a Treaty of Partition. *The Univerſities of* Roſtock *and* Louvain *founded.*

——In *Martin*'s Pontificate was celebrated the fifth Jubilee, in 1425, ſays *Ciaconius* and *Bzovius*. But as it was ordained, as has been ſaid, by *Urban* VI. in 1390, the Year of the Jubilee, that other Ju-

[a] Platin. in vit. Martin V. [b] Antonin. Summa. parte 3. tit. 1. c. 22. [c] Calviſius in chron. ad ann. 1419.

Year of Christ 1431.

bilees ſhould thenceforth be celebrated at the Term of every Thirty-three Years, the Year of 1423 muſt have been that of *Martin*'s Jubilee; and at that Year it is, accordingly, placed by the accurate *Panvinius*. But it was not, it ſeems, celebrated with the uſual Solemnity, and Concourſe of People on Account of the War, that was then carried on, with great Fury, in *Italy*, in *France*, and in *Germany*; and hence it has been mentioned by very few of the contemporary Hiſtorians.——In 1425 *John*, Duke of *Brabant*, founded an Univerſity at *Louvain*, with the Conſent and Approbation of *Martin*, who granted to it all the Privileges, enjoyed by other Univerſities, except their having a School of Divinity. But that Privilege was added by the ſucceeding Pope *Eugenius* IV. to the reſt.

His Promotion of Cardinals.

Martin's Diploma is dated the 9th of *December*, in the Ninth Year of his Pontificate [d]. In 1426 *Martin* made a Promotion of Cardinals, on the 24th of *May*, when Fourteen were raiſed to that Dignity, and among them *Proſper Colonna*, the Pope's Nephew by his Brother, and *Henry*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, Uncle to the young King *Henry* VI. In 1430 Two new Cardinals were added to the College, on the 8th of *September*, at the Nomination, as is ſuppoſed, of *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*, the Pope being bound, by One of the Articles of his Agreement with that Prince, to prefer Two to that Dignity out of the Six Perſons whom he ſhould name.

His Writings.

Of this Pope we have ſeveral Bulls and Conſtitutions, to be met with in the *Great Bullarium*, a great many Letters animating the Emperor and other Princes againſt the *Huſſites*, and a Sermon preached at *Rome* on Occaſion of the Tranſlation of the Body of St. *Monica*, the Mother of St. *Auſtin*.——As in the Year 1431 the Seven Years expired,

[d] Vide Lipſium in Lovanio.

expired, at the Term of which a General Council was to be held, agreeably to the Decrees of the Councils of *Conſtance* and of *Siena*, and *Martin* had choſen the City of *Baſil* for the Place of their Meeting, he appointed *Julian Ceſarini*, Cardinal of St. *Angelo*, to preſide in that Council with the Character of his Legate *a latere*; but did not himſelf live to ſee it aſſembled. Year of Chriſt 1431.

MAN. PALÆOLOGUS, JOAN. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperors of the East.*

EUGENIUS IV.

SIGISMUND, ALBERT II. FRIDERIC III. *Emperors of the West.*

The Two Hundred and Sixth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Year of Christ 1431. *Election of* Eugenius.

MARTIN dying, as has been ſaid, on the 20th of *February* 1431, the Cardinals, in all Fourteen, entered into the Conclave on the 1ſt or the 2d of *March*. But before they proceeded to the Election, they all agreed and ſwore to certain Articles, and among the reſt to the Three following: I. That in the Apoſtolic Letter it ſhould no longer be ſaid *by the Advice*, but *with the Conſent of the Cardinals*. II. That the Pope ſhould create no new Cardinals without the Conſent of the old Ones. III. That One Moiety of the Patrimony of the Church ſhould be divided among the Cardinals. Each of the Cardinals having bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath to obſerve theſe Articles, in caſe he ſhould be raiſed to the See, they elected, with One Conſent, on the 3d of *March*, according to the moſt probable Opinion, *Gabriel Condelmerius*, Cardinal Preſbyter of *St. Clement*; who, on the 12th of that Month, was crowned with the uſual Solemnity in the Baſilic of *St. Peter*, and took the Name of *Eugenius* IV. He was the Son of *Angelus Condelmerius*, a Citizen of *Venice*, but come of a very ancient Family, and admitted, upon the Promotion of his Son, to the Rank of a Senator or Nobleman. His Mother's Name was *Bariola Coraria*, who lived to ſee her Brother, *Gregory* XII. her Son, *Eugenius* IV. and her Grand-ſon, by her Daughter *Polixena*, *Paul* II. preferred to the Pontifical Dignity. In his Youth he entered into the Order of the Secular Canons of *St. George in Alga*, at

His Family, Employments, &c. before his Promotion.

at *Venice*; was called to *Rome* by his Uncle *Gregory* XII. and by him made Firſt Treaſurer of the Holy *Roman* Church then preferred to the Biſhopric of *Siena*, and laſtly created Cardinal in 1408. He was employed by his Predeceſſor *Martin* V. againſt the People of the *March* and *Bologna*, who had revolted, but were ſoon reduced, more by his obliging Behaviour, than by Dint of Arms [e]. Year of Chriſt 1431.

In the very Firſt Days of the Pontificate of *Eugenius* a Quarrel, attended with great Diſturbances, broke out between him and the Relations of the deceaſed Pope, on the following Occaſion. *Eugenius* was informed that *Martin* had left an immenſe Treaſure behind him; but that Cardinal *Proſper Colonna*, and his Two Brothers, *Antony* Prince of *Salerno*, and *Edward* Count of *Celano*, had embezzled the Whole, and kept it concealed. Upon that Intelligence *Eugenius* ſummoned them to give an Account of the Money, and the many valuable Effects, which his Predeceſſor was poſſeſſed of at the Time of his Death, ſince the See, and not they, was his Heir. As they took no Notice of that Summons, the Pope ordered their Palace to be ſearched. But they, who were employed on that Occaſion, exceeding their Commiſſion, inſtead of ſearching, plundered the Palace of all its rich Furniture, and of every Thing elſe that they thought of any Value. Hereupon the *Colonnas*, flying to Arms with their Friends and Dependents, beſieged the Pope in his Palace, and would have ſeized him, had not the *Roman* People, jealous of the overgrown Power of that Family, joined, almoſt, to a Man againſt them. Thus was a Civil War kindled within the Walls of the City. But the *Colonnas* were, in the End, overpowered, and obliged to take

Quarrels with the Relations of the deceaſed Pope.

Great Diſturbances in Rome.

[e] Apud Raynald ad ann. 1431. & Antonin. tit. 22. c. 10.

Year of Christ 1431.

take Shelter in the ſtrong Holds, which they poſſeſſed in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*; and in the mean Time the Pope thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt the whole Family, depriving them of all Honours, Titles, and Dignities, and declared their Caſtles, their Lands and Territories all forfeited to the Apoſtolic See. It is obſervable, that the ſame Family had met with pretty much the ſame Treatment from another Pope, from *Boniface* VIII. about 130 Years before, as has been related in the Life of that Pope [f]. *Eugenius*, finding that he could not, with his own Force alone, oppoſe the *Colonnas*, who had hired a ſtrong Body of Mercenaries, and even threatened *Rome* with a Siege, had Recourſe to the Emperor; and *Sigiſmund*, interpoſing his Authority, obliged them to diſband their Troops and ſubmit to the Pope; provided his Holineſs conſented to abſolve them from the Excommunication, to reinſtate them in all their former Titles, Honours, and Dignities, and receive them again into Favour. All this the Pope readily performed [g]. And thus was an End put to the preſent Diſturbances, and the Pope, to his great Satisfaction, left at full Liberty to attend to Affairs of far greater Importance, which he had then on his Hands.

The Emperor interpoſes.

Council of Baſil opened.

The Council, appointed by the late Pope to meet at *Baſil*, was, in the mean Time, opened in the Cathedral of that City on the 23d of *July* of the preſent Year. But, the Number of Prelates being yet very ſmall, no Seſſion was held till the 24th of *December*. However as their Numbers increaſed, they wrote, by the Advice of their Preſident, *Julian Ceſarini*, Cardinal of St. *Angelo*, a moſt

[f] See vol. 6. p. 251. 253. [g] Blondus decad. 2. l. 9. Platin in Eugen. IV. Raymund. ad ann. 1431. num. 11..

moſt obliging and friendly Letter to the *Bohemians*, that is, to the *Huſſites* of *Bohemia*, inviting them to the Council, and offering them a moſt ample Safe Conduct. The Letter is dated the 15th of *October*, and the Addreſs was, *The holy General Council, lawfully aſſembled in the Holy Ghoſt at* Baſil, *and repreſenting the Church Univerſal, to the Eccleſiaſtics, the Nobles, and the whole People of the Kingdom of* Bohemia. *Peace aud Unity in* Chriſt Jeſus *our Lord.* To entice the *Bohemians* to the Council the Fathers promiſed them, in their Letter, a favourable Hearing, as they did not doubt, they ſaid, but they would yield to Reaſon; and, if convinced of any Errors, would readily renounce them. So much Complaiſance to condemned Heretics offended the Pope, pretending that Heretics, whom the Church once had condemned, ſhould no more be heard. Under Colour therefore of preventing declared Hereſies from being again brought into Diſpute, by a Letter, dated the 11th of *November*, he impowered his Legate, Cardinal *Ceſarini*, to diſſolve the Council, aſſembled at *Baſil*, and appoint another to meet, in the Term of Eighteen Months, at *Bologna*, which, he ſaid, he would aſſiſt at in Perſon. To juſtify this ſudden and quite unexpected Diſſolution of a Council, ſummoned by his Predeceſſor in Obedience to the Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance*, and approved by himſelf, *Eugenius* added in his Letter, that very few Prelates were yet come; that the War in thoſe Parts between the Dukes of *Auſtria* and *Burgundy* would prevent others from coming, and that many of the Citizens of *Baſil* profeſſed the Doctrine of the condemned and anathematized *Huſs*; which would breed daily Scandals and Quarrels. The Letter was ſigned by Ten Cardinals, among whom were Two preferred to that Dignity by *Eugenius* on the 19th of the preceding *September*, viz. *Francis Condelmerius*,

Year of Chriſt 1431.

Diſſolved by Eugenius, *and why.*

Year of Christ 1431.

delmerius, his Nephew, and *Angelotto Foſchi*, or *Fuſco*, come of an ancient *Roman* Family, Archprieſt of the *Lateran*, and One of the Pope's moſt intimate Friends [h].

The Conduct of the Pope diſapproved by the Cardinal Legate.

So percipitate a Reſolution in the Pope ſurprized, beyond Meaſure, the Legate. But being a Man of great Diſcretion and Prudence, he concealed it from the Fathers of the Council, and in his Anſwer to the Pope's Letter remonſtrated, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, againſt it, laying before his Holineſs the Scandal it would give to Catholics as well as to Heretics; ſhewing, with great Freedom, the Futility of the Reaſons he had alledged for the intended Diſſolution, and even telling him, in plain Words, that the Council would not be diſſolved, and that he had therefore much better not attempt it, and thus avoid the endleſs Troubles, in which he would find himſelf inevitably involved, if he perſiſted in the Reſolution he had taken, perhaps, not upon the moſt mature Deliberation. But *Eugenius* wanted the Council to meet within his own Dominions, which was the true Reaſon that had induced him to diſſolve it, apprehending that were it held any-where elſe, it might prove as fatal to him as that of *Conſtance* had been to his Predeceſſor *John* XXIII. Being therefore deaf to all Remonſtrances, he iſſued a Bull on the 18th of *December*, declaring the Council of *Baſil* diſſolved, and immediately diſpatched a Meſſenger to acquaint the Emperor therewith, as well as with the Reaſons that had moved him to it, the ſame that he had urged in his Letter to the Legate. *Sigiſmund* was come into *Italy* to be crowned at *Milan* with the Iron Crown as King of *Lombardy*, and afterwards with the Imperial Crown at *Rome*. The former Cere-

And by the Emperor.

[h] Concil. Labbei, tom. 12. col. 669. Æneas Syl. Hiſt. p. 50. Edit. Freher. et apud Raynald. num. 21.

Ceremony was performed on the 25th of *November*, not at *Modoetia*, as was uſual, but at *Milan*, by the Archbiſhop of that City. From *Milan* the Emperor repaired to *Placentia*; and there he received the Pope's Letter, with the Copy of a Bull of the Diſſolution of the Council, which no leſs ſurprized him than it had done the Legate. He foreſaw the Diſturbances that would unavoidably attend ſuch a Reſolution, and therefore poſtponing all other Affairs, he wrote, without Loſs of Time, a long Letter in Anſwer to the Pope's. In that Letter, dated at *Placentia* the 9th of *January* 1432, the Emperor firſt confuted One by One, and indeed unanſwerably, all the Reaſons offered by the Pope to juſtify the Diſſolution of the Council. In the next Place he enlarged upon the many unſpeakable Evils, into which his Holineſs was, he ſaid, upon the Point of plunging himſelf, the Catholic Church, and the whole Chriſtian World, by putting off the ſo much wanted and the ſo long wiſhed-for Reformation; when many Biſhops were already come from diſtant Countries to concur with him in bringing ſo deſirable a Work to a happy Iſſue. He added, that the Biſhops would not be diſappointed, and that he, as Protector of the Church, could not refuſe his Protection to them and the Council. In the laſt Place he urged, that ſhould the Council be diſſolved for inviting the *Bohemians* to it, and promiſing them a favourable Hearing, they would conclude that the Catholics diſtruſted their Cauſe, and thus be confirmed in their Errors. The Emperor cloſed his Letter with earneſtly intreating his Holineſs, as he tendered the Welfare, the Peace, the Unity of the Church, and his own Reputation, to revoke his Decree diſſolving the Council, and aſſiſt at it in Perſon [i]. This Letter *Eugenius* anſwered by

Year of Chriſt 1431.

His Letter to the Pope. Year of Chriſt 1432

The Pope's Anſwer.

[i] Concil. Labbei, tom. 2. col. 940. 955.

Year of Christ 1432.

by another dated the 27th of *January*, wherein he assured the Emperor, that it was upon the most mature Deliberation, and with the Consent and Approbation of the Cardinals, that he dissolved one Council, and called another, and was very confident that when his Highness came to *Rome* to receive the Imperial Crown, and gave him an Opportunity of conferring personally with him, he would entirely approve of his Conduct [k].

The Council of Basil *declared a lawful Council.*

As the Pope returned no Answer to the Legate's Letter against the Dissolution of the Council mentioned above, he concluded that his Holiness had acquiesced in the Reasons he had alledged; and on the 7th of *December* he appointed the First Session to be held on the 14th of the same Month. In that Session were read, after the usual Ceremonies, the Decrees of the Councils of *Constance* and *Siena*, with the Letters of Pope *Martin* and the present Pope his Successor, ordering Councils to meet at the Expiration of every Seventh Year, and One in the Course of the current Year at *Basil*. The said Council was then declared a General Council, representing the Church Universal, and lawfully assembled to preserve the Purity of the Faith, to reconcile the Christian Princes, and to reform Abuses.

Establishes the Superiority of Councils over the Pope.

In the mean Time the Pope's Bull of the 18th of *December*, dissolving the Council, being notified to the Fathers at *Basil*, instead of complying with it, they confirmed, in their Second Session held on the 15th of *February*, the Two following Declarations of the Council of *Constance*; viz. *that a General Council, lawfully assembled, has its Power immediately from* Christ, *which every one, of what State or Dignity soever, even the Papal, is bound to obey in Things appertaining to the Faith, to the Extirpation*

[k] In Appendice Concil. col. 943.

pation of the Schiſm, and to the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members: The other, *that whoſoever, of whatever Dignity, even the Papal, ſhall refuſe to obey the Decrees, Statutes, and Mandates of a General Council, lawfully aſſembled, ſhall be duly puniſhed.* To theſe Two Declarations or Decrees of the Council of *Conſtance* the Fathers of *Baſil* added Three of their own, ariſing naturally from them; *viz.* I. That no Power upon Earth, no, not the Papal, can adjourn, tranſlate, or diſſolve the preſent Council aſſembled at *Baſil* without the Conſent of the Council itſelf. II. Nor can any Power upon Earth compel any to retire from the Council, or hinder any from coming to it. III. That none ſhall withdraw from the Council till it is ended, without a juſt and reaſonable Cauſe, allowed to be ſo by the Deputies of the Council [1]. Year of Chriſt 1432.

In the Third Seſſion, held on the 29th of *April*, the Biſhop of *Lauſanne*, and the Dean of *Utrecht*, who had been ſent to *Rome* to procure a Repeal of the Decree diſſolving the Council, made their Report; and the Fathers being informed by them that his Holineſs perſiſted in his former Reſolution, they ſummoned him to appear perſonally at the Council in the Term of Three Months, or to ſend Legates with full Powers, if he could not come himſelf, to repreſent him, and act in his Name. At the ſame Time the Cardinals were required to attend the Council within the ſaid Term, on Pain of being proſecuted, if prevented by no lawful Impediment, according to the Rigour of the Canons —— In the Fourth Seſſion, on the 20th of *June*, moſt ample Safe Conducts were diſpatched to the *Bohemians*, who had been prevailed upon to yield to the preſſing Inſtances of the Fathers, inviting them to the Council, and aſſuring them of a kind and favourable Reception, *The Pope and the Cardinals ſummoned to the Council.* *Decrees iſſued in the Fourth Seſſion.*

[1] Acta Victorina Concil. apud Spond. num. 7.

Year of Christ 1432.

Reception, with free Liberty to return when they pleaſed. In this Seſſion the Four following Decrees were iſſued, I. That, ſhould the Pope happen to die while the Council is ſitting, his Succeſſor ſhall be elected in the Place where it is held, and no where elſe. This Decree was calculated to draw the Cardinals to *Baſil*. II. That no Promiſe, no Oath, no Obligation whatever will be admitted as a lawful Excuſe for not aſſiſting at the Council; and all ſuch Obligations are declared null. III. The Pope ſhall create no new Cardinals while the Council is ſitting. IV. A leaden Seal ſhall be made with the Holy Ghoſt on the one Side, deſcending in the Shape of a Dove, and theſe Words on the other, *The Holy General Council of* Baſil.

Propoſals made by the Pope concerning the transferring of the Council and the Fathers Anſwer.

In the mean Time arrived at *Baſil* on the 18th of *July*, the Archbiſhops of *Coloſſos* and *Taranto*, with the Biſhop of *Magalone*, and one of the Auditors of the Apoſtolic Palace, ſent by *Eugenius* to propoſe to the Fathers, the transferring of the Council, to any Place, ſubject to the Church in *Italy*, which they ſhould chuſe, and where they ſhould enjoy the ſame Liberty as at *Baſil*. They added, that as ſoon as the Place, which his Holineſs left entirely to their Choice, was fixed upon, he would repair to it without Delay, and enter, jointly with them, upon the great Work of the Reformation, beginning with his own Court, nay, and with himſelf; but that his Health, and many weighty Reaſons would not permit him to go out of *Italy*. The Fathers returned Anſwer, that his Predeceſſor had appointed the Council to meet at *Baſil*; that he himſelf had approved and confirmed it; that the Reaſons, which he had offered for diſſolving or transferring it, were mere Pretences; that a General Council has its Authority immediately from *Chriſt*, which the Popes themſelves are bound to ſubmit to; and they therefore begged his

his Holineſs to lay aſide all Thoughts of diſſolving the Council, and repair to *Baſil* [m].——This paſſed in a General Congregation, and in the Sixth Seſſion, held on the 6th of *September*, *Engenius* was accuſed of Contumacy by the Promoter of the Council, in not revoking the Diſſolution of the ſaid Council, nor appearing at it in Compliance with his Summons, either in Perſon, or by his Deputies.——In the Seventh Seſſion, on the 6th of *November*, it was ordained, that as the Election of a new Pope was to be made at *Baſil*, ſhould the See become vacant while the Council was ſitting, and ſome of the Cardinals were uſefully employed at a great Diſtance from that City, the Reſt ſhould not enter into the Conclave till Sixty Days after the Deceaſe of the Pope.——In the Eighth Seſſion, held on the 18th of *December*, Sixty Days more were allowed to *Eugenius* to revoke the Diſſolution of the Council; and it was decreed that, if he did not revoke it within that Time, they ſhould proceed againſt him without any further Warning or Citation——In the Ninth and Tenth Seſſions, held on the 19th of *January*, and the 19th of *February* 1433, *Eugenius* was ſummoned anew, and, upon his not appearing, accuſed again of Contempt or Contumacy; and the Fathers finally determined to ſuſpend him, at their next Meeting, from the Adminiſtration both in Spirituals and Temporals. But he, in the mean Time, By a Diploma dated the 14th of *February*, that is, Three Days before the Sixty Days, allowed him in the Eighth Seſſion, were elapſed, confirmed the Council, and appointed Four Cardinals to preſide at it in his Name. But the Fathers maintaining that, as it had been lawfully aſſembled, it wanted not his Confirmation, would not admit the Legates, but inſiſted

Year of Chriſt 1432.

The Pope accuſed of Contumacy.

[m] Concil. tom. 12. col. 673.

Year of Christ 1433.

sisted upon his first revoking, in expres Terms, the pretended Dissolution. This *Eugenius* was, in the End, forced to agree to, and by a Bull, dated the 15th of *December* of the present Year 1433, he acknowleged the Holy General Council of *Basil* to have been lawfully assembled, and lawfully continued, though he had dissolved it *for just and reasonable Causes*; declared void and null whatever had been done by him, or in his Name, to the Prejudice, or in Derogation of the said Holy General Council; nay, and to satisfy the Fathers, he retracted a Letter against the Council, which he solemnly protested not to have been written by him, nor with his Knowlege or Consent [m].

He submits and retracts his Bulls dissolving the Council.

The Deputies of the Bohemians *arrive at* Basil.

The *Bohemians*, or *Hussites* of *Bohemia*, had been invited to the Council, as has been said above, and in Compliance with that Invitation, thay sent Four Deputies, the most learned Men among them, to give an Account of their Doctrine. These made their public Entry into *Basil* on the 4th of *January* of the present Year, were introduced to the Council on the 9th, and the 16th was fixed for the Day, on which they were to lay their Doctrine before the Council, and offer, with all Liberty, what they had to say in Defence of it. They made long Harangues, the one after the other, for several Days together, calculated to explain their Doctrine, and to prove it from the Scripture and the Fathers.

Articles they maintained.

The chief Articles they undertook to maintain were, that the Eucharist ought to be administered to all in both Kinds; that all Crimes, even those of the Ecclesiastics, ought to be punished by the Civil Magistrates; that the Preaching of the Word of God should be entirely free, and that the Clergy should have no temporal Power nor Dominion. These Articles afforded Matter of Dispute, for the Space

[m] Concil. ibid. col. 947.

Space of Fifty Days, between them and the Four Divines, choſen by the Council to anſwer them. But as the Diſputants, during that Time, came to no Agreement, nor was there the leaſt Likelihood of their coming to any, the *Bohemians* took their Leave of the Council, and returned Home. With them the Council diſpatched Deputies to treat with the leading Men of the Party; and many public Conferences were held at *Prague* and other Places concerning the Articles in Diſpute. But the *Bohemians* refuſing to hearken to any Terms till the Article of the Communion in both Kinds was ſettled, the Council was, in the End, prevailed upon by their Deputies to grant them their Requeſt. Accordingly a Bull was drawn up by the Council and ſent into *Bohemia*, allowing the Prieſts of that Kingdom and of *Moravia* to adminiſter the Euchariſt in both Kinds to all, who deſired it, provided they declared to their Communicants, that *Chriſt is contained entire under either Species*, and that they ought to believe ſo. The *Bohemians* having now obtained what they chiefly inſiſted upon, they agreed, without Difficulty, to the other Articles, as explained and qualified by the Council [n]. Thus were the Differences that had ſubſiſted ever ſince the Council of *Conſtance*, and had coſt many Thouſand Lives, amicably compoſed for the preſent.

Year of Chriſt 1433.

Communion in both Kinds granted them. Year of Chriſt 1434.

In the mean Time *Philip*, Duke of *Milan*, pretending to be commiſſioned by the Council to bring the Pope to Reaſon, ſent a numerous Body of Troops to reduce the *March of Ancona*, which they did without Oppoſition. From thence they advanced into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*; and there committed ſuch dreadful Ravages, that the *Romans*, to redeem themſelves from them, began to think of ſeizing the Pope, and delivering him up into their Hands. But he, being privately informed of their Machinations, made his Eſcape, in the Diſguiſe of a Monk, to the *Tyber*, and, imbarking there in a ſmall Boat, got ſafe to *Oſtia* amidſt

Eugenius obliged to leave Rome.

[n] Concil. tom. 13. col. 801. et 978.

Year of Christ 1434.

amidst Showers of Arrows, aimed at him by the *Romans* from either Side the River. From *Ostia* he sailed to *Pisa*, from thence went to *Florence*, and was received in both Places with extraordinary Marks of Honour. He wrote, on the very Day he arrived at *Florence*, the 23d of *June*, a most obliging Letter to the Fathers of *Basil* to acquaint them with the Revolt of the *Romans*, and his Flight from *Rome*; and at the same Time to assure them that he was unalterably determined to live in perfect Harmony with them, to bury in Oblivion what had bred a Misunderstanding between him and them, and thenceforth to love them as his Children, and respect them as his Brethren. On the other hand the Fathers, to shew that they bore his Holiness no Ill-will, immediately dispatched some of their Body to *Rome* to mediate a Reconciliation between him and the *Romans*. Their Mediation was attended with the wished-for Success. For the *Romans* not only submitted, out of their great Regard for the Council, but restored all the Magistrates, whom they had removed, drove the Ring-leaders of the Revolt out of the City, and sent to beg his Holiness's Pardon, in the most submissive Manner, for their past undutiful Behaviour [o].

The Council interposes in his Favour.

Various Abuses redressed by the Council.

Year of Christ 1435.

Thus was a perfect Harmony established between the Council and the Pope; and it subsisted till the Twenty-first Session, held on the 9th of *June* of the following Year, when the Fathers, entering upon the great Work of the Reformation, and beginning with the Pope's Court, undertook to correct several Abuses that prevailed there, and gave, they said, just Cause of Complaint as well as of Scandal to the whole Christian World. These were *Expectatives*, *Reservations*, *Resignations*, *Annates*, &c. unheard of for many Ages in the Church, and introduced without any apparent Necessity.

They

[o] Ibid. col. 950. Blond. Decad. 3. l. 5. et 6. Antonin. tit. 22. c. 10.

Year of Chriſt 1435.

They therefore forbad them, as *oppreſſive* and *ſimoniacal*, to be practiſed for the future, notwithſtanding any Statutes, Bulls, or Decrees whatever to the contrary: They forbad, in like Manner, any Thing to be required, or to be given for the confirming of Elections, Collations, for Inſtitutions, Inveſtitures, or even for the Pall. All, who ſhould, on any Occaſion, or under any Pretence whatever, act contrary to theſe Regulations, were to be puniſhed as guilty of Simony; and the Pope, if he tranſgreſſed them, was to be accuſed to, and called to an Account by, a General Council. The ſuppreſſing of the Annates, one of the chief Branches of the Papal Revenue, afforded Matter for many long and learned Debates, ſome maintaining, and others impugning the Lawfulneſs of ſuch an Impoſition. But it was, in the End, declared, by a great Majority, to involve Simony, and as ſuch ſtrictly forbidden [p]. Theſe Regulations *Eugenius* looked upon as only calculated to make him entirely dependent upon the Council, and oblige him either to ſubmit to them, or beg his Bread, to uſe his Expreſſion, from Door to Door. However, inſtead of annulling them, agreeably to the Advice of ſome of the Cardinals, and diſſolving the Council anew, he wiſely contented himſelf with ſending *Ambroſe*, Prior-General of the *Camalduleſe*, and *Antonius de Sancto Vito*, Auditor of the Apoſtolic Chamber, both held in high Eſteem for their Learning and Probity, to remonſtrate againſt the ſuppreſſing of the Annates, at leaſt, for the preſent, as the Patrimony of St. *Peter* was then over-run by Uſurpers and Tyrants, and he had no other Means of ſubſiſting. The Council returned Anſwer, that the Annates were but a novel Invention, that the Popes had, for many Ages, ſubſiſted, and

Annates ſuppreſſed.

[p] Concil. tom. 12. col. 859. et apud Spondam. ad ann. 1435.

Year of Christ 1435.

even ſupported their Dignity without them, and that, if his Holineſs conſented to their being aboliſhed, they would provide for him by ſome other more honeſt and Chriſtian Means [q]. It does not appear that any Thing was ſo much as offered in Defence of *Reſignations*, *Reſervations*, or *Expectative Graces*, though they brought yearly immenſe Sums into the Apoſtolic Chamber.

Several Regulations relating to the Election of the Pope, to the Number of the Cardinals, their Qualifications, &c. eſtabliſhed by the Council.

Year of Chriſt 1436.

In the Twenty-third Seſſion, held on the 25th of *March*, 1436, the Conſtitution of *Gregory* X. concerning the Conclave, which had begun to be neglected, was renewed, and to the Regulations contained in that Conſtitution, the Two following were added by the Council; I. That the Cardinals ſhould promiſe upon Oath to elect the Perſon, whom they judged the beſt qualified for ſo great a Truſt. II. That the Perſon elected ſhould be obliged to accept of the Dignity. It was further ordained, that on the Anniverſary of the Pope's Election or Coronation, the following Profeſſion ſhould be yearly read to him at High Maſs by the oldeſt Cardinal then preſent: "Remember what "St. *Peter* and his Succeſſors have done: They "thought of nothing, had nothing in their View, "but the Honour of God, the Propagation of the "Faith, the public Weal of the Church, and the "Salvation and Good of their Children, and at laſt "they laid down their Lives for their Flock. *Lay* "*not up for yourſelf, or for yours, Treaſures upon* "*Earth*, &c. *but lay up for yourſelf Treaſures in* "*Heaven*, &c. *Regard not Blood, nor Country,* "*nor Nation. All are alike the Children of God,* "*and all committed to your Care* [r]".—In the ſame Seſſion it was decreed, that the Pope ſhould not create any of his Relations, to the Third Degree incluſively, Dukes, Marquiſes, Counts, Feudatories,

[p] Ibid. col. 904. [r] Ibid. col. 559.

ries, or Vicars, nor ſhould he appoint them Governors of any Province, City, Town, Caſtle, or any other Place whatever ſubject to the *Roman* Church; that in all Affairs of Importance he ſhould adviſe with the Cardinals; that the Cardinals ſhould be in all but Twenty-four, choſen out of all the Nations of *Chriſtendom*, Men noted for their Learning, their Probity, their Experience in the Management of Affairs, Maſters, Doctors, or Licentiates, not Nephews to the Pope, nor to any Cardinal ſtill living. At the ſame Time was renewed and confirmed the Decree ſuppreſſing *Reſervations*, *Reſignations*, *Expectative Graces*, and *Annates*, without any the leaſt Regard to the Remonſtrances of his Holineſs. Year of Chriſt 1436.

As *John Palæologus*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and *Joſeph* the Patriarch, had formed a Deſign of uniting the Two Churches, and had agreed to the aſſembling of a general Council for that Purpoſe, in the Weſt, at which the Prelates of both Nations ſhould aſſiſt; a new Quarrel broke out, the following Year 1437, between the Fathers of *Baſil* and the Pope, about the Choice of a Place where they ſhould meet. For in the Twenty-fifth Seſſion, held on the 7th of *May*, *Florence*, or *Udine* in *Friuli*, was choſen by the Pope's Legates, ſeconded by a ſmall Number of Biſhops; and by the Reſt of the Council *Avignon*, or ſome Place in *Savoy*, or the City of *Baſil*, where the Weſtern Biſhops were already aſſembled. *Eugenius*, however, confirmed the Choice of *Florence*, or *Udine*; which ſo provoked the Fathers of *Baſil*, that in their Twenty-ſixth Seſſion, held on the laſt Day of *July*, they charged him with Mal-Adminiſtration, with Simony, with a Breach of the Oath he had taken at his Election, and a moſt ſcandalous Abuſe of his Power; and *by virtue of the Authority, which they had received immediately from* Chriſt, *over all Per-* *Final Rupture between the Pope and the Council.* Year of Chriſt 1437.

Year of Christ 1437.

ſons of what Rank or Dignity ſoever, the Papal not excepted, they ſummoned him to appear before them in the Term of ſixty Days, and anſwer the Charges brought againſt him.——In the Twenty-ſeventh Seſſion, held on the 26th of *September*, they declared the Promotion of *John Viteleſchi*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*, to the Dignity of Cardinal to be null, as having been made by the Pope contrary to the Decrees of the Council.——The Sixty Days, allowed to the Pope to appear in, being elapſed, the Twenty-eighth Seſſion was held on the 1ſt Day of *October*, when, upon his not appearing either in Perſon, or by Proxies, though Three Times called upon at the Church Door, he was declared contumacious, and it was ordained, that the Council ſhould proceed againſt him as ſuch, notwithſtanding his Abſence, ſince the Summons had been ſufficiently notified to him. This Step gave Offence to ſeveral Princes, and among the Reſt to the Emperor himſelf, and to the King of *England*, *Henry* VI. who, in the Direction of the Letter, which he is ſaid to have written to the Fathers of *Baſil* on this Occaſion, ſtiled them, not the *Council*, but the *Congregation of Baſil*[r].

The Pope declared contumacious.

Eugenius transfers the Council to Ferrara.

While theſe Things paſſed at *Baſil*, *Eugenius*, being then at *Bologna*, publiſhed a Decree quite unexpected, removing the Council from *Baſil* to *Ferrara*, a Place, he ſaid, far more convenient to the *Greeks*, who, ere it was long, would arrive at *Venice*. This Decree is dated at *Bologna* the 1ſt of *October* of the preſent Year, that is, the very Day on which he had been declared by the Council guilty of Contumacy. In Oppoſition to the Pope's Decree, the Fathers of *Baſil* publiſhed another in their Twenty-ninth Seſſion, held on the 12th of *October*; and by that Decree the Tranſ-

[r] Acta Patritiana ad ann. 1437.

Tranſlation of the Council was declared null, and all, whoſe Duty it was to attend General Councils, were enjoined, on Pain of Excommunication, and the Forfeiture of all their Benefices, to repair to *Baſil*. As the Pope had charged them, in his Decree, with ſowing the Seeds of Diſſention between the Head of the Church and its Members, and thus making Way for a new Schiſm, they returned to that Charge the following Anſwer: That the preſent Holy General Council had been aſſembled to reform the Church in its Head and its Members; that they had, purſuant to that laudable Deſign, applied themſelves to the redreſſing of numberleſs Abuſes; but as thoſe Abuſes were very advantageous and profitable to the Apoſtolic See, his Holineſs had made it his Buſineſs to defeat all their Endeavours, and therefore ſhould he obſtinately perſiſt in oppoſing the neceſſary Reformation, and thus give Occaſion to a new Schiſm, he would alone be anſwerable for it. They added, that while he was traducing them, as the Authors of a new Schiſm, he was himſelf ſtriving to introduce the moſt dangerous One, that had ever been known in the Church, that of one General Council in Oppoſition to another [t].

Year of Chriſt 1439.

That Tranſlation declared null by the Council.

In the latter End of the preſent Year died of the Palſey, in the 70th Year of his Age, the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, a Prince endowed with many good Qualities, but who ſullied them all with his frequent Adulteries. The Empreſs was not therein behind hand with him; but they forgave one another. He was ſucceeded in the Empire by his Son-in-Law, *Albert*, Duke of *Auſtria* [v].

Death of the Emperor Sigiſmund.

The following Year, 1438, was opened, on the 8th of *January*, the new Council at *Ferrara*, and the Firſt Seſſion held in the Cathedral of that City, at which preſided *Nicholas Albergati*, Cardinal

The Council opened at Ferrara.

Year of Chriſt 1438.

[t] Concil. tom. 12. col. 716. [v] Æneas Syl. Hiſt. Bohem. c. 53. Cochlæus l. 8.

Year of Christ 1438.

Presbyter of the *Holy Cross in Jerusalem*, and were present Five Archbishops, Eighteen Bishops, the Deputies of Two more, and the Superiors of many Religious Orders. In this Session the *Congregation* of *Basil* was declared an unlawful Assembly, and the Synod of *Ferrara* an Oecumenical Council lawfully assembled. On the 8th of *February Eugenius* made his public Entry into *Ferrara*, and in the Second Session, held on the 15th of *February*, at which the Pope presided in Person, and were present Seventy-two Bishops, all who still remained at *Basil*, were ordered, on Pain of Excommunication and the Forfeiture of all their Dignities and Benefices, to withdraw from that City in the Term of Thirty Days. At the same Time the Governor, Magistrates, Consuls, *&c.* of *Basil* were enjoined, upon the same Penalties, to drive them out of their City at the Expiration of the said Term, and sell nothing to them, not even the necessary Food [w].

Proceedings against those of Basil.

The Greek *Emperor and Bishops arrive at* Venice.

In the mean Time the *Greek* Emperor, *John Palæologus*, being wholly bent upon uniting the Two Churches, and therefore determined to assist, in Person, at the Council, that was to be held for that Purpose in the West, embarked with his Bishops on board Nine Gallies on the 25th of *November* of the preceding Year, and arrived at *Venice* in the Beginning of *February* of thepresent. The Doge, the Senate, and all the Nobility went out in their *Bucentoro*, a well-known Vessel, to meet him. He brought with him *Joseph*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Deputies of the Three other Patriarchs, Twenty-one Prelates of the first Rank, that is, Archbishops or Patriarchs, and a great Number of Bishops, of the dignified Clergy, of Abbots, of Superiors of Religious

[w] Acta Concil. Horatii Justiniani, part 1. tom. 13. Concil. col. 896.

Religious Orders, with all the great Officers of his Court; and among them his Brother *Demetrius*, Deſpote of *Morea*. On the 28th of *February* they all left *Venice*, except *Joſeph* the Patriarch, who was indiſpoſed, and, repairing to *Ferrara*, made their public Entry into that City on the 4th of *March*. The Emperor was met at the Gate by all the Cardinals who were then with the Pope, and the Nobility in a Body, and attended by them under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold to the Pope's Palace. The Pope roſe up before he entered the Room, and received him ſtanding. The Emperor offered to kneel, but his Holineſs, embracing him, preſented his Hand to him to kiſs, and making him ſit down on his Left Hand, conferred ſome Time in private with him. From the Pope's Palace he was conducted, in a Kind of Triumph, to another, allotted him for his Reſidence, and ſo magnificently adorned as to deſerve the Name of *Paradiſe*. On the the 8th of *March* the Patriarch arrived, and was the next Day attended from the Port to the Pope's Palace by the Two Cardinals, Twenty-five Biſhops, and all the Nobility. *Eugenius* received him with all poſſibly Marks of Eſteem, gave him his Cheek to kiſs, as had been agreed before-hand, and, taking him into his Cloſet, converſed ſome Time with him there. From the Audience of the Pope the Patriarch was accompanied by the ſame Biſhops and the Nobility, but not by the Two Cardinals, to the Palace prepared for him. While theſe Things paſſed at *Ferrara*, the Fathers of *Baſil*, wholly intent upon the great and neceſſary Work of the Reformation, iſſued the Three following Decrees in their Thirty-firſt Seſſion, held on the 29th of *January* of the preſent Year: I. That all Law-Suits, uſually carried to *Rome*, ſhall be finally decreed upon the Spot, if the Places where they ariſe be diſtant Four Days Journey from

Year of Chriſt 1438.

Repair to Ferrara.

The Emperor and the Patriarch how received by the Pope.

Decrees of the Council of Baſil.

Year of Christ 1438.

that City. II. That all Reſignations, Reſervations, and Expectatives ſhall be ſuppreſſed for ever, comprehending thoſe that have been already granted; and all ſuch Grants for the future ſhall be deemed null. By the IIId Decree they declared *Eugenius* guilty of Contumacy, and as ſuch ſuſpended him from all Papal Juriſdiction both Spiritual and Temporal, forbidding all Eccleſiaſtics, on Pain of Excommunication and the Loſs of their Benefices, to obey him [x]. Theſe Decrees ſo offended the Preſident, Cardinal *Cæſarini*, who had hitherto diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt by his Zeal for the Council, that, leaving *Baſil* abruptly, he repaired to *Ferrara*, to the inexpreſſible Joy of the Pope. The Fathers choſe *Lewis*, Cardinal of *Arles*, ſo called becauſe Archbiſhop of that City, Preſident in his Room.

Eugenius *ſuſpended.*

Conferences between the Greeks *and the* Latins.

As few Biſhops were yet come to *Ferrara*, but more were daily expected, it was propoſed by the *Latin* and agreed to by the *Greek* Fathers, that in the mean Time they ſhould hold frequent Conferences about the chief Articles of the Diſagreement between the Two Churches, to facilitate, by that Means, the wiſhed-for Union. Accordingly Twelve were choſen out of either Church, who met twice a Week in the Church of the *Franciſcans*. They began their Conferences, or rather Diſputations, with *Purgatory*, and though they only differed in this, that the *Latins* held the Souls of the Juſt, who had not fully atoned for their Sins in their Life-time, to be purged with real Fire after their Death; while the *Greeks* believed them to be purified, not by real Fire, but by exceeding Grief and Anguiſh; though they diſagreed, I ſay, in that alone, yet they parted after a Two Months Diſpute, juſt as they met, leaving the Queſtion to be reſumed

[x] Ubi ſupra, col. 601, & ſeq.

reſumed and determined at a more proper Seaſon [y]. Year of Chriſt 1438.

The Princes of Germany embrace a Neutrality.

In the mean Time, the Electors of the Empire and the other *German* Princes, meeting at *Francfort* on the 18th of *March* of the preſent Year, reſolved to obſerve a ſtrict Neutrality in the Quarrel between the Fathers of *Baſil* and the Pope; to ſhew all due Regard to both, and receive no Decrees of either againſt the other. They met again the following *July* at *Nurenburg* to do Homage to *Albert*, the new King of the *Romans*, and at the ſame Time to reconcile, if by any Means they could, the Pope and the Council. To this Diet or Aſſemby both the Pope and the Council ſent their Deputies to plead their Cauſe before them. But the King and the Princes, declaring that they had the higheſt Veneration and Eſteem for both, would hearken to nothing alledged by the one againſt the other: They only repreſented to them the many Evils, ariſing from their Diſagreement; exhorting them to lay aſide all Strife and Contention; and, in order to that, propoſed the removing of the Council both from *Baſil* and *Ferrara*, and chuſing a Third Place, where they all ſhould meet, and treat jointly with the *Greeks*; who, they ſaid, would not be very forward in uniting with them, while they continued thus diſunited among themſelves. This Propoſal was immediately communicated to the Fathers of *Baſil* by the Patriarch of *Aquilea*, who was at the Head of their Deputies. But they rejected it with one Accord, alleging that the City of *Baſil* had been choſen by Pope *Martin* and the General Council of *Siena*; that *Eugenius* had confirmed their Choice, and no rational Cauſe had yet been aſſigned, why ſo many Prelates ſhould be put to the Inconvenience of removing to any other Place [z].

Their Propoſal for a Reconciliation.

Rejected by the Fathers of Baſil.

The

[y] Concil. tom. 13. col. 26. [z] Acta Patritiana Concil Baſil, apud Pagi, tom. 4. p. 594.

Year of Chriſt 1438.

The Fathers of *Baſil* took Care to ſend the Decrees they had made for the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members to all the Chriſtian Princes, to be publiſhed by them in their reſpective Dominions. In *France*, the King, *Charles* VII. cauſed them to be examined in a general Aſſembly of the whole Clergy, convened for that Purpoſe at *Bourges*; and at that Aſſembly he aſſiſted in Perſon with all the great Lords of the Kingdom. The Decrees were there examined, and being, upon the ſtricteſt Examination, approved by all, who were preſent, they were received, with one Conſent, ſome of them without the leaſt Alteration, and others with certain Modifications, ſuited to the Uſages of the *Gallican* Church. Of theſe Regulations or Decrees was compoſed what was afterwards called the *Pragmatic Sanction*, ſo odious to the Court of *Rome*. For by the *Pragmatic* the Council of *Baſil* was owned for a lawful Council, and General Councils were declared ſuperior to the Pope; all *Reſervations*, *Reſignations*, *Expectatives*, *Commendams*, and *Annates* were ſuppreſſed; Elections were reſtored to the Chapters, and Collations to the Ordinaries; Appeals, Excommunications, and Interdicts were regulated; the receiving or giving any Thing whatever, beſides the uſual Fees to the Clerks and Notaries, was ſtrictly forbidden as inexecuſable Simony. Theſe and many other Practices, calculated to draw the Wealth of all other Nations to *Rome*, were aboliſhed by the *Pragmatic*. That *Sanction* was received in the General Aſſembly of the *Gallican* Clergy at *Bourges* on the 7th of *July* of the preſent Year, and the following Year it was enacted into a Law by the Parliament of *Paris* on the 13th of the ſame Month. The Popes left nothing unattempted to get it repealed: But it continued in Force till the Year 1516, when *Francis* I. by an Agreement

The Pragmatic Sanction *eſtabliſhed in* France.

Agreement with Pope *Leo* X. ſubſtituted the *Concordat* in its Room. Year of Chriſt 1438.

The Pope and the Fathers of *Ferrara* had agreed to wait Four Months for thoſe of *Baſil*, and that Time they employed, with how little Succeſs we have ſeen, in Conferences about ſome of the leſs important Articles, in which the *Greeks* and *Latins* diſagreed. As the Four Months expired on the 8th of *October* of the preſent Year, and not a ſingle Biſhop was yet come from *Baſil*, the Pope declaring, that where he was with the Emperor, meaning the *Greek* Emperor, with the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, the Cardinals, and the other Patriarchs, there was the Church Univerſal, the Firſt Seſſion, at which the *Greeks* were preſent, was held by his Order on that very Day. But that very few Biſhops aſſiſted at this Seſſion, ſufficiently appears from its being held in the Chapel of the Pope's Palace; and no Notice is taken of the Arrival of any more either at *Ferrara* or *Florence*, whither we ſhall ſee the Council removed in the Beginning of the following Year. In this Seſſion Six Perſons were appointed by the *Greeks*, and as many by the *Latins*, to maintain their own and combat the oppoſite Opinions. By the *Greeks* were choſen, *Mark*, Archbiſhop of *Epheſus*, *Iſidore* Great Metropolitan of *Ruſſia*, *Beſſarion*, Archbiſhop of *Nice*, *Theodorus Xantipulus*, great Sacriſtan or Veſtry-keeper of the Church of *Conſtantinople*, *Michael Balſamon*, great Bibliothecarian, and the famous Philoſopher *Gemiſtus*. The Champions on the Side of the *Latins* were, the two Cardinals *Albergati* and *Ceſarini*, *Andrew*, Archbiſhop of *Coloſſus*, *John*, Biſhop of *Forli*, and Two Monks, Maſters in Divinity. The Points to be argued were, *the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt*, *the Puniſhments of Purgatory*, *the Primacy of the* Roman *Church*, and *whether leavened or unleavened Bread ſhould be uſed in the Euchariſt*. But with

The firſt Seſſion at which the Greeks *were preſent.*

Diſputants appointed and the Points ſettled that were to be diſputed.

Year of Chriſt 1438.

with reſpect to the Firſt Article, it was in the Firſt Place diſputed, whether it was lawful to add any Thing to a Symbol, propoſed by a General Council for a Rule of Faith. For that the Words, *and from the Son*, were not to be found in the original *Nicene* Creed, but had been added to it by the *Latins*, was notorious and owned by the *Latins* themſelves. This preliminary Queſtion afforded Matter of Diſpute from the Third Seſſion, held on the 14th of *October*, to the Fifteenth held on the 8th of *December*. The original *Nicene* Creed being read, where the Holy Ghoſt was only ſaid to proceed from the Father, *Mark* of *Epheſus* quoted a Decree of the Council of *Epheſus*, forbidding any Addition to be made to that Symbol; and by the other *Greeks* Paſſages were quoted, without Number, to the ſame Purpoſe, out of other Councils, as well as the Fathers, both *Greek* and *Latin*. The *Latins* could not queſtion the Authenticity of thoſe Paſſages, but, in order to elude them, they pretended the Words, *and from the Son*, to be no Addition to, but only an Explication of the Symbol, or of the Words, *who proceeds from the Father*. For as all, ſaid they, that is natural and eſſential to the Father is likewiſe natural and eſſential to the Son, when it is affirmed, that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father, it muſt neceſſarily be underſtood, that he proceeds, in like Manner, from the Son. Call it by what Name you pleaſe, replied *Beſſarion* of *Nice*, the Words in Queſtion have been certainly added to the Symbol, and are, therefore, in Truth, an *Addition*. He added, that it was not, indeed, contrary to the Prohibition of the Council of *Epheſus* to explain the Symbol, but it evidently was to inſert any Explanations into it, and thus make them a Part of it, and Articles of our Belief. *Andrew* of *Coloſſus* anſwered, that the Prohibition of the Council muſt be underſtood of ſuch

Diſputes about adding to the Symbol the Words and from the Son.

Additions

Additions only, as were contrary to the Doctrines contained in the Symbol. But that Anſwer *Beſſarion* treated with no ſmall Contempt, ſince it could not be ſuppoſed, as he obſerved, that any would preſume to inſert ſuch Doctrines into a Creed as were repugnant to thoſe that were defined by it. Year of Chriſt 1438.

While they were engaged in this Diſpute, and not likely to come to any Agreement, Cardinal *Ceſarini* propoſed their leaving the Point in Debate undecided for the preſent, in order to proceed to the main Queſtion. For if we agree in this, ſaid the Cardinal, that the Holy Ghoſt verily proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father, we ſhall not quarrel about allowing a Place to that Article in the Symbol. To this they all agreed, and twelve were choſen on each Side to diſcuſs that Point. But a contagious Diſtemper breaking out in the mean time at *Ferrara*, the Pope reſolved to tranſlate the Council to *Florence*. That Tranſlation was at firſt ſtrongly oppoſed by the *Greeks*. But they agreed to it, in the End, upon the Pope's promiſing to defray all their Expences, and to ſend, without Delay, 1900 Florins of Gold to *Conſtantinople* to put that City in a State of Defence againſt the victorious *Turks*. To make good his Word *Eugenius* borrowed 40,000 Florins of the *Florentines*, for which he pawned his Triple Crown; and the Republic promiſed to make him a free Gift of 40,000 more, provided the Council were transferred to their City. The Pope having thus obtained the Conſent of the *Greeks*, the Decree, transferring the Council from *Ferrara* to *Florence*, was publiſhed, by his Order, in the ſixteenth Seſſion, held on the 10th of *January* of the following Year 1439; and before the End of that Month they all arrived in that City, to the great Joy of the *Florentines*, who received the Pope, the Emperor, and the Patriarch with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, and preſented *The Council transferred to* Florence. Year of Chriſt 1439.

Year of Chriſt 1439.

ſented his Holineſs, ſoon after his Arrival, with the Sum they had promiſed.

The Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt debated in ſeveral Seſſions.

On the 6th of *February* was held the Firſt Seſſion at *Florence*, being the Seventeenth of the Council; and in that Seſſion, as well in the Six following, *the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt* was the only Subject of Debate. They argued only from Authority; and by the oppoſite Parties innumerable Paſſages were produced, out of the Councils and the Fathers, in ſupport of their oppoſite Opinions. But as the more they diſputed the farther they were from agreeing, the Emperor, who was for an Union upon any Terms, aſſembling all his Metropolitans in the Houſe of the Patriarch, then greatly indiſpoſed, deſired they would deliberate among themſelves, and find out ſome other Means of concluding the wiſhed-for Union than by Way of Diſputation, which they knew by Experience to be ineffectual. All Diſputes being therefore ſet aſide, and the Doctrine of both Churches, concerning the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, cooly examined, it was found that, in Effect, both held the ſame Doctrine, and only differed in the Terms, with which they expreſſed it. For, according to the *Greeks*, the Father was the Origin of the Son, and from the Father *by* the Son, or *through* the Son, proceeded the Holy Ghoſt, and to proceed from the Father, *by* the Son, or *through* the Son, was owned by the Patriarch, by *Beſſarion* of *Nice*, by *Iſidore*, Great Metropolitan of *Ruſſia*, to be the ſame Thing as to proceed *from* the Father and the Son. Accordingly, they publicly declared, that they approved and received the Doctrine of the *Latins*, ſeeing it was, as they had explained it, the ſame with their own. Their Example was ſoon followed by all the reſt, except *Mark* of *Epheſus*, who maintained, to the laſt, the Doctrine of the *Latins* to be very different

They agree with reſpect to that Article.

ferent from that of the *Greeks*, and could never be brought to receive it.

Year of Chriſt 1439.

The other Articles ſettled, and the Union concluded.

The Union being thus concluded with reſpect to the chief Article, the others were ſoon ſettled to the Satisfaction of both Parties, the *Greeks* allowing in the ſeveral Conferences they had with the *Latins*, that leavened or unleavened Bread might be indifferently uſed in the Euchariſt; that they who had ſinned and repented, but had not *brought forth Fruits worthy of Repentance*, in their Life-time, underwent, after Death, a temporary Puniſhment; but as to the Nature of that Puniſhment, or in what it conſiſted, it mattered little to know; and both Churches might ſafely hold the Opinion which they had hitherto held. Thus what had afforded them, as we have ſeen, Matter of Diſpute for two whole Months, is now declared an indifferent Point. As for the Primacy of the *Roman* See, they owned the Pope to be the Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, the Vicar of *Chriſt* upon Earth, the Head of the Church and the Father of the Faithful, and full Power to have been given, in St. *Peter*, to him of feeding, ruling, and governing the Church Univerſal. They would not however allow him to receive Appeals from the other Patriarchal Sees, nor to convene General Councils without the Conſent of the other Patriarchs. Theſe Articles being all agreed to both by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, the Decree containing them was drawn up in both Languages, and, being read in full Council, in *Latin* by Cardinal *Ceſarini*, in *Greek* by *Beſſarion*, it was ſigned on the 6th of *July* by all who were preſent; *Mark* of *Ephèſus*, who had always oppoſed the Union, having withdrawn from *Florence* ſome Days before [b]. It was not, as is commonly ſuppoſed, out of any Motive of Religion that the *Greek* Emperor, *John Palæologos*, put himſelf

[b] Acta Concil. Labbei, tom. 13. p. 510. & Acta Patriciana.

Year of Christ 1439.

himſelf to ſuch an infinite Deal of Trouble on this Occaſion, but chiefly to recommend himſelf to the Pope, and procure by his Intereſt, powerful Succours from the Weſtern Princes againſt the *Turks*, who had already reduced the far greater Part of his Empire. As for his Biſhops, it appears plain enough from the Acts of the Council, that their Conſent was, in a Manner, extorted by him. Some, perhaps, choſe to enſlave themſelves to the Pope rather than to the *Turk*, and others were convinced by more powerful Arguments than any *Mark* of *Epheſus* could allege. *Beſſarion*, Archbiſhop of *Nice*, and *Iſidore*, Archbiſhop of *Kiovia* or *Kiow*, and Great Metropolitan of *Ruſſia*, the chief Promoters of the Union, were both created Cardinals. The Patriarch had been always for the Union; but he died before it was concluded, having written, a few Minutes before his Death, and ſigned with his own Hand a Confeſſion of Faith, declaring that he received and held all the Doctrines, that were received and taught by *Old Rome*, and owned the Pope of the ſaid *Old Rome* to be the Father of Fathers, and the Vicar of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* upon Earth. He died on the 9th of *June* of the preſent Year, and his Confeſſion bears that Date. The Union being concluded in the Manner we have ſeen, the *Greeks* took their Leave of the Pope, and repairing to *Venice*, embarked there the 11th of *October*, and arrived at *Conſtantinople* on the 1ſt of *February* of the following Year. They carried with them the Decree of the ſuppoſed Union; but not a *Greek* of any Note, Eccleſiaſtic or Layman, would receive it; nay, many, and they Prelates of the Firſt Rank, who had ſigned that Decree at *Florence*, retracted at *Conſtantinople*, and even wrote againſt it. The Emperor did all in his Power to maintain his own Work; but he dying in 1445 the ancient Doctrine of

Death of the Patriarch.

The Union how received at Conſtantinople.

of the *Greek* Church was again univerſally received, and that of the Council of *Florence* condemned and rejected; and ſo it is to this Day. Year of Chriſt 1439.

And now to return to the Council of *Baſil*. In the Thirty-third Seſſion, held on the 16th of *May* of the preſent Year, they laid down the Three following Propoſitions as *Truths of the Catholic Faith*. I. *That a General Council, repreſenting the Church Univerſal, is above the Pope, and every other Perſon, as has been declared by the Council of* Conſtance *and this of* Baſil, *is a Truth of the Catholic Faith*. II. *That the Pope cannot diſſolve, nor prorogue, nor transfer from one Place to another a General Council lawfully aſſembled, without the Conſent of the ſaid Council, is a Truth of the Catholic Faith*. III. *That he is to be reputed a Heretic, who obſtinately oppoſes the Two foreſaid Truths*. As *Eugenius* had not appeared, in Compliance with his Summons, within the Time preſcribed by the Council, he was, in the Thirty-fourth Seſſion, held on the 25th of *June*, declared guilty of Contumacy, diſobedient to the Commands of the Church Univerſal, a Contemner of the Canons, a Diſturber of the Unity of the Church, a perjured ſimoniacal Schiſmatic, and obſtinate Heretic; and as ſuch they pronounced him depoſed from the Pontificate, and unworthy of any Degree, Title, Honour, and Dignity; abſolved all from the Obedience they owed him, and declared all Eccleſiaſtics, by what Dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, who ſhould thenceforth own or obey him, deprived, *ipſo facto*, of all their Benefices, Honours and Dignities. *Eugenius* being thus depoſed, ſome of the Fathers were for immediately proceeding to the Election of a new Pope, on Account of the Plague that had broke out in *Baſil*, and raging, with great Fury, ſwept off daily great Numbers of the Inhabitants; and had even the Boldneſs, ſays *Æneas Sylvius*, who was preſent, to

The Superiority of Councils over the Pope declared an Article of Faith.

Eugenius *depoſed by the Council.*

Year of Christ 1439.

attack the Fathers of the Council themſelves, *Auſa eſt etiam aggredi Patres Conciliares.* But it was carried by a great Majority, with their Preſident, the Cardinal of *Arles*, at their Head, that, as by a Decree of the preſent Council, the Electors were not to enter into the Conclave till Sixty Days after the Deceaſe of the Pope, the ſame Regulation ſhould be obſerved in the Caſe of his Depoſition. In the mean Time they diſpatched Nuncios to the different Courts of the Chriſtian Princes, to acquaint them with the Depoſition of *Gabriel Condelmerius*, meaning *Eugenius*, and exhort them to comply with their Decree, and cauſe it to be complied with in their reſpective Dominions.

They are excommunicated, and their Acts annulled by the Pope.

Eugenius was not behind hand with the Fathers of *Baſil.* For in his Twenty-ſeventh Seſſion, held at *Florence* on the 4th of *September*, he condemned, by a Conſtitution beginning with the Words *Moyſes vir Dei*, the Three above-mentioned *Truths of the Catholic Faith*, renewed all the Decrees he had hitherto publiſhed againſt the *Schiſmatic Aſſembly at Baſil*, declared all excommunicated, who had remained at *Baſil* after the Diſſolution of the Council, whether Cardinals, Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, *&c.* and in the Plenitude of his Power, annulled all the Conſtitutions, Acts, and Decrees they had publiſhed ever ſince the Council was transferred to *Ferrara.*

Regulations made by the Council concerning the Election of a new Pope.

In the mean Time the Fathers of *Baſil* were employed in making Regulations concerning the Election of the new Pope; and the following were agreed to and publiſhed in their Thirty-ſeventh Seſſion, held on the 20th of *October.* I. That all previous Conventions, Oaths, Promiſes, Obligations relating to the Election, ſhould be no-ways binding, but reputed in themſelves null. II. That the Electors ſhould all receive the Sacrament before they entered into the Conclave, and ſwear to obſerve

ſerve what the Council had preſcribed in their Twenty-third Seſſion [b]. III. That the Elect ſhould, in the Term of One Day after his Election was notified to him, acquieſce in it in the Preſence of a Notary and Ten Witneſſes, and, if he did not, the Election ſhould be null. IV. That the Elect ſhould be conſecrated and crowned in the Council, that he ſhould promiſe to obſerve the Decrees of the General Councils, and, in particular, of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to have the Decrees of theſe Two Councils carried into Execution. In the ſame Seſſion it was decreed, that beſides the Cardinal of *Arles*, and other Cardinals, if any other ſhould come before the Election, Thirty-two Perſons, Biſhops, or other Eccleſiaſtics, ſhould be admitted, for this Time only, to elect the new Pope together with the Cardinals; that of the Thirty-two, Three ſhould be choſen by the Council; and they ſhould chuſe all the Reſt. The Council accordingly nominated Three, a *Frenchman*, a *Scotchman* and a *Spaniard*; and to them was afterwards added, at the Requeſt of the *Germans*, One of that Nation. By theſe Four Twenty-eight were choſen out of different Nations; ſo that, beſides the Cardinal of *Arles*, the only Cardinal that was preſent at the Election, the Electors were in all Thirty-two, *viz.* Eleven Biſhops, Seven Abbots, and Fourteen other Eccleſiaſtics, all Members of the Council [c].

Year of Chriſt 1439.

On the 30th of *October* the Council condemned, in their Thirty-eighth Seſſion, the Conſtitution of *Eugenius Moyſes vir Dei*, as *a ſcandalous Libel*, confirmed the Choice of the Thirty-two Perſons who were to elect the Pope, and ordered them to proceed, without Delay, to the Election. They entered,

Amedeus, *Duke of Savoy, elected.*

[b] See above, p. 367. [c] Acta Concil. tom. 12. col. 616.

Year of Christ 1439.

tered, accordingly, the ſame Day into the Conclave, the Town-Houſe of *Baſil*, and on the 7th of *November*, *Amedeus*, Duke of *Savoy*, being found to have Twenty-ſix Votes out of the Thirty-three, his Election was thereupon declared canonical, and confirmed by the Council in their Thirty-ninth Seſſion on the 17th of *November*, no Regard being had to what was by ſome few objected againſt it, *viz.* that he was yet a Layman, that he had been married, that he had Children, that he was Doctor in no Faculty, and could be but very little acquainted with Eccleſiaſtical Matters [d]. *Amedeus*, thus elected, was the laſt Count and the firſt Duke of *Savoy*. He had ſucceeded to his Father, Count *Amedeus*, ſurnamed *The Green*, in the Year 1384, and had given ſuch Proofs of his Abilities, Knowlege, and Wiſdom, in the Government of his own Dominions, as had made moſt other Princes apply to him as an Oracle in all Affairs of Importance, relating to the Government of theirs. But as his Wiſdom was not of this World only, he looked upon all human Grandeur as mere Vanity, and renouncing his Title, in the Year 1414, when at the Height of his Glory, he put his Two Sons, *Lewis* and *Philip*, in Poſſeſſion of his Dominions, and retired, with ſome Lords of the ſame Diſpoſition and Age with himſelf, to a Place called *Ripaglia*, pleaſantly ſituated on the Borders of the Lake of *Geneva*. There they took the Eremitical Habit, retaining no other Mark of Diſtinction but a Golden Croſs, which they wore on their Breaſts; and, laying aſide all Thoughts of State or worldly Affairs, led an Eremitical Life, without denying themſelves any innocent Pleaſures, *Amedeus* having built for himſelf and his Companions, a moſt magnificent Habitation, and incloſed a very large Tract of

His Character.

[d] Acta Concil. ibid.

of Ground, well ſtocked with all Sorts of Game for their Diverſion.—Some more modern Writers will have *Amedeus* to have embraced a retired and ſolitary Life, not out of any Motive of Religion, but to abandon himſelf, unobſerved and more freely, to all Manner of Debaucheries, leading the ſame Life at *Ripaglia* as was formerly led by the Emperor *Tiberius* in the Iſland of *Caprea*; and from thence they pretend the *French* Proverb, *Faire Ripaille*, that is, to banquet, to feaſt, and to make merry, to have taken its Riſe [e]. But of his pretended Debaucheries not the leaſt Notice is taken by any of the contemporary Hiſtorians. On the contrary *Æneas Silvius*, who lived at this very Time, beſtows in ſundry Places of his Works the higheſt Commendations upon him for his Piety, his Religion, his Abſtinence, and his Contempt of all the Pleaſures of this World [f]. Indeed no Man can ſuppoſe, that the Fathers of *Baſil* would have choſen One for their Pope, at ſo critical a Juncture, whoſe Character was not, in every Reſpect, irreproachable.

Year of Chriſt 1439.

The Election of *Amedeus* being confirmed by the Council, a ſolemn Embaſſy, conſiſting of Twenty-five of their chief Members, was diſpatched, with the Cardinal of *Arles* at their Head, to acquaint him therewith, and obtain his Conſent. He received them with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, thanked them for the Honour they had done him; but pleading his Want of Experience in what concerned the Government of the Church, he begged they would excuſe him from taking upon him a Charge, to which he knew himſelf to be altogether unequal. However, upon the Cardinal's repreſenting to him the many Evils, that

Amedeus prevailed upon to accept the Papal Dignity.

[e] Deſmarets Tableau des Papes. Europ. c. 43. et Concil. Baſil. l. 2. p. 167.

[f] Æneas Syl. Hiſt.

Year of Christ 1439.

would inevitably attend a longer Vacancy, and would be all ſet down to his Account, he acquieſced in the End; and all the Badges of his new Dignity being delivered to him on the Spot by the Deputies, he walked, in ſolemn Proceſſion, with them, attired as High Pontiff, to the Church of the Monaſtery of *St. Mauritius*, which he had built in his Solitude. There the *Te Deum* was ſung with all the Solemnity the Place would allow of; and on that Occaſion *Amedeus*, quitting his own Name according to Cuſtom, took that of *Felix* V. From *Ripaglia* he removed a few Days afterwards to *Tonon*, a ſmall Town in that Neighbourhood; and there he continued acting as Pope the remaining Part of this, and the greater Part of the following Year[g].

All ordered by the Council to acknowlege him upon Pain of Excommunication.

Year of Christ 1440.

The Cardinal, and the other Deputies, took Care to notify immediately to the Council the Conſent of *Felix*; and the Fathers, tranſported with Joy at their having now at their Head a Man of his high Rank, Character, and Connexions, for he was allied to moſt of the Princes of *Europe*, declared him, in the Fortieth Seſſion, held on the 26th of *February* 1440, to be the only true Pope, and ordered him to be acknowleged by all, as ſuch, on Pain of Excommunication, and other Penalties to be inflicted by the Council. As the Cardinals had all left the Council, except the Cardinal of *Arles*, and ſided with *Eugenius*, the Fathers allowed *Felix*, leſt he ſhould be a Pope without Cardinals, to create ſome new Ones, notwithſtanding their Decree, forbidding any to be promoted to that Dignity while the Council was ſitting. He nominated, accordingly, Five; but Two of the Five declined accepting the Red Hat at his Hands[h].

In

[g] Auguſtin. Patricius Hiſt. Concil. tom. 13. p. 1580.
[h] Acta Patriciana ibid.

In the mean Time *Eugenius* having ſtrengthened his Party with the Addition of Seventeen Cardinals, among whom was *John Kemp*, at this Time Archbiſhop of *York*, and afterwards of *Canterbury*, he held his Twenty-eighth Seſſion at *Florence* on the 23d of *March*, when *Amedeus* of *Savoy* was declared an Uſurper of the Apoſtolic See, a Schiſmatic and Heretic, and all, who adhered to him, who ſupported or countenanced him, were ordered to forſake him in the Term of Forty Days on Pain of incurring, without further Notice, the Sentence of Excommunication, and forfeiting all their Benefices, Titles, and Honours. The Cardinal of *Arles* was excommunicated in particular, was diveſted of his Dignity, and depoſed from his Biſhopric, as the chief Author of the Schiſm [i]. On the other hand the Fathers of *Baſil*, in their next Seſſion, held on the 23d of *July*, declared the Sentence of *Gabriel Condelmerius*, meaning *Eugenius*, a ſchiſmatical, ſcandalous, and heretical Libel, thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt all, by what Dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, who received it, and forbad, upon the ſevereſt Penalties, any Injury or Violence whatever to be offered either to his Holineſs Pope *Felix* V. or to any who adhered to him.——The next Day, the 24th of *July*, *Felix* made his public Entry into *Baſil*, attended by the chief Members of the Council, by the Magiſtrates of the City in a Body, by all the neighbouring Nobility, and an immenſe Crowd of People. The Ceremony of his Coronation was performed the ſame Day with extraordinary Pomp, as appears from the Account *Æneas Silvius* has given us of it as an Eye-Witneſs [k].——As *Felix* could yet receive nothing out of the Revenues of St. *Peter*'s Patrimony, the Council, in their Forty-ſecond Seſ-

Year of Chriſt 1440.

Is excommunicated by Eugenius

Whoſe Sentence is declared by the Council a ſcandalous Libel.

Felix, *how provided for by the Council.*

[i] Raynald. ad ann. 1440. [k] Æneas Syl. l. 7.

Year of Chriſt 1440.

ſion held on the 4th of *Auguſt*, ordered the Fifth Penny for the enſuing Five Years, and the Tenth for the next following Five Years, to be paid to him yearly out of all Benefices, whether ſecular or regular, whether with or without Cure of Souls.

Aſſembly of Bourges.

Felix being thus crowned, and, for the preſent, ſufficiently enabled to ſupport his Dignity, the next Care of the Council was to get him acknowleged by the Chriſtian Princes. As *Charles* VII. King of *France*, had appointed the Prelates and Lords of the Kingdom to meet at *Bourges*, in order to concert, jointly with him, the moſt effectual Means of reſtoring Peace to the Church, the Council ſent a ſolemn Embaſſy to that Aſſembly, and ſo did *Eugenius*; both with a View to gain them over to their Party. The Ambaſſadors of both were heard, in a full Aſſembly, for ſeveral Days together; and when they had done, the King, after deliberating Six Days with the Members of the Aſſembly, ordered *Antony Gouch*, Biſhop of *Clermont*, to return them the following Anſwer in his Name; that the moſt Chriſtian King had always had the higheſt Regard for General Councils, and for that of *Baſil* in particular, and had therefore been greatly concerned to hear of any Miſunderſtanding between them and his Holineſs the Pope; that he had moſt earneſtly entreated them, both by Letters and Embaſſies, to ſuſpend their Proceedings againſt his Holineſs; but they, far from paying any the leaſt Regard to his Interpoſition, had even depoſed him, and elected another in his Room; that the King nevertheleſs had forbore coming to any Reſolution, in an Affair of ſo much Importance, till he had heard the Prelates and Lords of his Kingdom, and that, having convened them for that Purpoſe, he had, with their Advice, and upon the moſt mature Deliberation, reſolved to continue in the Obedience of *Eugenius*, and acknowlege no other Pope, but begged, that

The Anſwer of the King and that Aſſembly to the Legates of both Popes.

in

in order to put an End to the preſent Diviſions, his Holineſs would aſſemble within a Twelvemonth, a General Council in *France*. As for *Amedeus*, the King, added the Biſhop, deſires the Legates of the Council will inform him, that his Majeſty wiſhes, as being nearly related to him, that he could favour him with a ſafe Conſcience; but as many, and they Men of great Learning and Probity, queſtion the Validity of his Election, he dares not renounce the Obedience of *Eugenius* till the Affair is decided by a General Council, but hopes, that his Kinſman, the Lord of *Savoy*, *Dominus Sabaudiæ*, will act on this Occaſion with his uſual Prudence. The Legates of *Eugenius*, encouraged by this Anſwer, begged that the King would condemn the Council of *Baſil* as an unlawful Aſſembly, from the Time it had been transferred to *Ferrara*, and would revoke the *Pragmatic Sanction*, conſiſting of Decrees iſſued by that Aſſembly after its Tranſlation. To theſe Demands the following Anſwer was returned, on the 9th of *September*, by the ſame Biſhop of *Clermont* in the King's Name: That his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had always held the Council of *Baſil* for a lawful General Council; that they had made many excellent Regulations for the Reformation of the Church, which he and the States of the Kingdom had approved and received; that he had never acknowleged the Aſſembly at *Ferrara* for a lawful Council; and that as to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, he inſiſted upon its being inviolably obſerved; but if it was found to contain any real Hardſhips, he would conſent to their being ſoftened in the next General Council [1]. Thus did the Aſſembly of *Bourges* acknowlege the Council of *Baſil* for a lawful Council, though diſſolved by the Pope, and

Year of Chriſt 1440.

They continue in the Obedience of Eugenius.

[1] Pagi Brev. Roman. Pont. l. 4. p. 622. et Clemangius apud eund.

Year of Christ 1440.

and at the same Time own *Eugenius* for lawful Pope, though deposed by the Council. They did not question, as we may observe by the Way, the Superiority of the Council over the Pope, or a Power in the Council of deposing him, but continued in his Obedience, because they were not sufficiently informed of the Circumstances, attending his Deposition to renounce it.

By whom Eugenius *acknowleged, and by whom* Felix.

Eugenius was not only acknowleged in *France*, but in *Italy*, in most of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, in *Portugal*, in *Hungary*, and in *England*. On the other hand *Felix* was owned by the People of *Savoy*, by the *Swiss*, by the Cities of *Basil*, of *Strasbourg*, of *Cammin*, by *Albert*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Albert*, Duke of *Austria*, Brother to *Frideric* III. elected this Year King of the *Romans*. Several Universities, without declaring for *Felix*, maintained the Pope to be subject to a General Council, and bound to obey their Decrees, *viz.* the Universities of *Paris*, of *Vienna*, of *Erford*, of *Cologn*, and *Cracow* [m]. We read of no University, besides that of *Salamanca*, offering to ascertain the Superiority of the Pope over the Council; so that the contrary Opinion may be said to have universally prevailed at this Time, though many, who held it, continued nevertheless to adhere to *Eugenius*, not being satisfied that he had been canonically deposed.

Several Eastern Nations conform in the Council of Florence *to the Church of* Rome.

Year of Christ 1441.

Eugenius, after concluding an Union with the *Greeks*, as has been related above, had sent Nuncios to invite to his Council the other Eastern Nations, that differed in their Belief both from the *Greeks* and the *Latins*. In Compliance with that Invitation *Constantine*, Patriarch of the *Armenians*, sent Four Deputies to assist at the Council in his Name; and these, after several Conferences with the

[m] Apud Raymund. ad hunc ann. num. 6, 7.

the Three Cardinals, *Antony*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, *Branda*, Biſhop of *Porto*, and *Nicholas Albergati*, Biſhop of *Bologna*, whom the Pope had appointed, with other learned Divines, to inſtruct them, made in the Name of the Patriarch of their Nation and their own, a public Profeſſion of the Faith held and taught by the Holy and Apoſtolic Church of *Rome* [n]. Their Example was followed by the *Jacobites*, or *Jacobines*, a very numerous Sect in the Eaſt, of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere [o]; and likewiſe by the *Æthiopians*, or *Abyſſines*, whoſe King or Emperor, *Conſtantine Zara Jacob*, ſent, at the Invitation of *Eugenius*, *Andrew*, Abbot of the Monaſtery of *St. Antony* in *Egypt*, and a Deacon named *Peter*, with the Character of his Ambaſſadors, to aſſiſt, in his Name, at the Council. They arrived at *Florence* in the Month of *Auguſt* 1441, were received by *Eugenius*, by the Cardinals and the Council, with extraordinary Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, and frequently admitted to confer with his Holineſs himſelf. At this Time the *Æthiopians* all profeſſed the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*; but their Ambaſſadors renounced it in the preſent Council, and in the Name of the whole Nation embraced that of *Rome*. However, we find them, as well as the *Armenians* and *Jacobites*, relapſed a few Years afterwards into their ancient Errors. We have a Letter, dated at *Florence* the 4th of *October* of the preſent Year 1441, from *Eugenius* to the Chapter and Canons of *St. Peter*, wherein he recommends to them his beloved Sons *Andrew*, Abbot of *St. Antony* in *Egypt*, and the Deacon *Peter*, Ambaſſadors from *the Great Prince* Conſtantine, *Emperor of the Æthiopians*, coming to *Rome* to ſee the holy Image of our Lord and Saviour, that is, the holy *Veronica* [p]. Thoſe Princes

Year of Chriſt 1441.

[n] Concil. tom. 13. col. 1198. [o] Vol. VI. p. 229. [p] Concil. tom. 13. col. 1217.

Year of Christ 1441.

Princes pretended to come from *Jacob* by King *Solomon* and the Queen of *Sheba*, and thence ſtiled themſelves *Zara Jacob*, that is, the Seed of *Jacob*.

What determined by the German *Princes aſſembled at* Mentz.

While *Eugenius* was thus ſtriving to raiſe the Reputation of his Council, the *German* Princes aſſembled at *Mentz*, in order to deliberate about the Means of reſtoring Peace to the Church. At this Diet or Aſſembly the Electors and moſt of the other Princes aſſiſted in Perſon; and with them Ambaſſadors from *Charles* VII. King of *France*, and from *Frideric*, of *Auſtria*, who had been elected King of the *Romans* on the 3d of *March* 1440, in the Room of *Albert* of *Auſtria*, deceaſed. On the 27th of *October* 1439, *Eugenius* ſent Legates, and ſo did the Council, to attend that Aſſembly. The Legates of the Council ſtrove to ſatisfy the Aſſembly, that the Council was above the Pope, that *Eugenius* had been lawfully depoſed, and *Felix* lawfully elected; while on the other hand thoſe of *Eugenius* maintained the Pope to be above the Council, and in the preſent Caſe the Sentence of Depoſition to have been evidently uncanonical; ſince by the Canons, Twelve Biſhops, at leaſt, ought to concur in the Depoſition of any Biſhop whatever, and Seven only, ſaid they, were preſent at the Depoſition of the Firſt Biſhop of the Catholic Church. The Princes, after hearing both Sides, concluded, that by no other Means could Peace be reſtored, but by aſſembling a General Council in a Third Place, either in *France*, or in *Germany*, and leaving to them the Deciſion of ſo important a Controverſy [p]. This Reſolution was no-ways pleaſing either to the Pope or the Council. However, the Council, unwilling to diſoblige the *German* Nation, conſented at laſt to the convening of another Council in ſome other City of the ſame Nation, that is, of *Germany*, and

[p] Acta Patritiana apud Pagi, Vol. IV. p. 628, 629.

and left the naming of the Place to the King and the Princes. Year of Chriſt 1441.

As for *Eugenius*, he had, by a Decree, publiſhed in his Thirtieth Seſſion, held on the 26th of *April*, removed his Council from *Florence* to *Rome*, to be continued there in the *Lateran* Baſilic, *his Firſt and Chief See*, and therefore would not conſent to the aſſembling of a Council any-where elſe. However, being preſſed anew by the King of the *Romans* and the Electors aſſembled at *Francfort*, he promiſed to conſult the Fathers of the Council, as ſoon as they met at the *Lateran*, and act as directed by them; though he could not ſee either the Neceſſity, or the Expediency of convoking another Council, while one was ſtill ſitting, that had performed ſuch wonderful Things [q]; meaning the ſhort-lived Union of the oriental Churches with that of *Rome*. *The Council removed from* Florence *to* Rome. Year of Chriſt 1442.

The following Year 1443 a Peace was concluded, to the great Satisfaction, and the no leſs Diſhonour of *Eugenius*, between him and *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*. They had quarrelled on the following Occaſion. *Joan* II. Queen of *Naples*, having no Children of her own, had adopted *Alphonſo*, and declared him her Heir and Succeſſor. But that Adoption ſhe afterwards revoked, and to *Alphonſo* ſubſtituted *Lewis* of *Anjou*, whoſe Adoption was approved and confirmed by *Martin* V. as has been related in the Life of that Pope [r]. *Joan* died in 1435, and *Lewis* dying before her, ſhe, by her Will, appointed his Brother *Rene* of *Anjou*, her univerſal Heir and Succeſſor. That Will *Eugenius* not only confirmed, as Lord Paramount of the Kingdom, but upon *Alphonſo*'s invading it, ſent a Body of Three Thouſand Foot, and the like Number of Horſe, under the Command of General *Ignominious Peace concluded by* Eugenius *with the King of* Arragon. Year of Chriſt 1443.

[q] Idem ibid. p. 633. [r] See above, p. 215.

Year of Chriſt 1443.

neral *Vitelleſchi*, Biſhop of *Recanati*, and Patriarch of *Alexandria*, to ſupport the *Angevin* againſt the *Arragonian* Party. On the other hand *Alphonſo*, ſiding with the Council of *Baſil* againſt the Pope, cauſed all their Decrees to be ſtrictly obſerved throughout his extenſive Dominions, would allow none of his Biſhops to aſſiſt either at the Council of *Ferrara*, or of *Florence*; and when *Eugenius* was depoſed by the Council of *Baſil*, he renounced, in Compliance with their Decree, and obliged all his Subjects to renounce his Obedience. *Eugenius* however continued to aſſiſt *Rene* to the utmoſt of his Power till the preſent Year 1443, when *Alphonſo*, having reduced the City of *Naples* itſelf, by conveying into it, through the common Sewer, ſome of his Men, who opened the Gates to the Reſt, his Holineſs thought it high Time to quit the conquered and join the conquering Party. He ſent accordingly *Lewis*, Patriarch of *Aquilea*, with full Power to conclude an Agreement with *Alphonſo* upon the beſt Terms he could obtain, being apprehenſive that the King, having now no Enemy to contend with (for *Rene* had abandoned the Kingdom upon the taking of *Naples*) might oblige the Subjects of the Eccleſiaſtical State to acknowlege *Felix*. The Agreement was concluded in a few Conferences; and the chief Articles of it were: That *Alphonſo* ſhould acknowlege *Eugenius*, and cauſe him to be acknowleged by all his Subjects for lawful Pope; that he ſhould reſtore all the Places, belonging to the Church, which he had ſeized; ſhould furniſh his Holineſs with Six Gallies againſt the *Turks*, with Four Thouſand Horſe and One Thouſand Foot to drive *Francis Sforza* out of *Picenum*, and bury in Oblivion all paſt Offences and Injuries. On the other hand *Eugenius* promiſed to confirm the Adoption of *Alphonſo* by Queen *Joan* II. and to grant him the Inveſture of the Kingdom,

and

and all the Rights and Privileges enjoyed by other Kings, with this Clauſe, *though he had reduced it by Dint of Arms.* If *Alphonſo* left no lawful Iſſue, the Kingdom of *Naples* was, by this Treaty, to revert to the Church. But by a ſecret and ſeparate Article, extorted by *Alphonſo*, it was ſtipulated, that his natural Son *Ferdinand* ſhould be legitimated, and that the Kingdom ſhould be ſettled upon him and his Poſterity, in caſe the King himſelf had no lawful Iſſue. *Ferdinand* was, acordingly, legitimated by ſpecial Bull; but the Pope deſired, that both the Bull and ſeparate Article might be kept inviolably ſecret ſo long as he lived: A plain Proof, as *Spondanus* obſerves, that he was conſcious to himſelf of his acting a moſt unjuſt and iniquitous Part, and cared not with what Ignominy his Memory might be branded after his Death, provided he eſcaped in his Life-time [f]. This Treaty was concluded on the 12th of *June* of the preſent Year, and ratified by the Pope on the 6th of *July*. Thus ended the Reign of the Family of *Anjou* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, when, from the Coronation of King *Charles* I. in 1266, to the Flight of *Rene* in 1443, they had governed it One Hundred and Seventy-ſeven Years; and thus was it conveyed to the Family of *Arragon*, who held it Seventy-two Years. But the Right *Rene* claimed to the Crown devolving, upon his Death, to the Royal Family of *France*, as both his Sons died before him, that unhappy Country became the Theatre of a new and more bloody War between thoſe Princes, and *Alphonſo*'s Poſterity, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel. *Alphonſo* had no ſooner heard, that the Pope had agreed to all the Articles of the Treaty, and ſigned the Bull legitimating *Ferdinand*, than he notified, by a circulatory Letter, to all his Subjects, that he had been long

Year of Chriſt 1443.

[f] Spond. ad ann. 1443. num. 3.

Year of Christ 1443.

long in Suſpenſe with reſpect to the Affairs of the Church, and quite at a Loſs what Side to take in the preſent unhappy Diviſions, but had learnt at laſt, by Divine Revelation, that *Eugenius* was the only true and lawful Pope; and he therefore required all his Subjects to obey him as ſuch, and to pay thenceforth no Regard to the Decrees of the Aſſembly at *Baſil*, as being in themſelves abſolutely null. He had applied to *Felix*, offering to acknowlege him for lawful Pope, provided he confirmed his Adoption, granted him the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom, and furniſhed him with One Hundred Thouſand Florins to conquer it [t]; and it is not to be doubted but he would have learnt by Divine Revelation, that *Felix* was the only lawful Pope, had he hearkened to his Propoſal. But he, more conſcientious than *Eugenius*, rejected it, alleging that the Kingdom of *Naples* had been granted by his Predeceſſors to the Family of *Anjou*; that they had conquered it at their own Expence, and poſſeſſed it undiſturbed for many Years; that *Lewis* I. of *Anjou* had been adopted by Queen *Joan* I. and his Grandſon *Lewis* III. by Queen *Joan* II. both which Adoptions had been confirmed by the Apoſtolic See; and that *Joan* II. had, upon the Death of *Lewis*, her adoptive Son, appointed his Brother *Rene* her univerſal Heir and Succeſſor. As for the Adoption of *Alphonſo*, *Felix* added, that it had never been confirmed, nor approved by the Apoſtolic See; that the Queen herſelf had revoked it, not out of Levity, but for very juſt Reaſons; and conſequently that by virtue of her Adoption, upon which alone *Alphonſo* grounded his Claim to the Kingdom, he had no better Right to it than if ſhe never had adopted him. Theſe very Reaſons were afterwards alledged by *Charles* VIII. of *France*, to

[t] Surita Rer. Arragon. l. 15.

to juſtify his invading the Kingdom of *Naples*, as Heir to all the Rights of the Family of *Anjou*. Year of Chriſt 1443.

Eugenius, having adjourned his Council, as has been ſaid, to *Rome*, left *Florence* on the 7th of *March* of the preſent Year, and, arriving at *Siena* on the 10th, he remained there till the 14th of *September*, when, at the repeated Invitations of the *Romans*, he ſet out for *Rome*, and entered that City, in a Kind of Triumph, on the 28th of the next Month. The next Day he went in the Attire of High Pontiff to the Church of *St. Peter*, when the Populace crowding round him on Account of a new Tax laid upon Wine, and crying out, *No new Taxes, Holy Father, Death and Deſtruction to thoſe who invent them*, he immediately ordered the Tax to be taken off; and nothing was then heard, but *Long live Pope Eugenius* [u]. He had been but a few Days in *Rome* when he notified to all the Chriſtian Princes, both by his Nuncios and by Letters, that he intended to convene a General Council in the *Lateran* Baſilic.

The Forty-fifth and laſt Seſſion of the Council of Baſil.

All this Time the Fathers of *Baſil* continued their Seſſions. *Felix* preſided at them in Perſon, and ſeveral Regulations were eſtabliſhed for the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members. But as they were now reduced to a very ſmall Number, ſome having died of the Plague that broke out in that City, others having withdrawn to avoid it, and the Biſhops, as well as other Eccleſiaſtics, who had Benefices or Preferments in the Dominions of the King of *Arragon*, being ordered by that Prince to quit the Place after his Agreement with *Eugenius*, they held their Forty-fifth and laſt Seſſion on the 16th of *May* of the preſent Year; and in that Seſſion it was decreed, that another General Council ſhould be held at

[u] Platina in Eugen. IV.

Year of Chriſt 1443.

long in Suſpenſe with reſpect to the Affairs of the Church, and quite at a Loſs what Side to take in the preſent unhappy Diviſions, but had learnt at laſt, by Divine Revelation, that *Eugenius* was the only true and lawful Pope; and he therefore required all his Subjects to obey him as ſuch, and to pay thenceforth no Regard to the Decrees of the Aſſembly at *Baſil*, as being in themſelves abſolutely null. He had applied to *Felix*, offering to acknowlege him for lawful Pope, provided he confirmed his Adoption, granted him the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom, and furniſhed him with One Hundred Thouſand Florins to conquer it [t]; and it is not to be doubted but he would have learnt by Divine Revelation, that *Felix* was the only lawful Pope, had he hearkened to his Propoſal. But he, more conſcientious than *Eugenius*, rejected it, alleging that the Kingdom of *Naples* had been granted by his Predeceſſors to the Family of *Anjou*; that they had conquered it at their own Expence, and poſſeſſed it undiſturbed for many Years; that *Lewis* I. of *Anjou* had been adopted by Queen *Joan* I. and his Grandſon *Lewis* III. by Queen *Joan* II. both which Adoptions had been confirmed by the Apoſtolic See; and that *Joan* II. had, upon the Death of *Lewis*, her adoptive Son, appointed his Brother *Rene* her univerſal Heir and Succeſſor. As for the Adoption of *Alphonſo*, *Felix* added, that it had never been confirmed, nor approved by the Apoſtolic See; that the Queen herſelf had revoked it, not out of Levity, but for very juſt Reaſons; and conſequently that by virtue of her Adoption, upon which alone *Alphonſo* grounded his Claim to the Kingdom, he had no better Right to it than if ſhe never had adopted him. Theſe very Reaſons were afterwards alledged by *Charles* VIII. of *France*, to

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[u] Platina in Eugen. IV.

Year of Chriſt 1443.

Lions in the Term of Three Years, or rather that the Council of *Baſil* ſhould be adjourned to, and continued in that City, and all Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Patriarchs, and Cardinals were ordered to attend it, in order to compleat the great and neceſſary Work of the Reformation of the Church in its Head and its Members ſo happily begun. That the Council might not be thought to be diſſolved, ſome of the Biſhops remained at *Baſil*, and afterwards removed with *Felix* to *Lauſanne*, keeping up, in both Places, the Appearance of a Council till the Year 1449, when *Felix* reſigned the Pontifical Dignity, as I ſhall have Occaſion to relate in the Sequel.

Other Eaſtern Nations receive the Doctrines of Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1444.

In the mean Time *Eugenius*, opening his Council in the *Lateran*, received there Deputies, ſent, at his Invitation, by the other Eaſtern Nations, to be inſtructed in the Doctrines, Rites, and Practices of the *Roman* Church; *viz.* by the Nations inhabiting *Meſopotamia* between the *Tigres* and the *Euphrates*, by the *Chaldeans* and *Maronites*, ſome of whom held the Doctrine of *Eutyches*, and ſome that of *Neſtorius*; but they are all ſaid to have abjured thoſe Errors in the preſent Council, and embraced the Doctrines as well as the Practices of *Rome* [w].

Eugenius *declines aſſembling a new Council.*

Year of Chriſt 1445.

The following Year the Emperor, *Frideric* III. perſuaded that the preſent Schiſm could by no other Means be more effectually extinguiſhed, than by aſſembling another General Council in a Third Place, ſent *Æneas Silvius*, with the Character of his Ambaſſador to *Rome*, to obtain of the Pope the Aſſembling of One in *Germany*. But *Eugenius*, alledging that a new Council, inſtead of healing, would rather increaſe the preſent Diviſions, begged that his beloved Son, the King of the *Romans*, would, in his great Wiſdom, think of ſome other Method

[w] Concil. tom. 13. col. 1222.

Year of Chriſt 1445.

Method more likely to be attended with the wiſhed-for Succeſs [x]. *Æneas*, whom the Emperor ſent on this Embaſſy, and we ſhall ſee raiſed, in the Courſe of a few Years, to the Papacy, had been One of the moſt zealous Sticklers for the Council of *Baſil*, and the Authority of General Councils over the Pope. But, finding the Affairs of *Eugenius* began to take a favourable Turn, he thought it adviſeable to change Sides; and, accordingly, on his Arrival at *Rome*, he acknowleged *Eugenius*, though depoſed by the Council, for lawful Pope, and, condemning his paſt Conduct, moſt humbly begged his Holineſs to forgive it. The Pope, glad to gain a Man of his Learning and Abilities, not only forgave it, but took him into his Protection, and even admitted him to his Confidence.

The Pope depoſes the Two Archbiſhops of Colegn *and* Treves.

Year of Chriſt 1446.

Their Depoſition reſented by the other Electors.

Æneas was the next Year ſent again by the Emperor to *Rome* on the following Occaſion. The Two Archbiſhops and Electors, *Theodoric de Moerſem* of *Cologn*, and *James Sirik* of *Treves*, having openly declared for *Felix*, were on that Account both depoſed by *Eugenius*. That the other Electors looked upon as an Affront, offered to them, and other Princes of the Empire in General, and in a Diet held on that Occaſion at *Francfort*, at which were preſent all the *German* Princes, it was agreed, that if *Eugenius* did not revoke his Sentence againſt the Two Archbiſhops, did not eaſe the *German* Nation of the many heavy Burthens laid upon them by the Court of *Rome*, and own the Authority of General Councils as eſtabliſhed and defined by the Council of *Conſtance*, they would approve of his Depoſition, and acknowlege *Felix*. Theſe their Reſolutions they communicated to the Emperor, and at the ſame Time earneſtly entreated him to join with them in maintaining the Dignity

[x] Æneas Sil. Comment. l. 1.

Year of Chriſt 1446.

and juſt Rights of the Empire againſt the daily Encroachments of the Court of *Rome*. *Frideric* anſwered, that he would acquaint the Pope with their Demands, and exhort him to comply with them; but thought it unworthy of them, and even impious to rebel againſt the true Vicar of *Chriſt*, if he did not gratify them by granting what they thought fit to demand. *Æneas Silvius* was choſen for this Embaſſy, and charged by the Emperor to let the Pope know, that he muſt not make ſo free with the Electors of the Empire, and adviſe him to reinſtate, by all Means, the Two Archbiſhops in their reſpective Sees, ſince the *German* Nation might thus be brought to quit their Neutrality, and acknowlege him for the only true Pope, whereas it was greatly to be feared, that, if he did not reſtore theſe Prelates, the preſent Diviſions would long continue and be charged upon his Holineſs. *Eugenius* received *Æneas* with all poſſible Marks of Diſtinction, and expreſſing the greateſt Regard for the Electors and Princes of the Empire, and above all for his beloved Son the King of the *Romans*, promiſed to reinſtate the Two Biſhops, as ſoon as he had acquainted the Duke of *Burgundy* therewith, and obtained his Permiſſion. For to the See of *Cologn* he had preferred *Adolph*, Biſhop of *Cleves*, and to that of *Treves John*, Biſhop of *Cambray*, the former the Duke's Nephew, and the latter his natural Brother. The Duke readily conſented to their Removal; and *Thomas* of *Surzana*, Biſhop of *Bologna*, and *John de Carvajal*, Biſhop of *Placentia*, were thereupon immediately diſpatched into *Germany*, to notify to the Princes, ſtill aſſembled at *Francfort*, that his Holineſs had it now in his Power to reſtore the depoſed Biſhops, and was ready to gratify his beloved Sons, the Electors and Princes of the Empire, in that as well as in their other Demands, provided they, on their

The Pope promiſes to reſtore them, and upon what Conditions.

their Side, departed from their Neutrality, and, acknowleging the only true Vicar of *Chriſt* upon Earth, returned to the Unity of the Church. Year of Chriſt 1446. The Princes renewed their Three former Demands, adding a Fourth to them, *viz.* That in Ten Months Time another General Council ſhould be aſſembled in ſome Town of *Germany* to compleat the neceſſary Work of the Reformation, begun by the Council of *Baſil.* With theſe Demands *Æneas Sylvius* was ſent a Third Time to *Rome*, and on his Return brought a Letter from the Pope, addreſſed to the Princes of the Empire, the Purport of which was, that he ſhould aſſemble another General Council in *Germany* within the limited Time, provided the other Chriſtian Princes approved of it; ſhould revoke his Sentence againſt the Two Archbiſhops, upon their begging Pardon for their paſt Conduct, and acknowleging him for the only true and lawful Pope, and ſhould leave the *German* Nation no Room to complain of the Burthens laid upon them by him, or his Predeceſſors. As to his owning the Authority of General Councils, agreeably to the Definition of the Council of *Conſtance*, he artfully avoided giving a direct and poſitive Anſwer to that Demand, ſaying, that he never queſtioned the Authority of a Council, that was *truly Oecumenical*, taking no Notice of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, nor of their Definitions, eſtabliſhing the Superiority of General Councils over the Pope. However, as he promiſed to redreſs their Grievances, and reſtore the Two Biſhops, the *German* Princes, after warm Debates in a Diet, held at *Francfort* the following Year 1447, agreed in the End to quit their Neutrality, and acknowlege *Eugenius*. Ambaſſadors were, accordingly, ſent to *Rome* to notify this their Reſolution to his Holineſs, and at the ſame Time to own him, in the Name of the whole *German* Nation,

The Germans *quit their Neutrality and acknowlege* Eugenius. Year of Chriſt 1447.

Year of Christ 1447.

for the only true Vicar of *Christ* upon Earth. *Eugenius* received the Ambaſſadors in Bed, being greatly indiſpoſed, but ordered the Cardinals to terminate the Affair to their Satisfaction; and by them a Bull was drawn up, and ſigned by the Pope, granting to the *German* Nation, with ſome Modifications, in which the Ambaſſadors acquieſced, all their Demands [b].

Eugenius dies.

Eugenius did not long enjoy the Satisfaction it gave him to ſee the *German* Nation, after ſo long a Neutrality, return to his Obedience: For his Diſtemper increaſing, he died amidſt the public Rejoicings for ſo happy an Event, His Death happened on the 23d of *February* of the preſent Year, when he had governed the Church Sixteen Years wanting ſome Days. He was buried, as he had deſired, in the Floor of the *Vatican* Baſilic; but his Nephew, Cardinal *Francis Condelmerius*, cauſed a magnificent Monument to be afterwards erected to his Memory with a pompous Epitaph, rehearſing the chief Actions of his Life, and, among the reſt, his gaining over the Eaſtern Nations to the Faith of *Rome*, in the following Lines:

His Epitaph and Character.

——*Armeni Græcorum exempla ſecuti*
Romanam agnorunt Æthiopeſque fidem.
Inde Syri atque Arabes, mundique e finibus Indi.
Magna; ſed hæc animo cuncta minora ſuo [c].

He is ſaid by the contemporary Writers to have been a great Encourager of Learning, to have taken great Delight in the Company of the Learned, to have ſpent daily, even in the greateſt Hurry of Buſineſs, ſome Hours alone in his Cloſet, and to have

[b] Cochlæus Hiſt. Huſſit. l. 9. Gobelinus in Comment. l. 2. Raynald. ad ann. 1447. Antonin. tit. 21. c. 11. [c] Apud Platinum in ejus vita.

have borne, without ever uttering the leaſt Complaint, the many croſs Accidents that befel him. *Raphael* of *Volterra* tells us, that he never lifted up his Eyes in public, but kept them conſtantly fixed on the Ground; and this that Writer learnt, as he ſays, of his Father, who belonged to the Pope's Court [d]. He ſhewed himſelf, during the whole Time of his Pontificate, extremely averſe to a Reformation; and it was, as we have ſeen, to avoid it, and to keep up the prevailing Abuſes, becauſe profitable to his See, that he quarrelled with the Fathers of *Baſil*.——*Eugenius* wrote a Book againſt the *Huſſites* of *Bohemia*, and a great many Letters, Bulls, and Conſtitutions, to be met with in the *Bullarium*.

Year of Chriſt 1447.

[d] Volaterranus Antropol. l. 22.

CONS. PALÆOLOGUS, *Emperor of the Eaſt.* **NICHOLAS V.** FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the Weſt.*

The Two Hundred and Sixth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1447. Nicholas V. *elected.*

EUGENIUS dying on the 23d of *February*, the Cardinals then at *Rome*, in all Seventeen or Eighteen, entering into the Conclave, as ſoon as they had performed the Exequies of the deceaſed Pope, choſe, with One Conſent, on the 6th of *March*, *Thomas* of *Sarzana*, Cardinal Prieſt of *St. Suſanna* and Biſhop of *Bologna*. He was the Son of a poor Phyſician of *Sarzana*, a ſmall Town on the Borders of *Tuſcany* and the State of *Genoa*, and thence called *Thomas of Sarzana*. He ſtudied at *Bologna*, being maintained at that Univerſity by Cardinal *Nicholas Albergati*, who, looking upon him as a very promiſing Youth, took him into his Protection. In Proceſs of Time he proved One of the moſt learned Divines of the Age he lived in, and was employed by *Eugenius* in all the Diſputes between the *Latins* and the *Greeks* in the Councils of *Ferrara* and of *Florence*. In 1446 he was ſent, as has been ſaid above, with *John de Carvajal*, to aſſiſt at the Diet, held at *Francfort*, on the 30th of *Auguſt* of that Year; and the Pope, fully ſatisfied with their Conduct on that Occaſion, created them both Cardinals on their Return to *Rome*; and that they might make their Entry into the City as Cardinals, their Red Hats were delivered

His Birth, Employments, &c.

vered to them at the Gate. Thus *Platina* [e]. But that Writer was certainly miſtaken in ſuppoſing *Thomas* of *Sarzana* to have been preferred, in one and the ſame Year, to the Biſhopric of *Bologna*, to the Dignity of Cardinal, and to the Pontificate. For he was made Biſhop of *Bologna* on the 27th of *November* 1445, as appears from a Letter of *Eugenius* quoted by *Sigonius* [f], was created Cardinal on the 16th of *December* 1446 [g], and was raiſed to the Pontificate on the 6th of *March* 1447. The new Pope was enthroned the Day after his Election, taking on that Occaſion the Name of *Nicholas*, out of Gratitude to his generous Benefactor Cardinal *Nicholas Albergati*, and was crowned on the 19th of *March*, with the uſual Solemnity, in the Church of *St. Peter*. Year of Chriſt 1447.

As *Nicholas* was a Man of great Probity, and of a pacific Diſpoſition, he immediately notified his Promotion to all the Chriſtian Princes, owning himſelf quite unworthy of the Dignity, to which he had been raiſed, he ſaid, much againſt his Will, and offering to reſign it, if thought neceſſary or expedient for the Good of the Church. The Emperor *Frideric* not only acknowleged him upon the firſt Notice he had of his Election, but by an Edict, dated the 22d of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, ordered all the Subjects of the Empire to obey *Nicholas* V. as the only true Vicar of *Chriſt* upon Earth [h]. On the other Hand, the Pope, by a Concordat, concluded with the Emperor, eaſed the *German* Nation of ſome of the Burthens that his Predeceſſors had laid upon them. *Nicholas* was inclined to aboliſh all the Abuſes they complained of, to redreſs all their Grievances, and reſtore all their Churches

Nicholas *acknowleged by the Emperor*

Who concludes a Concordat with the Apoſtolic See.

[e] In vit Nich. V. [f] Sigonius de epiſ. Bonon. l. 4. [g] Æneas Sylv. Comment. l. 1. [h] Cochlæus apud Raynald. ad ann. 1447.

Year of Christ 1447.

Churches to their ancient Liberty. But being diſſuaded from it by the Cardinals, as the Revenues of the Apoſtolic Chamber, and conſequently theirs, would be thereby greatly leſſened, the Emperor, contenting himſelf with what he could obtain, ſigned the Concordat, though judged by the States of *Germany* contrary to the Honour, the Liberty, and the Intereſts of the Empire [i].

Felix *agrees to reſign.* Year of Chriſt 1448.

The Example of the Emperor, in acknowleging *Nicholas*, was followed by almoſt all the Chriſtian States and Princes. Among theſe *Charles* VII. King of *France*, who, from the Beginning, had ſpared no Pains to reconcile the contending Parties, aſſembled all the Prelates and Barons of the Kingdom at *Lions*, in order to adviſe with them about the Means of bringing about an Accommodation between the two Competitors, and thus putting an End to the Schiſm. In that Aſſembly it was reſolved, that an Embaſſy ſhould be ſent to *Felix* at *Lauſanne*, to perſuade him to reſign his Dignity, and to learn of him upon what Terms he would reſign it; and that by another Embaſſy the Terms he required ſhould be communicated to *Nicholas*, and nothing left unattempted to prevail upon him, if they appeared reaſonable, to agree to them. The Ambaſſadors found *Felix*, to their great Satisfaction, as ready as they could have wiſhed, to ſacrifice his Dignity to the Peace of the Church, a Dignity, he ſaid, that had been forced upon him, and to which he now knew himſelf by Experience to be altogether unequal. As the Terms he demanded left no Room to doubt of his Sincerity, and he took Care to demand nothing that was inconſiſtent with the Dignity of his Rival to comply with, the King notified them, by a moſt ſolemn Embaſſy, to

i Bzovius ad ann. 1448.

to *Nicholas*, who, finding them, as he declared, not only juſt and reaſonable, but equally advantageous to both Parties agreed to them at once. Year of Chriſt 1448.

And upon what Terms.

The Terms were, I. That *Felix* ſhould hold the Firſt Place in the College of Cardinals, and be perpetual Legate of the Apoſtolic See in *Germany*. II. That ſo long as he lived he ſhould be allowed to wear the Pontifical Habit with all the Badges of the Pontifical Dignity, except the Fiſher's Ring, and the Croſs upon the Slipper. III. That, if at any Time he ſhould appear before the Pope, his Holineſs ſhould riſe from his Seat to receive him, ſhould kiſs his Mouth, and require of him no particular Mark of Reſpect and Submiſſion. IV. That all Excommunications, Suſpenſions, Interdicts, and other Penalties, inflicted by either Party, ſhould be revoked. V. That all of both Obediences, who were poſſeſſed of any Benefices, Eccleſiaſtical Offices or Dignities, ſhould enjoy them undiſturbed. VI. That the Cardinals of both Parties ſhould retain their Dignities, and be deemed true Cardinals of the holy *Roman* Church. VII. That all Collations and Elections, all Indulgences, Diſpenſations, and other Graces, granted in either Obedience, ſhould be confirmed. VIII. That if Two happened to be poſſeſſed of the ſame Office or Benefice, he, who ſhould be required to reſign, ſhould be provided with another of equal Value. Laſtly, That in the Term of Seven Months *Nicholas* ſhould aſſemble a General Council within the Dominions of the King of *France*.

Three Bulls publiſhed by Felix *before his Reſignation.*

Theſe Conditions being all agreed to by *Nicholas*, *Felix*, who ſtill continued the Council of *Baſil*, with a ſmall Number of Biſhops, at *Lauſanne*, publiſhed with their Conſent and Approbation, Three Bulls, acting, till the Time of his Reſignation, as true and lawful Pope. By the Firſt he Year of Chriſt 1449.

re-

Year of Chriſt 1449. revoked all Excommunications and other Cenſures againſt *Eugenius*, *Nicholas*, and thoſe who had adhered to them, or to their Councils. By the Second he reſtored all, who had been deprived, by either of theſe Popes, of their Benefices, Offices, or Dignities, for taking Part with him or the Council of *Baſil*. By the Third he confirmed all the Acts of his Pontificate, except thoſe that related to the Controverſy between him and his Two Competitors, which he deſired might for ever be buried in Oblivion, Theſe Bulls were publiſhed

He reſigns. by *Felix* on the 5th of *April* 1449, and on the 9th of the ſame Month he renounced, in due Form, the Pontificate, and the Fathers of the Council, approving his Renunciation upon the abovementioned Conditions, unanimouſly elected *Nicholas* in his Room. On the other Hand, *Nicholas* revoked all the Proceedings againſt *Felix* as well as againſt the Council of *Baſil*, and thoſe who had ſided with the one or the other, granted by a particular Bull all *Felix* had demanded, and declared him the Firſt Cardinal of the *Roman* Church, and perpetual Legate of the Holy See in *Germany* [l]. Thus by the Moderation of both Parties was an End put to the Schiſm, Peace reſtored to the Church, and *Nicholas* univerſally acknowleged for the only true and lawful Pope. We may obſerve here with *Mezeray*, that *Felix* never queſtioned the Legality of his Election, but to the laſt looked upon the Pontificate as a Dignity that belonged to him alone, and could be lawfully conferred on no

His Death. other till he had voluntarily reſigned it [m].——— *Felix*, having laid down his Dignity in the Manner we have ſeen, returned with great Joy to his Solitude

[l] Spondanus ad ann. 1449. [m] Mezeray Abregè Chron. tom. 3. p. 415.

tude at *Ripaglia*, and there led, with his former Companions, a very regular and exemplary Life to the Hour of his Death, which happened not long after his Abdication. Some Writers paint him as a Saint, and tell us of Miracles wrought at his Tomb. But *Æneas Sylvius*, who lived at this Time, contents himſelf with ſaying, that he died with the Reputation of a good Man. Year of Chriſt 1449.

The foll wing Year 1450 was celebrated the Sixth Jubilee; and though the City was crowded with Pilgrims from all Parts, during the whole Year, yet by the wiſe Regulations of *Nicholas* they were plentifully ſupplied with all Sorts of Proviſions, and at very reaſonable Rates. No Quarrels or Diſorders were heard of, though moſt of the Pilgrims came from Countries then at War with one another. However, an unforeſeen Accident happened, that gave the Pope great Concern. As the People were One Day crowding upon the Bridge of *St. Angelo*, in order to go to *St. Peter*'s, and receive there his Holineſs's Bleſſing, the Bridge unexpectedly broke down, and Two Hundred Perſons periſhed, ſome being drowned, and others trampled to Death in the Crowd. The Pope not ſatisfied with cauſing their Bodies to be carefully ſought for, and their Exequies celebrated with great Solemnity, ordered a Chapel to be built upon the Bridge, and Divine Service to be yearly performed in it for the Reſt of their Souls [n]. *The Sixth Jubilee.* Year of Chriſt 1450.

The Emperor *Frideric*, having ſettled, for the preſent, his Affairs in *Germany*, reſolved to delay no longer his Journey into *Italy*, in order to receive the Imperial Crown at the Hands of the Pope. He ſet out attended by the Flower of the *German* Nobility, and a good Body of Troops, was *The Emperor crowned by* Nicholas. Year of Chriſt 1452.

[n] Æneas Syl. Europa, c. 32.

Year of Chriſt 1452. was received, with loud Acclamations, in all the Cities of *Italy* through which he paſſed, and met at *Florence* by Two Cardinals, ſent by the Pope to congratulate him, in his Name, on his Arrival in *Italy*, and conduct him to *Rome*. He made his public Entry into that City with his Conſort the Empreſs *Eleonora* on the 9th of *March*, amidſt the joyful Acclamations of the *Roman* People, was received by the Pope, on the Top of the Steps of *St. Peter*'s, with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem, and conducted, with the Empreſs, to the Tomb of *St. Peter*. The following Days they had ſeveral private Conferences; and on the 19th of the ſame Month of *March*, the Day of the Pope's Coronation, both the Emperor and Empreſs were crowned with the uſual Solemnity. His Holineſs choſe that Day, that he might celebrate, he ſaid, at the ſame Time, the Anniverſary of his own Coronation, and that of the Emperor's [o].

Conſtantinople *taken by* Mahomet II. Year of Chriſt 1453. The following Year 1453 proved of all, ſince the Foundation of the Chriſtian Religion, the moſt fatal to it, for in that Year, on the 29th of *May*, in the 5th Year of the Reign of the Emperor *Conſtantine Palæologus Dracoſes*, was taken the Imperial City of *Conſtantinople* by *Mahomet* II. and forced to ſubmit, with the whole Empire, to the cruel Yoke which it groans under to this Day. I ſhall not dwell here on the melancholy Circumſtances attending that Event, as being foreign to my Subject, but only obſerve, that the Loſs of *Conſtantinople* has by ſome been charged upon the Pope [p]. The Truth is, *Nicholas* had got ready both a Fleet and Land Forces to be ſent to the Relief of the beſieged City; but flattering himſelf, that the *Greeks*, when reduced to the utmoſt Ex-

[o] Idem in vit. Frideric III. p. 138. [p] Hydegger, Hiſt. Papal. Ætat. 5. p. 254.

Extremity, in order to engage his Protection more effectually, would receive the Decree of the Union, concluded at *Florence* between the Two Churches, he delayed to ſend the wanted Succours; and in the mean Time *Conſtantinople* was taken [q]. However that be, certain it is, that *Nicholas* never enjoyed himſelf after the Loſs of that City; nay, his Death is ſuppoſed by the contemporary Writers to have been, in great Meaſure, owing to the Concern it gave him, and to the bad Succeſs, that attended all his Endeavours to unite the Chriſtian Princes, againſt the common Enemy, and recover it. For he was wholly employed, during the remaining Years of his Pontificate, in reconciling the Chriſtian Princes then at War with one another, and preſſing them by Letters, Nuncios, and Legates, to join all as one Man, and turn their Arms againſt the victorious and inſulting Infidels. Hence nothing occurs in the contemporary Hiſtorians, from this Time to the Time of his Death, but long and tedious Accounts of his unſucceſsful Endeavours to unite the Chriſtian Princes in One common League againſt the Enemies of the Chriſtian Name, and of the Obſtacles he met with in that Undertaking.

Year of Chriſt 1453.

Nicholas died on the 24th of *March* 1755, after a Pontificate of Eight Years and Eighteen Days, was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, and on his Tomb was engraved an Epitaph, commemorating his Virtues, and the moſt remarkable Actions of his Life [r]. The contemporary Writers all ſpeak of this Pope as One of the beſt that ever ſat in the Chair of *St. Peter*. His Libe-

Nicholas *dies.*

Year of Chriſt 1455.

His Character.

[q] Platina in vit. Nicol. V.

[r] Apud Platina in ejus vita.

Year of Chriſt 1455.

Liberality to all, eſpecially to the Learned, knew no Bounds. In his Time Men of Letters are ſaid to have flocked, even from the moſt diſtant Countries, to *Rome*, being ſure they ſhould meet there with all the Encouragement they could wiſh for. He ſent proper Perſons all over *Europe* to purchaſe, at any Rate, the faireſt and moſt correct Copies of the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, ſpared no Expence in cauſing the *Greek* Writers to be tranſlated into *Latin*, and thus enriched his Library with the Originals as well as the Tranſlations of all the moſt valuable Books that were to be met with in *Greece*, he being himſelf as good a Judge of Books as any of his Time. The great Encouragement he gave to the Learned has entitled him, and very deſervedly, to a Place among the Firſt Reſtorers of Learning in the Weſt. He was a no leſs generous Friend to the Poor than to the Learned, none having ever applied to him for Relief, whom, if their Wants were found to be real, he did not relieve; nay, he was known to maintain, with private Charities, many decayed Families, whom Shame reſtrained from owning their Poverty, and to have provided their Daughters with Fortunes ſuitable to their Rank. He repaired or rebuilt many of the Churches of *Rome*, and other public Edifices gone to Decay, and, to render the City more auguſt, aſſiſted the Nobility with very conſiderable Sums in rebuilding and adorning their own Palaces. Thus did *Nicholas* diſpoſe of the Revenues of his See, inſtead of heaping up Wealth, as moſt of his Predeceſſors had done, to enrich his Relations [f].

He

[f] Platina et Onuphirius in vit. Nichol. V.

He was an Enemy even to the Appearance of Simony, employed none, and preferred none but Men of Merit, or Men who were recommended to him as ſuch; obſerved the Canons himſelf with the utmoſt Strictneſs, and exacted the ſame ſtrict Obſervance of others; aboliſhed many Abuſes, that his Predeceſſors had either encouraged or connived at, and was only prevented by Death from purſuing the Plan of a general Reformation, which he had formed and begun with his own Court [o].—With all his good Qualities he was, ſays *Platina*, a little too haſty, and, though never guilty of the leaſt Injuſtice, did ſometimes, in the Tranſport of Paſſion, what he afterwards repented; and would not have done had Good-nature had Time to take Place [p].—He created eleven Cardinals at three different Promotions, all Men of great Merit, and not one of his own Relations among them.—As to his Writings he left none, that we know of, beſides ſome Letters, and Bulls, and amongſt theſe the Bull of the Canonization of *Bernardine* of *Siena*, of whom I have ſpoken above [q].

Year of Chriſt 1455.

FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the Weſt.*

CALIXTUS III.

The two hundred and ſeventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

NICHOLAS died, as has been ſaid, on the 24th of *March* of the preſent Year 1455, and on the 8th of *April* the Cardinals, in all fourteen, unanimouſly elected Cardinal *Alphonſo Borgia* in his Room. He was come of an ancient and noble Family in the Dioceſe of *Valencia*; had adhered at firſt to *Peter de Luna*, who ſtyled himſelf *Benedict* XIII. and had been made by him Canon of

Calixtus III. *elected. His Birth, Preferments, &c. before his Promotion.*

[o] Vit. Nicol. V. apud Muratori in Script. rerum Italic.
[p] Platina in vit.

Year of Christ 1455.

Liberality to all, especially to the Learned, knew no Bounds. In his Time Men of Letters are said to have flocked, even from the most distant Countries, to *Rome*, being sure they should meet there with all the Encouragement they could wish for. He sent proper Persons all over *Europe* to purchase, at any Rate, the fairest and most correct Copies of the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, spared no Expence in causing the *Greek* Writers to be translated into *Latin*, and thus enriched his Library with the Originals as well as the Translations of all the most valuable Books that were to be met with in *Greece*, he being himself as good a Judge of Books as any of his Time. The great Encouragement he gave to the Learned has entitled him, and very deservedly, to a Place among the First Restorers of Learning in the West. He was a no less generous Friend to the Poor than to the Learned, none having ever applied to him for Relief, whom, if their Wants were found to be real, he did not relieve; nay, he was known to maintain, with private Charities, many decayed Families, whom Shame restrained from owning their Poverty, and to have provided their Daughters with Fortunes suitable to their Rank. He repaired or rebuilt many of the Churches of *Rome*, and other public Edifices gone to Decay, and, to render the City more august, assisted the Nobility with very considerable Sums in rebuilding and adorning their own Palaces. Thus did *Nicholas* dispose of the Revenues of his See, instead of heaping up Wealth, as most of his Predecessors had done, to enrich his Relations [f].

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[o] Vit. Nicol. V. apud Muratori in Script. rerum Italic.
[p] Platina in vit.

Year of Chriſt 1455.

Lerida. Being known in that Station to *Alphonſo*, King of *Arragon*, he was honoured by that Prince with his Confidence, and a Place among his Privy Counſellors. Upon the Death of *Benedict* he was employed by the King to perſuade the Antipope, *Clement* VIII. whom *Benedict*'s Cardinals had choſen in his Room, to reſign his new Dignity; and being attended therein with the wiſhed-for Succeſs, he was, at the Recommendation of the King preferred by Pope *Martin* to the See of *Valencia*[r].

Strives in vain to unite the Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turks.

The new Pope took the Name of *Calixtus* III. and was crowned, with the uſual Ceremonies, on the 20th of *April*. But, being no leſs grieved and alarmed at the taking of *Conſtantinople* than his Predeceſſor, he wrote, even before his Coronation, to all the Chriſtian Princes, repreſenting to them the Danger, that all *Chriſtendom* was expoſed to, of being over-run by thoſe Barbarians, and exhorting them to join in a common League againſt the common Enemy. We have a Letter of his upon this Subject to *Charles* VII. King of *France*, dated the 8th of *April*, the very Day of his Election[s]. But his Endeavours proving all unſucceſsful, he cauſed a ſmall Fleet of thirteen Gallies to be built with the voluntary Contributions of the Faithful, and the Tenths, that ſome Princes had allowed him to raiſe in their Dominions, and gave the Command of it to *Lewis*, Cardinal of *Aquilea*, who, being joined by the Fleet of the Knights of *Rhodes*, retook ſome of the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*, and gained other ſmall Advantage over the Enemy. As *Mahomet* advanced daily without Oppoſition, and had entered *Servia* at the Head of a numerous and victorious Army, *Calixtus* cauſed a Cruſade to be preached all over *Europe*, granting a plenary Indulgence, or Forgiveneſs of all Sins, to all who ſhould take the Croſs, and to ſuch as ſhould

[s] Concil. tom. 13. col. 457.

con-

contribute towards the maintaining of thoſe who took it, Indulgences in Proportion to the Sums they did contribute. A conſiderable Army being thus raiſed, they marched in Queſt of the Enemy, under the Conduct of the famous *Hunniades*, and the no leſs famous *Minorite John de Capiſtrano*, the one a great General, and the other a great Saint. The *Turks* had laid Siege to *Belgrade*, the Capital of *Servia*, and reduced the Place to great Straits, notwithſtanding the vigorous Reſiſtance they met with. But the Chriſtian Army, encouraged by *Capiſtrano*, carrying at their Head a Croſs, in lieu of a Standard, and promiſing them certain Victory, fell upon them with ſuch Reſolution and Intrepidity as obliged them to raiſe the Siege, and betake themſelves to a precipitate Flight with the Loſs of ſix thouſand Men, *Onuphrius* ſays ſixty thouſand killed upon the Spot, and of all their military Stores and Ammunition. This Victory was gained on the 6th of *Auguſt*, the Day of the Transfiguration of our Lord, which the Pope ordered to be thenceforth obſerved as a grand Feſtival [t].

Year of Chriſt 1455.

The Turks defeated at Belgrade.

For this Victory the Pope cauſed the *Te Deum* to be ſung with great Solemnity in *Rome*, acquainted all the Chriſtian Princes with it, and failed not, on that Occaſion, to entreat and exhort them anew, as they tendered the Welfare of the Chriſtian Religion and their own Safety, to join their Forces, and fall jointly upon the Enemy, before they had Time to recover from their preſent Fright and Conſternation. But of them he could obtain nothing beſides fair Words, and Promiſes, which they never intended to perform. Thus the Chriſtian Army, inſtead of improving the Advantage they had gained, which might have proved fatal to the Enemy, were obliged, for Want of Sup-

Calixtus *ſtirs up ſome* Mahometan *Princes againſt the* Turks.

[t] Platina in vita Calixti.

Year of Christ 1456.

plies both in Men and Money, to disband, and leave the Conquered to pursue their Conquests quite unmolested [u].——*Calixtus*, finding the Christian Princes all so backward to engage in a War, resolved to recur to the *Mahometan* Princes, who, as he was informed by his Missionaries, looked with a jealous Eye on the late Conquests of the *Turks*. He sent, accordingly *Lewis* of *Bologna*, a *Franciscan* Friar, with many rich Presents to *Usumcassanus*, Lord of *Persia* and *Armenia*, and to the *Cham* of the *Tartars*, to apprize them of the Conquests *Mahomet* had made, and was daily making in the more Western Parts of the World; to represent to them the Danger they themselves were in of becoming a Prey to so potent and so ambitious a Neighbour, if they stopped not, in Time, the Career of his Victories, and to offer them therein all the Assistance the High Priest of the Christians could afford them. Those Princes, adds *Platina*, hearkened to the Friar, and at his Persuasion, brought great Calamities upon the *Turks* [w]. But it does not appear that the *Turks* were diverted, by those Calamities, from pursuing the War against the Christians with the same Vigour, as if they had to deal with no other Enemy; so that the Pope, in spite of all his Endeavours, had the Mortification to hear daily of some new Acquisition they had made without Opposition, or of some new Advantage they had gained over those who opposed them.

Misunderstanding between the Pope and the King of Arragon.

Calixtus owed, as we have seen, all his Preferments to King *Alphonso*. But no sooner was he raised to the Papal Chair, than he began to quarrel with his Benefactor. We have several Instances of the greatest Favourites of Princes becoming, when raised to the Popedom, their most bitter Enemies, as if the Papacy cancelled all

[u] Platina in vita Calixti. [w] Idem ibid.

Obliga-

Obligations, or the Popes thought it beneath them to acknowledge any. In the preſent Caſe ſome lay the Blame on the Pope, and ſome on the King. The former tell us, that the King, in the Letter he wrote to the Pope to congratulate him upon his Promotion, gave him ſome friendly Advice relating to the Government of the Church, and that the Pope, provoked at the King's taking upon him to direct him, highly reſented it, and returned the following Anſwer to the Embaſſadors who brought the Letter, *Let your Maſter govern his own Kingdom, and not concern himſelf with the Government of the Church, but leave it to me.* This blunt and unexpected Anſwer from one, whom the King had raiſed from a private Condition to his preſent high and exalted Station, firſt prejudiced him, ſay thoſe Writers, and not a little, againſt his Holineſs. Others ſay, that *Alphonſo*, preſuming upon the many Obligations the Pope owed him, demanded many Things that his Holineſs could not grant with a ſafe Conſcience; that he diſpoſed of all the beſt Benefices in his Dominions unknown to the Pope, and, generally ſpeaking, to the higheſt Bidders, without any Regard to their Characters, or Learning, preferring Perſons quite illiterate, and even Children, when they came up to his Price, and that the Pope's interpoſing his Authority, and putting a Stop to ſuch ſcandalous and illegal Practices, was originally the Occaſion of the Miſunderſtanding between his Holineſs and the King [x]. But what, moſt of all, provoked the King, was the Pope's refuſing to grant the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Ferdinand*, his natural Son, and to confirm the Bull of his Legitimation, which *Alphonſo* had obtained, or rather extorted from Pope *Eugenius*, as has been related

Year of Chriſt 1456.

To what owing.

[x] Platina ibid. et Hiſt. General d'Eſpagne, tom. 4. p. 129.

Year of Chriſt 1456.

in the Life of that Pope. The King had reſolved to oblige *Calixtus* to confirm that Bull, as he had obliged *Eugenius* to grant it, and to invade with that View the Eccleſiaſtical State, and either drive the Pope from *Rome*, or beſiege him in it. He had made the neceſſary Preparations for that Expedition, but died before he could carry it into Execution, leaving by his laſt Will, as he had no Children lawfully begotten, the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Ferdinand*, and the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, with his other Dominions to his Brother *John* King of *Navarre*.

Calixtus *revokes the Bull legitimating* Ferdinand.

Calixtus had formed a Deſign of placing his Nephew, *Peter Borgia*, whom he had already created Duke of *Spoleti*, upon the Throne of *Naples*; and it was with that View he had refuſed to confirm the Bull of *Eugenius* legitimating *Ferdinand*. He therefore no ſooner heard of the Death of *Alphonſo*, than he revoked the Bull of *Eugenius*, as having been obtained by Force and Menaces, and conſequently in itſelf null; declared the Throne vacant, and devolved, as a Fief of the Church, to the Apoſtolic See; thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt all, who ſhould acknowledge him for King, or obey him as ſuch, and abſolved thoſe from their Oaths, who might already have ſworn Allegiance to him.

His Intrigues to place his Nephew on the Throne of Naples.

Ferdinand took care to acquaint the Pope with the Death of his Father by a moſt ſubmiſſive and friendly Letter, to aſſure him of his inviolable Attachment both to his Perſon and his See, and implore his Protection; and it was upon the Receipt of his Letter that the Pope iſſued the Bull I have juſt mentioned. As moſt of the Lords of the Kingdom acknowledged him, notwithſtanding that Bull, out of the great Regard they had for the deceaſed King his Father, the Pope cauſed Papers to be poſted up in ſeveral Places of the Kingdom, notifying to the Clergy, to the Nobility, and the Peo-

People, that *Ferdinand* was not the Son, no, not even the natural Son of *Alphonſo*. What Foundation this had in Truth, or whether it had any, we know not; but coming from One, who had ſpent the greateſt Part of his Life at the King's Court, and muſt have been acquainted with what was ſaid, or done there, it ſtartled many; and ſome of the Nobility, as well as the Clergy, openly declared againſt the new King. Thus would a Civil War have been kindled in the Bowels of the Kingdom, had not the Death of the Pope very ſeaſonably prevented it. Year of Chriſt 1458.

Calixtus died on the 6th of *Auguſt* 1458, after a Pontificate of three Years and four Months wanting two Days, and was buried, without an Epitaph, in *St. Peter*'s. The contemporary Writers all ſpeak of him as a Man of very uncommon Parts, of great Addreſs and Experience, and one of the beſt Canoniſts of his Time. In Nepotiſm he far exceeded all his Predeceſſors. Two of his Nephews he created Cardinals, the third he made Duke of *Spoleti*, and ſtrove, as we have ſeen, by the moſt ſcandalous Intrigues, to procure him a Kingdom, not ſcrupling, for the Sake of aggrandizing his Family, to kindle a War in the Heart of *Chriſtendom*, at the very Time he was exerting all his Zeal in exhorting the Chriſtian Princes to make up their Differences, and turn their Arms, for their common Safety, againſt the common Enemy [y].—*Calixtus* granted a three Years Indulgence to all, who, at the Tolling of the Bell about Noon, ſhould ſay three *Pater-Noſters* and three *Ave-Maries* for the Succeſs of the Chriſtian Arms againſt the *Turks*; and hence came the Cuſtom, that obtain to this Day in all *Roman* Catholic Countries, of tolling the Bell Morning, Noon, and Evening, when the *His Death.*

[y] Summont. Hiſt. Neapol. tom. 3. l. 5. p. 243.

Year of Christ 1458. People, in some Places standing, and in some kneeling, even in the public Streets, repeat three Times the Angelic Salutation [z]. This Pope has only left some Letters and Bulls to be met with in *Labbe*'s Councils and *Cherubini*'s Bullarium.

FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the West.*

PIUS II.

The two hundred and eighth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Pius II. *elected.*

IN the Room of *Calixtus* was unanimously elected on the 19th of *August*, and crowned on the 3d of *September*, the celebrated *Æneas Sylvius Picolomini*, whom the late Pope had preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal a little before his Death. The Family *Picolimini* was, and still is one of the most illustrious Families of *Siena* in *Tuscany*. But his Father *Æneas Sylvius*, and his Mother *Fortegueria*, being driven out by the popular Faction with the rest of the Nobility, he was born in a small Village of that Diocese, and he there learnt the first Rudiments of the *Latin* Tongue. His Father's Circumstances did not allow him to send his Son to the University, his Estate having been confiscated by the prevailing Faction, and he himself reduced to earn his Bread with the Sweat of his Brow. But his Friends and Relations generously contributing towards the Education of so promising a Youth, he was sent by them to the University of *Siena*, and maintained there at their Expence. As he gave many Proofs, during the Course of his Studies, of a very extraordinary Genius, and even published, while yet a Student, several Poems, some in *Latin*, some in *Italian*, that

His Birth, Education, Employments, &c. before his Promotion.

[z] Platina in vit.

were

were received with great Applauſe, Cardinal *Capranica*, hearing of him as he paſſed through *Siena* in his Way to the Council of *Baſil*, took him with him in the Character of his Secretary. He eſpouſed with great Zeal the Cauſe of the Council againſt Pope *Eugenius*, made many learned and elegant Speeches in that auguſt Aſſembly to prove the Superiority of a General Council over the Pope, and was, in Conſideration of his Zeal as well as his Parts, appointed their Secretary, and employed in all Affairs of Moment, as one upon whom they could ſafely rely. *Felix* upon his Election, and the Depoſition of *Eugenius*, choſe *Æneas* for his Secretary. He was afterwards honoured with the ſame Employment in the Court of the Emperor *Frideric*, who, being taken with his Parts, preſented him with a Poetical Crown, that is, I ſuppoſe, made him his Poet Laureat, diſtinguiſhed him with the Dignity of Senator, admitted him to his Intimacy, and undertook nothing without previouſly conſulting him. He, on his Side, took Care to cultivate by all Means the Friendſhip of ſo powerful a Friend, flattering himſelf that it might raiſe him one Day to the Pinnacle of Grandeur. When the Emperor embraced a Neutrality, he embraced it with him; and when the Emperor ſhewed himſelf inclined to favour *Eugenius* againſt the Council and *Felix*, he openly declared againſt both; and being ſent by *Frideric* with ſome Propoſals to *Rome*, he laid hold of that Opportunity to condemn his paſt Conduct, and beg his Holineſs to forgive it, and receive him into Favour. *Eugenius* readily granted him his Requeſt, but died ſoon after, and the See of *Trieſte* in *Iſtria* becoming at the ſame Time vacant, *Æneas* was preferred to it by his Succeſſor *Nicholas* V. and in 1453 tranſlated from thence by the ſame Pope to the vacant See of *Siena*, his native Country. He was employed, after the Death of *Nicholas*, both by

Year of Chriſt 1458.

Year of Chriſt 1458. by his Succeſſor *Calixtus* III. and the Emperor in various Negociations, and upon his Return to *Rome* created Cardinal by *Calixtus*, and, after that Pope's Death, elected by the Cardinals, with one Conſent, to ſucceed him, taking on that Occaſion the Name of *Pius* II [a].

Endeavours to unite the Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turks. *Pius*, no leſs alarmed than his Predeceſſor at the Rapidity of the *Turkiſh* Conqueſts, and no leſs intent upon uniting the Chriſtian Powers againſt the common Enemy, ſummoned with that View, ſoon after his Election, all the Chriſtian Princes to meet at *Mantua*, and there deliberate with him on the moſt effectual Means of ſaving the Church, themſelves, and their lateſt Poſterity, from the more than *Ægyptian* Bondage with which they were threatened. The Council was appointed to meet on the 1ſt of *June* of the following Year 1459; and the Pope ſet outfrom *Rome* on the 18th of *February*. But as he ſtopped in the ſeveral Cities and States, through which he paſſed, to make up their Differences, he did not reach *Mantua* till the 27th of *May*, and the Council was opened on the 1ſt of *June*. At this Council the Pope himſelf preſided, and *Platina* tells us, that all the Chriſtian Princes aſſiſted at it either in Perſon, or by their Embaſſadors, but that their jarring Intereſts rendered all the Endeavours of the Pope to unite them quite ineffectual; ſo that the Council broke up without coming to any Reſolution, and the *Turks* were ſuffered to purſue their Conqueſts without Interruption.

Council of Mantua. Year of Chriſt 1459.

Pius *revokes the Bull of* Calixtus, *againſt* Ferdinand *King of* Naples. *Pius* had no ſooner taken Poſſeſſion of the See than he revoked the Bull of his Predeceſſor *Calixtus*, declaring the Kingdom of *Naples* devolved to the Church, confirmed the Bull of King *Ferdinand*'s Legitimation, and upon that Prince's reſtoring *Benevento*, *Terracina*, and ſome other Places that his

[a] Platina et Anton. Caman. in vit. Pii II.

Father

Father had taken, he granted him the Inveſtiture, and ſent Cardinal *Latino* to crown him; which Ceremony was performed with great Solemnity, in the City of *Barletta* on the 4th of *February* of the preſent Year. *Ferdinand*, on his Side, promiſed to aſſiſt the Pope againſt all his Enemies with the whole Strength of his Kingdom, and gave *Mary*, his natural Daughter, in Marriage to *Antony Picolomini*, his Holineſs's Nephew, with the Dutchy of *Amalfi* and the County of *Celano* for her Portion [b]. The Pope, not ſatisfied with confirming the Bulls of his Predeceſſor *Eugenius* in favour of *Ferdinand*, and revoking thoſe of *Calixtus* againſt him, ordered the Clergy and the Barons, on pain of Excommunication, to acknowledge him, and no other, for their lawful Sovereign, abſolved ſuch of them, as had ſworn Allegiance to *René* of *Anjou*, from that Oath, and the following Year, when *John* of *Anjou*, the Son of *René*, invaded the Kingdom, his Holineſs ſent a Body of a thouſand Horſe and five hundred Foot, under the Command of his Nephew *Antonio Picolomini*, to the Aſſiſtance of *Ferdinand*. The Pope's Partiality for that Prince, and his concurring with him to drive the *French* quite out of *Italy*, ſo provoked their King, *Charles* VII. and the whole Nation, that they could never be prevailed upon any-ways to contribute towards carrying on the War againſt the *Turks*, which they knew the Pope to have above all Things at Heart.

Year of Chriſt 1459.

And ſupports him in the Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom.

The following Year the Pope thought fit to condemn the Maxim, for which he had been many Years ſo warm a Stickler, the Superiority of a General Council over the Pope. The Bull, condemning that once his favourite Maxim, is dated the 18th of *January* of the preſent Year 1460, and begins with the following Words, *Execrabilis*

Forbids Appeals from the Apoſtolic See.

Year of Chriſt 1460.

[b] Summont. l. 5. p. 243. et Caman. vita Pii II.

et

Year of Christ 1460.

et priſtinis temporibus inauditus, &c. "An execrable and unheard-of Abuſe in all ancient "Times, has lately crept in, being countenanced "by ſome through a Spirit of Rebellion, and in "order to avoid the Puniſhment due to their "Crimes, I mean the Abuſe of appealing from the "*Roman* Pontiff, *Chriſt*'s Vicar upon Earth, to "whom it was ſaid in the Perſon of St. *Peter*, "*Feed my Sheep*, *Whatſoever thou ſhalt bind upon* "*Earth*, &c. to a future Council. This all, "who are in the leaſt acquainted with the Canons, "muſt look upon as contrary to the eſtabliſhed "Laws of the Church. By theſe Appeals the "Apoſtolic See is reſtrained from doing Juſtice to "thoſe, who recur to it, all are at Liberty, to "commit with Impunity, what Crimes they liſt, "the Diſcipline of the Church is trampled under "Foot, the Hierarchy overſet, and every Thing "muſt fall into Diſorder and Confuſion. Beſides, "how abſurd is it to appeal to what does not exiſt, "and perhaps, never will? We therefore condemn, "upon the moſt mature Deliberation, all ſuch Ap-"peals; pronounce, declare, and define them "to be contrary to the Canons, and in themſelves "null; and order, that, for the future, no one "ſhall preſume, under any Pretence whatſoever, "to appeal from our Judgment, or from that of "our Succeſſors. If any one ſhall act contrary "to this our Ordinance, after two Months from "the Day of its Publication in our Chancery, he "ſhall, by what Dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, "the Royal, Imperial, and Pontifical not excepted, "incur, *ipſo facto*, the Sentence of Excommuni-"cation, from which none but the Pope himſelf "ſhall have Power to abſolve him, except, on the "Point of Death. All Univerſities, Colleges, "Notaries, Witneſſes, and every other Perſon, "who ſhall aſſiſt at ſuch Appeals, or be any-ways "con-

" concerned in them, ſhall be liable to the ſame " Penalty[c]." No Man can be ſo little verſed in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory as not to know this Bull, to uſe the Words of the Continuator of *Fleury*, to be repugnant to the Canons, and contrary to the ancient and univerſal Practice of the Church. Year of Chriſt 1460.

Pius had, from the Beginning of the Pontificate, uſed his utmoſt Endeavours with repeated Applications to *Charles* VII. King of *France*, to get the *Pragmatic Sanction*, of which I have ſpoken above[d], revoked, as highly derogatory to the Honour and the Dignity of the Apoſtolic See. But the only Anſwer he could obtain of *Charles* was, that the *Pragmatic* conſiſted of the very Decrees of the Council of *Baſil*, which he himſelf had approved, had penned, and perhaps ſuggeſted when Secretary to that great Aſſembly, and they had been received with one Conſent, and obſerved for the Space of twenty-five Years, by the whole *French* Nation. In 1461 *Charles* died, having ſtarved himſelf to Death, which *Pius* no ſooner heard, than he diſpatched a Nuncio into *France* to condole with his Son and Succeſſor, *Lewis* XI. for ſo melancholy an Event, and, at the ſame Time, congratulate him upon his Acceſſion to the Crown. But the chief Buſineſs of the Nuncio, was to procure, upon any Terms, the Abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and he had ſeveral Conferences with the King's Miniſters and the King himſelf upon that Subject. The Pope's Demand was rejected by all to a Man, in the King's Council; but nevertheleſs the King was, in the End, either ſoothed or frightened into a Compliance with it, and a ſolemn Embaſſy was ſent to *Rome* to revoke the *Pragmatic* in his Name[e]. However, as both the Univerſity and the Parliament proteſted againſt *Strives to get the* Pragmatic Sanction *revoked in* France. Year of Chriſt 1461.

[c] Concil. tom. 13. p. 1801. [e] Mathieu vie de Louis XI.

its

Year of Chriſt 1461.

its Revocation, it continued to be obſerved throughout the Kingdom as before till the Year 1516, when the Concordat between *Leo* X. and *Francis* I. took place.

Strives in vain to unite the Chriſtian *Princes againſt the* Turks.

The two following Years were wholly employed by the Pope in ſtriving to unite the *Chriſtian* Princes againſt the *Turks*, who had already made themſelves Maſters of almoſt all *Greece*; and we have a great many Letters of his to the different Kings and States of *Chriſtendom*, repreſenting to them, with great Eloquence, the Danger that threatened them of being enſlaved by the worſt of Tyrants, and painting in the moſt affecting Manner, the deplorable Condition, which they were reduced to, who had been obliged to ſubmit to ſo galling a Yoke, and which, he ſaid, would ſoon be their own, if they joined not in time to avert it. But his Endeavours proving all unſucceſsful, he ordered a Fleet to be equipped at *Ancona*, with a Deſign to embark on it in Perſon, flattering himſelf that the *Chriſtian* Princes, though deaf to his Exhortations, would be aſhamed to remain quiet and inactive at Home, while the Vicar of *Chriſt*, notwithſtanding his Age and Infirmities, thus expoſed himſelf, for their Safety, to all the Dangers and Inconveniencies of a War. While he was buſied, beyond what his Strength could bear, in making the neceſſary Preparations for his intended Naval Expedition, he was taken ill, and being adviſed by his Phyſicians to repair to *Siena* for the Benefit of his native Air, he publiſhed, before he left *Rome*, his famous Bull of *Retractation*. In that Bull, addreſſed to the Univerſity of *Cologne*, the Pope condemns and retracts all he had ſaid. writ, or done at the Council of *Baſil*, any-ways prejudicial to the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, as entirely owing to Ignorance or his Want of Diſcernment; exhorts all to reject, as erroneous, what they meet with in his Works in the leaſt repugnant

Publiſhes his Bull of Retractation.

Year of Chriſt 1464.

pugnant to the Power, which *Chriſt* himſelf has lodged in the Hands of his Vicar upon Earth, and requires them, if they prefer Truth to Error, to reject the Sentiments of *Æneas Sylvius*, and adopt thoſe of *Pius* II [f]. Year of Chriſt 1464.

The Pope returned, after a ſhort Stay at *Siena*, to *Rome*, and being there informed that the *Turks* were upon the Point of laying Siege to *Raguſa* in *Dalmatia*, he immediately ſet out for *Ancona*, though ſo indiſpoſed as to be obliged to travel in a Litter. He left *Rome* on the 18th of *June*, and arriving at *Ancona* about the Middle of *July*, he had the Satisfaction of being there joined by a Squadron of eleven Gallies from *Venice*, commanded by the Doge, *Chriſtopher Maurus*, in Perſon. But being quite ſpent with the Fatigues he had undergone, and a continual Fever, with which he had been long afflicted, inſtead of embarking he was obliged to betake himſelf to his Bed, and died two Days afterwards, that is, on the 14th of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year 1464. When he found his End approached, he would have extreme Unction adminiſtered to him, though he had received it before, *viz.* when he was infected with the Plague at *Baſil*, and warmly diſputed, ſays *Platina*, *acerrime diſputavit*, with *Lawrence Roverella*, Biſhop of *Ferrara*, pretending that extreme Unction ought not to be iterated [g]. A little before he expired he repeated the *Athanaſian Creed*, declaring his Belief of every Article it contained. He ordered his Body to be carried back to *Rome*, which was done accordingly, the whole Court attending it in deep Mourning. His Exequies were performed with the uſual Solemnity in the Church of *St. Peter*, and his Remains depoſited there near the Head of the Apoſtle St. *Andrew*, which had been

Equips a Fleet with a Deſign to embark on it in Perſon, but is prevented by Death.

[f] Concil. tom. 13. p. 1407.

[g] Platina in vit.

Year of Christ 1464. been sent to him out of *Peloponnesus*. On his Tomb was engraved the following Epitaph, *Pius II. Pontifex Maximus, natione Tuscus, patria Sennesis, gente Pilcolhominea*, &c. that is, *Pius II, High Pontiff, by Nation a Tuscan, by Birth a Senese, of the Picolomini Family. He sat only six Years, but acquired in so short a Pontificate, everlasting Glory.* All the memorable Actions of his Life are then rehearsed, and among the rest his abolishing the *Pragmatic Sanction* in *France*, which he did not abolish, as we have seen.

His Character. *Platina*, who lived at this Time in *Rome*, has honoured the Memory of this Pope with a Panegyric of several Pages, representing him as endowed, to the highest Degree, with every Virtue becoming a great Prince and a great Pope. He was, to do him Justice, possessed of many Virtues. But the Character *Mezerai* gives him, in a few Words, fits him perhaps better than that of *Platina*. No Man, says that Writer, ever laboured more than *Æneas Sylvius* to restrain the Power of the Pope within the Boundary of the Canons, and no Pope ever strove more than Pope *Pius* II. to extend that Power beyond all Bounds in Opposition to the Canons as well as to Reason [h]. *Platina* himself tells us, that *Pius* took no Notice of Lampoons levelled at his Person, but was inexorable if they reflected in the least, upon his Authority, that he made it his Study to enhance the Majesty of his See, and that he spared neither Kings, Dukes, nor People, invading the Rights of the Church or the Clergy, but never ceased to prosecute them with War, Censures, Interdicts, Anathemas, and Curses, till they gave the required Satisfaction. But, not to rob him of the Praise that is due to him, he was no Lover of Money, was never guilty of Simony, or any simoniacal Practices, was a warm

h Mezerai abreg. chron. tom. 3. p. 456.

Friend

Friend to the Poor, a generous Encourager of Learning, a moſt zealous Promoter of a War againſt the Infidels, and would, notwithſtanding the very bad State of his Health, have expoſed himſelf, for the Good of Chriſtianity, to all the Hardſhips of a moſt dangerous War. He was of an amorous Diſpoſition, and ſeems to have indulged it, in his youthful Days without Reſtraint. He had a natural Son, and from the ludicrous Account he gives of him and his own Amours, one would conclude, that he looked upon Tranſgreſſions of that Nature only as venial Sins, or no Sins at all[i]. The Poems and Epigrams which he writ in his Youth, were for the moſt Part calculated to kindle in the Breaſts of his Readers the impure Deſires that burnt in his own. Year of Chriſt 1464.

Pius was a moſt elegant *Latin* Writer, and left a great Number of Works behind him, moſt of them written before his Promotion. Of theſe the following have reached our Times; two Books of Memoirs of what paſſed at the Council of *Baſil* from the Depoſition of *Eugenius* to the Election of *Felix*; the Hiſtory of the *Bohemians* from their Origin to the Year 1458; an Abridgment of the Decads of *Blondus Flavius*, who flouriſhed in 1440; two Books of Coſmography; two Diſcourſes in Praiſe of *Alphonſus*, King of *Arragon*, and Notes upon the Hiſtory of that Prince written by one *Antonio*, a Poet of *Palermo*; a Poem upon the Paſſion of our Saviour; Treatiſes upon the Education of Children, upon Grammar and Rhetoric, and a Topography of *Germany*; a Treatiſe on the *Roman* Empire and another upon bad Women or Proſtitutes; two Anſwers to the *Frrnch* Embaſſadors, charging the Pope in the Council of *Mantua* with Partiality and Injuſtice in ſiding with *Ferdinand*, and granting him the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *His Writings.*

[i] Æneas Sylvius, ep. 15.

Year of Chriſt 1464.

Naples, to the Prejudice of *René of Anjou*, who had an unqueſtionable Right to that Crown; a Bull of Retraction, and one againſt Appeals from his See, and 432 Letters upon different Subjects. We have the Hiſtory of *Pius* II. in twelve Books, bearing the Name of his Secretary *John Gobelinus*, but commonly ſuppoſed to have been written by *Pius* himſelf. His Letter to the Sultan *Mahomet* II. exhorting him to embrace the *Chriſtian* Religion, has given great Offence to *Du Pleſſis-Mornay*[k]. But I can diſcover nothing in it *unworthy of a* Chriſtian, *or a* Chriſtian *Biſhop*.——*Platina* has given us ſeveral of this Pope's Sayings or Apophthegms, and among the reſt the following, *Marriage has, for good Reaſons, been taken away from the Prieſts; but, for much better Reaſons, it ſhould be reſtored to them*[l]. The Reformation reſtored it, and conſequently; has, at leaſt, with reſpect to that Article, the Sanction of a great and learned Pope. It is to be obſerved, that this Paſſage has been eraſed out of moſt of the Additions of *Platina*, but is to be found in the firſt, that of *Cologne* in 1479, and in that now before me, printed likewiſe at *Cologne* in 1611. It is likewiſe to be obſerved, that the Pieces written by *Æneas Sylvius* at the Time of the Council of *Baſil*, are all prohibited on Account of their diſplaying the enormous Corruptions of the *Roman* Church, and urging the Neceſſity of a Reformation in its Head and Members; which Reformations, by the by, he never once thought of when he himſelf became the Head.

[k] Myſtere d'iniquité, p. 542. [l] Platina in vit.

PAUL

FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the West.*

PAUL II.

The two hundred and ninth BISHOP *of* Rome.

AS the deceaſed Pope was greatly indiſpoſed when he ſet out for *Ancona*, he ordered, by a ſpecial Bull, the Conclave to be held at *Rome*, for the Election of his Succeſſor in what Place ſoever he ſhould die. The Cardinals therefore, then preſent, at *Rome*, in all nineteen, having performed his Exequies, entered into the Conclave in the *Vatican* Palace. But, before they proceeded to the Election, they drew up ſome Articles, declaring they would elect no one, who did not ſwear to obſerve them in caſe the Election fell upon him. The chief of theſe Articles were, That he ſhould reform the Abuſes that prevailed in the Court, and the corrupt Manners of the Courtiers: That in the Term of three Years he ſhould hold a Council to unite the *Chriſtian* Princes againſt the *Turk*, and effectually remove the Diſorders that lay uncontrouled in the Church: That he ſhould not increaſe the Number of Cardinals beyond twenty-four, ſhould create none who were not above thirty Years of Age, not thoroughly acquainted with the Civil and Canon Law as well as the Scriptures, and of all his Relations he ſhould prefer one only to that Dignity: That he ſhould condemn no Cardinal nor confiſcate his Goods, without the Approbation and Conſent of the other Cardinals: That he ſhould not alienate any Part of the Patrimony of St. *Peter* without the Concurrence of the Cardinals: That he ſhould engage in no War, ſhould make no Treaties, ſhould grant the Tenths to no Princes, ſhould impoſe no new Taxes, nor increaſe the old ones, without conſulting the Cardinals: That he ſhould truſt none but Eccleſiaſtics, and ſuch of them as were no-ways related to him, with the

Year of Chriſt 1464.

Articles agreed to by the Cardinals before the Election.

Year of Christ 1464.

Government of the moſt important Places: That he ſhould not give the Government of a Town and its Caſtle to the ſame Perſon, nor the Command of the Army of the Church to any of his own Family: Laſtly, that he ſhould cauſe theſe Reſolutions to be read monthly in a full Conſiſtory, and allow the Cardinals to meet yearly by themſelves in order to enquire whether they have been punctually complied with, and, if it appeared that they have been neglected, to remind his Holineſs of his Oath [m].

Paul II. *elected.*

The Cardinals, having all taken, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, the required Oath, proceeded to the Election; and on the 30th of *Auguſt* was elected, by a great Majority, *Peter Barbo*, Cardinal of *St. Mark*. He was come of an ancient Family in *Venice*, was the Son of *Nicholas Barbo* and *Polyxena*, the Siſter of Pope *Eugenius* IV. and had from his early Years been brought up for Mercature, which at *Venice* was not, as *Platina* obſerves, incompatible with Gentility: He had already put all his Things on board in order to proceed on a Voyage; but hearing, before he embarked, that his Uncle was raiſed to the Papacy, he changed his Mind, and thinking he ſhould thrive better in the Eccleſiaſtic State than in the Mercantile, he reſolved to quit the latter and embrace the former [n]. Such was his *Call* to the Miniſtry; and ſuch is the *Call* of many others. He now betook himſelf to Study, and though he made but very little Progreſs in the Sciences, he was in the Courſe of a few Years preferred by his Uncle to the Archdeaconry of *Bologna*, to the Biſhopric of *Cervia*, to the Office of Apoſtolic Prothonotary, and laſtly to the Dignity of Cardinal. His Addreſs and obliging Behaviour recommended him, upon the Death of

m Bzovius ad ann. 1464, et Quirini in vita Paul. II. n Platina in vita.

Eu-

Eugenius, to the Favour of the three ſucceeding Popes, *Nicholas* V. *Calixtus* III. and *Pius* II. He had Tears at Command, and to them he never failed to recur, when he could, by no other Means, obtain the Favours he ſued for; whence *Pius* II. uſed pleaſantly to call him *Our Lady of Pity*. Men of all Ranks and Conditions had free Acceſs to him while Cardinal, and he made it his Study to gratify, ſo far as it lay in his Power, all who applied to him. Being thus become extremely popular, the News of his Election was received with extraordinary Applauſe by the whole *Roman* People. As he was not a little vain of his Perſon, being one of the moſt handſome and comely Men of his Time, he was for taking the Name of *Formoſus* II. which Word imports *handſome* or *beauteous*: But, being diſſuaded from it by the Cardinals, he choſe the Name of *Paul* II. He was crowned with extraordinary Pomp in the Church of *St. Peter* on the 24th of *October* [o]. Year of Chriſt 1464.

The new Pope declaring, from the very Beginning of his Pontificate, for *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, againſt the Family of *Anjou*, ſent a conſiderable Body of Troops to aſſiſt that Prince in utterly extirpating the *Angevin* Faction, which had begun to revive in the Kingdom, many of the Barons being diſſatisfied with the arbitrary Government of *Ferdinand*. The Rebels were ſoon obliged to quit the Kingdom or ſubmit, and Peace being thus reſtored, the Pope, who loved Money, as *Platina* informs us, applied to the King, while the Obligations he owed to his Holineſs were yet freſh in his Memory, for the Payment of the Arrears of the Tribute, that was to be paid yearly by the Kings of *Naples*, but had yet never been paid either by him or his Father *Alphonſo*. The *Miſunderſtanding between him and* Ferdinand, *King of* Naples. Year of Chriſt 1465.

[o] Platina in vita & Bzovius ad ann. 1464.

Year of Christ 1465.

King returned Answer, that his Holiness's Demand was very unseasonable; that, having been engaged in a very expensive War ever since his Accession to the Crown, he was not, at present, in a Condition to comply with it, but would, as soon as his Holiness restored to him the City of *Benevento*, and all the other Places, that were held by the Church within the Limits of the Kingdom, and consequently belonged to the Church. The Pope threatened the King with Excommunication, and the Kingdom with a general Interdict. But *Ferdinand* having in the mean Time sent a Body of Troops to lay Siege to *Benevento*, the Pope, not able to repel Force by Force, sent Cardinal *Rovarella* to accommodate Matters. The Cardinal had several Conferences with the King, but was in the End obliged to acquiesce in his promising to pay what was in *Justice*, due to the Apostolic Chamber when he conveniently could [p].

Platina *imprisoned, and why.*

Paul, looking upon the Abbreviators, that is, those whose Business it was to abbreviate the Bulls and Letters of the Popes, as useless, discharged them all soon after his Election, though most of them Men of great Learning and known Abilities. As they had purchased their Place, *Platina*, who was one of them, having with great Difficulty obtained an Audience of the Pope, represented to his Holiness how ungenerous it was to dismiss them, though guilty of no Neglect in their Office, without returning to them the Purchase Money, and begged that the Affair might be referred to the Auditors of the *Rota*. *To the Auditors of the Rota!* replied the Pope with great Wrath, *doest thou summon us before Judges! Doest thou not know that all Laws are lodged in our Breast*, in scrinio pectoris nostri: *Sentence is given, and all shall obey it; I am Pope, and have a Power to*

[p] Platina et Summont. tom. 3. p. 474.

approve

approve or condemn at my Pleaſure the Actions of all other Men. *Platina* applied for another Audience, but not being able to obtain it, when he had waited ſeveral Nights (for the Pope, he ſays, tranſacted no Buſineſs in the Day-time) and deſpaired of ever getting Admittance, he wrote and ſent in to the Pope the following Letter. "If "you have thought it lawful to deprive us of what "we had lawfully purchaſed, it muſt be lawful "for us to complain of the Injury and Injuſtice "you have done us. As you, therefore, will "not hear us, we ſhall apply for Redreſs to the "different Kings and Princes, and exhort them to "convene a Council, in order to call you to an "Account for treating us in Defiance of all the "Laws of Juſtice and Equity in the Manner you "have done." This Letter was conſtrued by the Pope into High Treaſon, and *Platina*, being immediately ſeized and loaded with Irons, was confined in a high Tower, expoſed to all the Winds, without Fire, though in the Depth of Winter. When he had been kept four whole Months in this painful Priſon, *Francis Gonzaga*, Cardinal of *Mantua*, his particular Friend, obtained, not without great Difficulty, his Releaſe, but upon Condition that he ſtirred not out of *Rome* [q], the Pope probably apprehending that he might apply to the Chriſtian Princes, and, by laying his Complaints before them, prejudice them againſt him. The Pope bore *Platina* ever afterwards a ſecret Grudge, of which we ſhall ſoon ſee the woeful Effects.

Year of Chriſt 1466.

As *Podiebrad*, King of *Bohemia*, had favoured the *Huſſites* ever ſince his Acceſſion to that Crown, and continued to favour them, inſiſting upon the Sacrament being adminiſtered to all in both Kinds, the Pope, after repeated Monitories, thundered out

The Pope depoſes the King of Bohemia

Year of Chriſt 1466.

[q] Platina in vita.

Year of Christ 1466. the Sentence of Excommunication againſt him, abſolved his Subjects from their Allegiance, and declaring that he had forfeited his Kingdom as a Heretic, granted it to the King of *Hungary*, and cauſed a Cruſade to be preached all over *Germany* againſt *Podiebrad*, a *Chriſtian* Prince, while the *Turk* purſued his Conqueſts without Oppoſition. As great Indulgences were granted to all who took the Croſs, a numerous Army was ſoon raiſed. But as it chiefly conſiſted of undiſciplined Rabble, the King, marching againſt them as ſoon as they appeared in the Field, put them, with great Slaughter to Flight at the very firſt Onſet, and in a few Days returned triumphant to *Prague*, carrying with him ſuch Numbers of Priſoners as far exceeded that of his Army. After this Defeat, the Pope was obliged to content himſelf with renewing his Anathemas, and declaring, as he did by a ſpecial Bull, *George Poliebrad*, ſtyled King of *Bohemia*, a Rebel to the Church, and as ſuch incapable of holding any Dignity whatever[r].

Who defeats the Army ſent againſt him.

A new Perſecution againſt Platina.

Year of Chriſt 1467. The following Year the Pope was privately informed by ſome, who wanted to recommend themſelves to his Favour by their Zeal for his Safety, that a Conſpiracy was hatching againſt him by a *Roman* Citizen named *Callimachus*, and that it would be ſoon ripe for Execution, ſince *Lucas Tertius*, who, being baniſhed from *Rome*, had retired to *Naples*, had been lately ſeen, with a numerous Band of other Exiles, in the Woods of *Veletri*, but twenty Miles diſtant from *Rome*, and waited, no doubt, there to join, upon the firſt Notice, the Conſpirators in the City. This Information ſo alarmed the Pope, that, not allowing himſelf Time to enquire what Foundation it had in Truth, he ordered all, whom he ſuſpected of

r Platina et Annales Siles. ad hunc ann.

Diſ-

Diſaffection to his Perſon or his Government, to be immediately ſecured, and the unhappy *Platina* among the reſt. His Houſe was, accordingly ſurrounded in the Night by a Troop of armed Men, who, breaking open the Door, ruſhed in, and not finding *Platina* himſelf, ſeized one of his Domeſtics, *Demetrius* of *Lucca*, who informed them, being compelled to it by dreadful Menaces, that his Maſter ſupped that Night at Cardinal *Gonzaga*'s. Upon that Intelligence they flew to the Cardinal's Palace, and entering the very Room where *Platina* ſat with the Cardinal, dragged him from thence, and carried him to be examined by the Pope himſelf, who waited for him. He knew not yet what Crime he had been arraigned of, but when the Pope charged him with being concerned in a Conſpiracy that *Callimachus* had formed againſt him, he not only vindicated his own Innocence without betraying the leaſt Symptom of Fear or Guilt, but that of *Callimachus* too, ſhewing him to be of all Men the moſt unfit to plan a Conſpiracy, and much more to head one. When he had done, the Pope, turning to one *Vaneſius*, who belonged, it ſeems, to his Court, *Nothing*, he ſaid, *but the Rack, will make this Man ſpeak the Truth.* He was therefore immediately carried by *Vaneſius* to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and the following Night tortured with the utmoſt Barbarity. While he was groaning on the Rack, and ready to expire amidſt the moſt exquiſite Torments, the mercileſs Prieſt, for *Vaneſius* was of that Order, diverted himſelf in talking of Love-Affairs with a young Man, named *Sanga*, who was preſent, aſking him what young Lady had preſented him with the fine Collar he wore. He now and then interrupted his Diſcourſe with the young Man about his Amours, and ſuch-like Subjects, to interrogate the unhappy Wretch, almoſt at the laſt Gaſp on the Rack, concerning the Conſpiracy and his Accomplices,

Year of Chriſt 1467.

Year of Christ 1467.

complices, threatening to double his Torments, if he ſpoke not the Truth. But as he continued to proteſt that he knew nothing of a Conſpiracy, and verily believed that the pretended Plot was a mere Fiction, he was at laſt, taken off the Rack, and carried to a Room in the Caſtle, where he would have died of Pain and Hunger, had not a *Roman* Knight, who, being charged with Murder, had been confined in the ſame Room, generouſly aſſiſted him both with Food and Medicines. Many others were taken up upon groundleſs Suſpicions, in all about twenty, and tortured ſo unmercifully, though nothing could be proved againſt them, that moſt of them died on the Rack. When many innocent Men had thus loſt their Lives, or the Uſe of their Limbs, by the Torments they had been made to undergo, it appeared at laſt, upon a ſtrict Enquiry, ſo plain, as to ſatisfy the Pope himſelf, that no Conſpiracy had been dreamt of, that the whole was an Invention of the Court-Sycophants, and that *Lucas Tertius*, who was ſaid to have been ſeen in the neighbouring Woods of *Veletri*, which moſt of all alarmed his Holineſs, had never ſtirred from *Naples*. The Pope, now delivered from all his Fears, ſent his Phyſicians to comfort *Platina*, and let him know that, in a ſhort Time, he ſhould be ſet at Liberty. But upon *Platina*'s aſking, when? The Phyſician, who was a Man free from all Guile and Deceit, anſwered, that it could not be done ſo very ſoon, leſt they, whom his Holineſs had treated with ſo much Severity as guilty, ſhould be thought innocent, and he thereupon arraigned of Cruelty and Injuſtice. To avoid that Imputation, and keep the Priſoners ſtill confined, a new Charge was brought againſt them, that of Hereſy. As Learning began to revive at this Time in *Italy*, a Society of learned Men was eſtabliſhed at *Rome* under the Name of the *Academy*. They frequently met, and

and had Diſputations concerning different Subjects, in order to come at the Truth by hearing all that could be ſaid for or againſt them. At ſome of theſe Meetings the Immortality of the Soul, and the Divine Attributes, had been the Subjects of their Diſputes, ſome impugning and ſome maintaining them: And from thence the Pope took Occaſion to charge them with Hereſy, as if they queſtioned the Truth of thoſe fundamental Articles of the Chriſtian Belief. The Priſoners therefore, as moſt of them were Members of that Society or Academy, were ordered to be kept more cloſely confined than ever. One *Pomponius Lætus*, a great Promoter of the Academy, was charged with changing the Chriſtian Names of ſuch as entered into the Society into *Pagan* ones; a Cuſtom that ſtill obtains in all the *Italian* Academies. Upon that Accuſation *Pomponius* was arreſted at *Venice* by the Pope's Order, and ſent Priſoner to *Rome*, as if he had renounced Chriſtianity, and embraced Paganiſm. *Platina* tells us, that it was cuſtomary for the Fellows of this Society to aſſume the Names of ſuch of the old *Greeks* and *Romans* as had excelled in any Branch of Literature, in order to excite themſelves to an Imitation of thoſe whoſe Names they bore. But *Pomponius*, when examined in relation to this Cuſtom, contented himſelf, with telling his Examiners, that it neither concerned them nor the Pope by what Name he called himſelf, ſo long as there appeared therein no evil Deſign or Intention. *Platina*, upon his Examination, declared, that he firmly believed all the Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, that no Word had ever dropped out of his Mouth contrary to the Apoſtles Creed, or that ſavoured of Hereſy, and that he had conſtantly gone to Confeſſion, and received the Sacrament once a Year. He owned that the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion had been ſometimes the Subject of their Diſputes, but

Year of Chriſt 1467.

Year of Christ 1467.

but added, that they ought no more to be arraigned or ſuſpected of Hereſy on that Account, than the Divines, urging in their Diſputes the Objections of the Unbelievers, in order to elucidate the Truth by ſolving them: The Charge of Hereſy was found in the End to be no leſs groundleſs than that of Treaſon. But the Priſoners were, by the Pope's Order, nevertheleſs detained a whole Twelvemonth, to perſuade the World that they were not quite innocent of the Charge brought againſt them; and thus palliate his Holineſs's Injuſtice and Cruelty [s].

Some particular Actions of this Pope.

Nothing occurs worthy of Notice in the four remaining Years of *Paul*'s Pontificate, beſides his receiving and treating with the utmoſt Magnificence the Emperor *Frideric*, come to fulfil a Vow he made to viſit the Tombs of the Apoſtles; his making up the Differences of the *Italian* States and Princes, and thus reſtoring Peace to that Country; his quarrelling with *Robert Malateſta*, Lord of *Rimini*, and laying Siege to that City without being able to reduce it; his ordering the Jubilee to be celebrated every twenty-fifth Year; his ſtriving, but in vain, to unite the Chriſtian Princes againſt the victorious Infidels, and his endeavouring with no better Succeſs, to get the Revocation of the *Pragmatic* confirmed in *France*. He died ſuddenly of an Apoplexy in the Night of the 25th of *July* 1471, no one being preſent to afford him any Aſſiſtance. He had held a Conſiſtory that Day, had ſupped late at Night, according to his Cuſtom, and eat at Supper two very large Melons, *Duos prægrandes pepones*, a Fruit, which he was extremely fond of. He held the See ſix Years, ten Months, and twenty-ſix Days, died in the fifty-fourth Year of his Age, and was buried in *St. Peter*'s with a pom-

His Death. Year of Christ 1471.

[s] Platina in vit.

pous

pompous Epitaph engraved on the Monument, erected over his Remains by his Nephew Cardinal *Barbo*, Patriarch of *Aquilea*. As to his Character, *Platina* charges him with Avarice and Simony, with ſelling all Offices for ready Money, with putting up to Sale all vacant Benefices, and even Biſhoprics, and diſpoſing of them, without Regard to Merit, to the higheſt Bidders. But the immenſe Sums he expended, even according to *Platina* himſelf, in Buildings; in receiving the Emperor and other Princes who came to *Rome* in his Time; in relieving the Poor, eſpecially the Widows, the Orphans, and the decayed Nobility; in purchaſing, at any Rate, Jewels and precious Stones of all Kinds to adorn the Papal Crown; and even in exhibiting public Shews for the Entertainment of the *Roman* People, ſufficiently clear him from the Imputation of Avarice. He was greedy of Money, ſays a contemporary Hiſtorian, and little cared by what Means he got it, but was too fond of Pomp and Shew to hoard it up in his Coffers [t]. He ordained a public Decree that none, but Cardinals, ſhould wear Red Caps, and preſented them all with fine Scarlet Cloth to capariſon their Horſes when they rode; that the Church of *Rome*, ſays *Mornay du Pleſſis*, might at laſt be brought to a perfect Similitude of the Whore deſcribed in the Apocalypſe. *Paul*, ſays *Platina*, inſtead of leſſening the Grandeur of the Court, as all wiſe Men thought he ought, encreaſed it beyond Meaſure, and adds, that to make a more auguſt Appearance, he loaded the Papal Crown with ſuch Quantities of precious Stones, that one would have rather taken him for the *Phrygian* Goddeſs *Cybele* with Turrets on her Head, than for the Vicar of *Chriſt*, who taught, by his Example the Contempt of all worldly Grandeur. He is called by *Genebrard*

Year of Chriſt 1471.

His Character.

[t] Mathieu Hiſt. de Louis XI. l. 5.

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Year of Christ 1471.

an Enemy to Learning u, and very deſervedly. For he not only ſuppreſſed all the Academies, or Societies eſtabliſhed for the Improvement of the Sciences, threatening to treat all, who frequented them, as Heretics, but exhorted the *Romans* to content themſelves with having their Children taught to read and write.—By a manifeſt Breach of the Oath, which he had taken before and had confirmed after his Election, he created eleven Cardinals during the ſix Years of his Pontificate, and among them his two Nephews. He obſerved no better the other Articles he had ſworn to, pretending all Promiſes, Oaths, and Conventions, calculated to limit the unlimited Power veſted by *Chriſt* himſelf in his Vicar upon Earth, to be void and in themſelves null.

FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the Weſt.*

SIXTUS IV.

The two hundred and tenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Sixtus IV. *elected.*

IN the Room of *Paul* II. was unanimouſly elected by the ſeventeen Cardinals then in *Rome Francis della Rovere*, a *Franciſcan* Friar, or *Minorite*. His Election happened on the 9th of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year 1471, when the See had been vacant fourteen Days. At his Election he took the Name of *Sixtus* IV. and was crowned under that Name on the 25th of the ſame Month of *Auguſt*.

His Birth, and Employments before his Election.

He was deſcended, according to the moſt probable Opinion, from the very ancient and noble Family *Della Rovere* of *Savona* in the State of *Genoa*, but was born in a Village named *Cella*, about five Miles diſtant from *Savona*, whither his Parents had retired to avoid the Plague then rag-

u Geneb. in Chron.

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ing in that City. He embraced, when yet very young, a religious Life among the *Franciſcans*, and being endowed with very uncommon Parts, he ſoon became, by conſtant Application, one of the moſt learned Men of the Order, was choſen, when not yet thirty Years of Age, to teach Philoſophy and Divinity in the moſt renowned Univerſities of *Italy*, and ſo acquitted himſelf in theſe Employments as to be univerſally looked upon as a Kind of Prodigy. When he had done teaching, he was raiſed by his Superiors to the chief Employments of the Order, and having diſcharged them all with uncommon Applauſe, was at laſt created General of the whole Order. Being known in that Office to the famous Cardinal *Beſſarion*, and to *Francis Gonzaga*, Cardinal of *Mantua*, he was, upon their Recommendation, preferred by *Paul* II. to the Dignity of Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula* on the 18th of *October* 1467, and, upon the Death of *Paul*, raiſed to the Pontificate, in the fifty-third Year of his Age, by the Intereſt of the ſame Cardinals, and that of the Cardinals *Latinus Urſini* and *Roderic Borgia*, both leading Men in the Conclave [w]. From the *Vatican* the new Pope went to the *Lateran*, to be crowned there, not on Horſeback, as was uſual, but in a Sedan, which had nigh coſt him his Life. For the Horſemen, who attended the Pope, having trampled upon ſome of the Populace in clearing the Way, a furious Battle thereupon enſued between them and the Multitude; and they, who carried the Sedan, ſetting it down in the Height of the Fray to ſhelter themſelves in the Crowd from the Showers of Stones, diſcharged at the Guards by the enraged Mob, his Holineſs was left in imminent Danger of being knocked on the Head, or ſtifled in the Crowd. But Cardinal *Urſini*, a *Roman*, and a

Year of Chriſt 1471.

[w] Onuph. in Sixto IV.

great

Year of Chriſt 1471.

great Favourite of the *Roman* People, interpoſing, they were appeaſed, and prevailed upon to diſperſe [x].

Strives to unite the Chriſtian Princes againſt the Turks.

As the *Turks* had made themſelves Maſters of *Boſnia*, *Iſtria*, and great Part of *Dalmatia*, and threatened *Italy* itſelf with an Invaſion, *Sixtus*, in the Letter he wrote to the Chriſtian Princes to acquaint them with his Promotion, took care to repreſent to them their common Danger, and at the ſame Time invite them to aſſiſt at the Council, which he intended to aſſemble very ſoon in the *Lateran*, in order to provide, jointly with them, for their common Safety. But the Pope and the Emperor diſagreeing about the Place where the Council ſhould be held, and neither yielding to the other, *Sixtus*, laying aſide all Thoughts of a Council, reſolved, with the Advice of the Cardinals, to ſend Legates into all the Chriſtian Kingdoms to reconcile the Princes then at War, and promote a general League againſt the inveterate Enemies of the Chriſtian Name. Purſuant to this Reſolution Cardinal *Beſſarion* was ſent into *France*, Cardinal *Roderic Borgia*, at this Time Chancellor of the Apoſtolic See, and afterwards Pope under the Name of *Alexander* VI. was ſent into *Spain*, and Cardinal *Barbo*, Patriarch of *Aquilea*, into *Germany* and *Hungary*. To each of theſe Legates were aſſigned five hundred Florins of Gold a Month, out of the Apoſtolic Chamber; which obliged the Pope, as he was at the ſame Time daily importuned by the Creditors of the four preceding Popes, to diſpoſe of the Jewels and precious Stones, which his Predeceſſor had purchaſed at an immenſe Expence, and had only left five thouſand Florins in the Treaſury. The Legates ſpared no Pains to compoſe the Differences of the Princes to whom they were ſent; but their

[x] Onuph. in Sixto IV.

En-

Endeavours were no-where attended with the leaſt Succeſs [y]. Year of Chriſt 1471.

What Succeſs attended the Fleet ſent againſt them.

The Pope, now deſpairing of being able to arm the *French*, the *Spaniards*, or the *Germans* againſt the common Enemy, had Recourſe to thoſe, whom it more nearly concerned to oppoſe them, to the *Venetians*, and to *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*. The *Venetians* ſupplied him with fifty Gallies, and the King of *Naples* with twenty-four. To theſe *Sixtus* added twenty-four of his own. But the only Exploits, performed by this mighty Fleet of ninety-eight Gallies in the Space of two Years, were the recovering of *Smyrna*, and the breaking of an Iron Chain, which the *Turks* had laid acroſs the Mouth of another Harbour. They attacked the Place, but being repulſed by the *Turks* they ſoon raiſed the Siege, contenting themſelves with the Glory of having broken the Chain, which they carried with them in Triumph to *Rome*; and it was ſtill to be ſeen in the Time of *Onuphrius*, hanging before the Door of *St. Peter*'s Church, as a Trophy, or Token of ſo ſignal a Victory [z]. Year of Chriſt 1472.

Sixtus clears the Eccleſiaſtical State of the petty Tyrants.

The Pope, diſcouraged with the little Succeſs his Fleet had met with in the Expedition againſt the *Turks*, though it had coſt him one hundred ſixty-five thouſand Florins, reſolved to turn his Arms againſt the petty Tyrants, who held ſeveral Cities with their Territories, that belonged to the Church, and governed them as independent Sovereigns. With that View he raiſed a numerous Army, and being powerfully aſſiſted by *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, with whom he had entered into an offenſive and defenſive Alliance, he ſoon cleared the State of thoſe Uſurpers, and, re-uniting the Places they poſſeſſed to the Apoſtolic See, doubled, almoſt, by that Means, his yearly Income [a]. Year of Chriſt 1474.

y Onuph. in Sixto IV. et Bzovius ad ann. 1472. z Onuph. ibid. a Idem ibid. et Ciaconius.

Year of Christ 1475. *He celebrates the Jubile.*

As *Paul* II. had reduced the Jubile to every twenty-fifth Year, that Solemnity was kept by *Sixtus* in 1475, that being the twenty-fifth Year since the Celebration of the laſt under *Nicholas* V. in 1450. *Rome* was not ſo crowded with Pilgrims at this, as it had been at moſt other Jubiles, on Account of the War, that moſt Chriſtian States and Kingdoms were at this Time, engaged in with one another. But to no other Jubile came ſo many ſovereign Princes, as are ſaid to have come to this. Theſe were *Chriſtiernus*, King of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, the King of *Boſnia*, and *Walachia*, *Charlot*, Queen of *Cyprus*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, with his eldeſt Son *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Calabria*. *Ferdinand* had quarrelled, as we have ſeen with the Pope about the Arrears of the Sum, which he was to pay yearly in the Apoſtolic Chamber, as Feudatory of the Apoſtolic See; and it was, as moſt Authors ſuppoſe, chiefly to accommodate that Difference with *Sixtus* himſelf, that he came to *Rome*. The Pope received and entertained both him and his Son, with the utmoſt Magnificence, in the Apoſtolic Palace, during their Stay in *Rome*, and not only remitted all the Arrears of the Tribute, but, by a ſpecial Bull, abſolved the King from the Obligation of paying any for the future, only requiring him to ſend yearly in lieu of the ſtipulated Sum, a white *Spaniſh* Genet, as an Acknowledgment of his holding his Crown of the Apoſtolic See [b]. This Cuſtom is ſtill obſerved; and on St. *Peter*'s Feſtival a white Genet is yearly preſented to his Holineſs by the Embaſſador of the King of *Naples* in his Maſter's Name.

b Onuph. in Sixto IV. et Summont. Hiſt. Neap. tom. 3 p. 474.

Sixtus

Year of Chriſt 1475.

Occaſion of the Quarrel between Sixtus and the De Medicis.

Sixtus had long borne a ſecret Grudge to the two Brothers *Lawrence* and *Julian de Medicis*, who at this Time governed in the Republic of *Florence*. His Holineſs had refuſed to confer the Dignity of Cardinal upon *Julian*; which ſo provoked both him and his Brother *Lawrence*, that when the Pope undertook to extirpate the petty Tyrants throughout the Eccleſiaſtical State, they ſupported them under-hand both with Men and Money; and, beſides, being informed that the Lord of *Imola*, in *Romagna*, was forced by his Neceſſities to diſpoſe of that Lordſhip, and that the Pope was about purchaſing it for one of his Nephews, they, to prevent its falling into his Hands, as he was already become one of the moſt powerful Princes of *Italy*, ſupplied the Owner with all the Money he wanted, and thus diſappointed the Pope of the intended Purchaſe. This Conduct *Sixtus* highly reſented, and being a Man of a moſt violent and vindictive Temper, and one, who ſtuck at nothing to aggrandize the very numerous Tribe of his Nephews and Relations, he concluded a ſecret Treaty with *Francis de Pazzi*, a wealthy and powerful Citizen of *Florence*, who was at the Head of the Party againſt the *Medicis*. The chief Articles of that Treaty were, That the two Brothers ſhould be aſſaſſinated, and that upon their Death the Pope ſhould diſpoſe of the Republic as he thought proper. But that his Holineſs might not be thought to have been privy to ſo wicked an Attempt, or, as an Hiſtorian expreſſes it, to have opened his *ſacred* and *holy Ears* to ſo horrible a Plot, the managing of it was committed to *Jerome Riario*, the Son of one of the Pope's Siſters, upon whom, it is ſuppoſed, that he intended to beſtow the City and Republic of *Florence*, ſhould the Conſpiracy take Effect. *Jerome* in the firſt Place engaged *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, to ſend an Army into *Tuſcany* under the Command of his Son *Alphonſo*, to protect the

Sixtus enters into a Conſpiracy againſt them.

Year of Christ 1476.

Conſpirators, whether their Attempt was, or was not, attended with Succeſs. In the next Place he communicated the whole Affair to one *John Baptiſt Monteſecco*, a bold enterprizing Man, and an avowed Enemy to the *De Medicis*; and by him the Time and Place were ſettled with the other Conſpirators for carrying their Deſign into Execution. As they knew that the two Brothers would aſſiſt at Maſs in the Church of *St. Reparata* on *Sunday* the 26th of *April*, that Day and Place were pitched upon, and the Elevation of the Hoſt was to be the Signal for the Conſpirators to fall upon them. Accordingly at that Signal *Bernard Bandini*, falling upon *Julian*, mortally wounded him with a Stilletto, and *Francis de Pazzi* diſpatched him with repeated Blows as he lay on the Ground. *Lawrence*, being but ſlightly wounded by *Monteſecco*, fled into the Veſtry, and the Sextons ſhutting immediately the Door, he was ſaved, by that Means, from the Fury of the other Conſpirators.

Julian De Medicis *murdered, but* Lawrence *eſcapes.*

Year of Chriſt 1477.

Moſt of the Conſpirators taken and executed.

The Report of ſo black an Attempt ſpread in a Moment all over the City; and the Friends of the *De Medicis*, hearing that *Julian* was killed, but *Lawrence* had eſcaped, flew to Arms, and, in the Height of their Rage, hanged, on the Spot, ſuch of the Conſpirators as fell into their Hands. Among theſe were *Francis de Pazzi*, *James Poggi*, Son of the famous Hiſtorian of that Name, *Bernard Bandini*, a Prieſt named *Stephen*, and *Bartholomew Salviati*, Archbiſhop of *Piſa*, but a Native of *Florence*, and an Enemy to the Family *De Medicis*. —That Prelate, to encourage the Conſpirators with his Preſence, had aſſiſted with them at Maſs in his Pontificals on the Day appointed for the Execution of their Deſign; and with them he was hanged in his Pontificals by the enraged Multitude. The Pope had ordered *Raphael Riario*, Nephew to *Jerome*, a Youth but already a Cardinal, to repair from *Piſa*, where he was purſuing his

his Studies, to *Florence*, that he might be at hand to take the Conſpirators, when they had executed their Deſign, into his Protection, and the Protection of the Apoſtolic See. But the Cardinal, finding that *Lawrence* had eſcaped, and the Conſpirators were all executed as ſoon as taken, inſtead of protecting others, flew himſelf for Protection to the High Altar. But he was dragged from thence by the incenſed Populace, and would have undergone the ſame Fate as the other Conſpirators, had not *Lawrence* generouſly interpoſed in his Behalf. He was however committed to Priſon. But *Lawrence* interpoſing again in his Favour, he was, after a few Days Confinement, ſet at Liberty. *Monteſecco* was likewiſe executed; but being firſt put to the Torture, it appeared from his Confeſſion upon the Rack, that the Pope was the chief Author and Promoter of ſo execrable a Plot [c].

Year of Chriſt 1477.

Moſt Authors are of Opinion, that it was not ſo much to wreak his Vengeance upon the Family *De Medicis*, that the Pope countenanced that Conſpiracy, as to make himſelf Maſter of the Republic of *Florence*, and grant it to his Nephew *Jerome Riario*, as a Fief of the Apoſtolic See; and *Onuphrius* tells us in expreſs Terms, that *Sixtus* entered into the Conſpiracy upon Condition that, if it ſucceeded, he ſhould be allowed to diſpoſe of the Republic to whom he pleaſed. However that be, the Pope no ſooner heard that the Conſpiracy had not been attended with the wiſhed-for Succeſs, that *Lawrence de Medicis* was ſtill alive, and that the Archbiſhop had been put to Death, and the Cardinal impriſoned, than he thundered out the Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Lawrence*, though the Cardinal owed to him both his Life and his Liberty, and it did not appear that he had

Lawrence de Medicis *excommunicated, and the City interdicted.*

Year of Chriſt 1478.

[c] Machiavel. Hiſt. Floren. l. 8. Comines Memoir. l. 6. Paulus Æmil. in Ludov. XI.

Year of Chriſt 1478.

been any-ways acceſſary to the Death of the Archbiſhop. At the ſame Time he put the whole City under an Interdict, declaring that he would not take it off, till they had driven out of their Republic the Tyrant *Lawrence de Medicis*. But no Regard being paid by the *Florentines* to the Interdict, he reſolved to employ againſt them his temporal as well as ſpiritual Weapons. And thus was a War kindled by the Pope in *Italy*, at the very Time that the *Turkiſh* Fleet was hovering on the Coaſt, and threatening a Deſcent. The King of *Naples*, ſiding with the Pope, ſent a conſiderable Body of Troops to his Aſſiſtance under the Command of his Son *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Calabria*. On the other hand the *Venetians*, the Dukes of *Mantua* and *Ferrara*, and *Lewis Sforza*, who at this Time governed the State of *Milan* as Guardian to his Nephew *John Galeazzo*, declared for the *Florentines*, being all alike jealous of the Power and Deſigns of the Pope, who ſeemed to have nothing leſs in his View than to ſubject to his See the many ſmall Principalities, into which *Italy* was divided. At the ſame Time *Lawrence de Medicis* diſpatched, in the Name of the Republic, ſome of the chief Citizens into *France* to acquaint the King, *Lewis* XI. with the Subject of the Quarrel between him and the Pope, and to crave his Protection. *Lewis*, ſhocked at the Account the Embaſſadors gave him of the Proceedings of the Pope againſt the *De Medicis* and the *Florentines*, eſpouſed their Cauſe very readily, aſſured them of his Protection, and ſent immediately *Philip de Comines* with a Body of three hundred Horſe to their Aſſiſtance[d].

The Pope declares War againſt the Florentines.

But is forced to conclude a Peace, and upon what Terms.

Lewis, having thus taken *Lawrence de Medicis* and the *Florentines* into his Protection, ſent the

[d] Onuph. in Sixto, et Comin. ubi ſupra.

following

following Year a ſolemn Embaſſy to *Rome*, at the Head of which was *Gui d' Arpajon*, Viſcount *de Lautrec*. Their Inſtructions were to require the Pope, in the King's Name to revoke the Sentence of Excommunication, to take off the Interdict, and forbear all further Hoſtilities againſt the *Florentines*. If he complied not with theſe Demands, they were to notify to him, that the King would appeal to a General Council, and inſiſt upon his aſſembling one; that he would cauſe the Pragmatic Sanction to be ſtrictly obſerved throughout his Dominions, and would ſuffer no Money to be conveyed from thence to *Rome*. The Embaſſadors met with a more favourable Reception from the Pope than they had Reaſon to expect, but found him unalterably determined, in ſpite of the King's Menaces, to purſue the War againſt the *Florentines*, till they gave him due Satisfaction for the Death of the Archbiſhop, and the Impriſonment of the Cardinal. But *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, being, in the mean Time, prevailed upon by *Lawrence de Medicis* to conclude a ſeparate Peace with the Republic, the Pope, unable to withſtand alone the united Forces of the *Florentines* and their Allies, was glad to come to an Agreement with them; and, by the Interpoſition of the Emperor, of the King of *France*, and the other Chriſtian Princes, an Agreement was accordingly concluded upon the following Terms; that all Places, taken by either Party, during the War, ſhould be reſtored; that the *Florentines* ſhould, by a ſolemn Embaſſy, aſk his Holineſs's Pardon for having put to Death an Archbiſhop, and impriſoned a Cardinal; that, to atone, in ſome Degree, for ſo enormous a Crime, they ſhould furniſh and maintain fifteen Gallies againſt the *Turks*, and the Pope, on his Side, ſhould abſolve them from the Interdict, and all other Cenſures, and receive them again into

Year of Chriſt 1479.

Year of Christ 1479. Favour[d]. These Articles were all executed before the End of the present Year.

Otranto *taken by the* Turks. Year of Christ 1480. Thus was Peace restored to *Italy*, but it was soon succeeded by a far more dangerous War. For the *Turks* having laid Siege to the City of *Rhodes*, but been obliged to raise it by the vigorous Resistance they met with from the Knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, then Lords of that City and Island, they unexpectedly appeared with a formidable Fleet before *Otranto*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. Some Writers tell us that they were encouraged by the *Venetians*, jealous of the too great Power of King *Ferdinand*, to invade his Dominions[e]. Be that as it may, the *Turks* having landed a numerous Body of Foot, and five thousand Horse, laid close Siege to the Place, and, having taken it by Storm after a two Months Siege, plundered it, and, enraged at the Resistance they had met with, put the whole Garrison, and eight hundred Citizens, to the Sword. Their having thus got Footing in *Italy* so alarmed the *Italian* Princes, that some of them, instead of defending the Country, thought of abandoning it. *Sixtus*, among the Rest, had resolved to leave *Rome*, and retire to *France*. But being somewhat recovered from his Fear, he immediately dispatched Legates and Nuncios to the Courts of all the Christian Princes to apprize them of his Danger, and implore their Assistance. At the same Time *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria*, returning with the Army under his Command from *Tuscany*, and being joined by all the Barons in the Kingdom and their Vassals, the *Turks*, instead of laying Siege, as they intended, to *Brindisi*, thought it adviseable to fortify themselves in *Otranto*, and there

[d] Volaterran. l. 5. Brutus Hist. Florent. l. 7. Onuph. in Sixto, Bzovius ad ann. 1480. [e] Galat. de Situ. Japigiæ, et Amorat. Miscell. Dis. 8.

wait

wait for a Body of twenty-five thouſand Men, that was in full March to join them. *Alphonſo* beſieged the Place with a ſuperior Force by Sea and Land; and he daily received Succours from the Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially from the Pope, and the Kings of *Hungary*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*. On the other hand the Beſieged made a moſt obſtinate Defence, killed, in their frequent Sallies, great Numbers of the Beſiegers, and, expecting daily the promiſed Reinforcement, would hearken to no Terms, though reduced to the utmoſt Extremity. But, fortunate for *Italy*, *Mahomet* died in the mean Time, *viz.* on the 3d of *May* 1481, and the *Turks* in *Otranto*, apprehending that, upon his Death, the Reinforcement they expected might be countermanded, and otherwiſe employed, thought it adviſeable to ſurrender the Place, which they could no longer hold; and, accordingly, honourable Terms being granted to them, it was on the 10th of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year delivered up to *Alphonſo* by the commanding Baſhaw, who, to the inexpreſſible Joy of all *Italy*, immediately embarked his Troops, and ſet Sail for *Conſtantinople*[f].

Year of Chriſt 1480.

And retaken by the Chriſtians.

Year of Chriſt 1481.

The Fear of the *Turk* being thus removed for the preſent, the *Italian* Princes, jealous of each other's Power, began anew to quarrel among themſelves; and the Pope, inſtead of interpoſing to accommodate their Differences, took Part ſometimes with one, ſometimes with the other, not ſcrupling to change Sides, and abandon his Allies, when it ſuited his Intereſt ſo to do. Thus a War breaking out, upon the Retreat of the *Turk*, between the *Venetians*, the *Genoeſe*, and ſome other free States of *Italy* on the one Side, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, the King of *Naples*, the *Florentines*,

New Diſturbances in Italy *fomented by the Pope.*

Year of Chriſt 1483.

[f] Bonfinius, Decad 4. Brutus Hiſt. Florent. l. 7. Onuph. in Sixto.

and

Year of Christ 1483.

and *Lewis Sforza*, Regent of the State of *Milan*, on the other; *Sixtus* sided with the former: And thus was all *Italy* involved in a new and most bloody War. In this War *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, highly provoked at the Pope's inviting *René*, Duke of *Anjou* into *Italy*, to make good his Claim to that Kingdom, sent his Son *Alphonso* into the Dominions of the Church at the Head of a numerous Army to lay Siege to *Rome*, and take his Holiness himself Prisoner. But *Alphonso* being met, in the Neighbourhood of *Veletri*, by the Pope's Army under the Command of *Robert Malatesta*, and a Battle thereupon ensuing at a Place called *Campo Morto*, the King's Army received a total Overthrow, most of his Officers were either killed or made Prisoners, and carried in Triumph into *Rome*, *Alphonso* himself having narrowly escaped falling into the Enemy's Hands [g].

Sixtus *makes War upon the* Venetians.

When this War had been carried on two Years without any considerable Advantage on either Side, a Peace was concluded to the entire Satisfaction of both Parties. But *Sixtus* was too fond of War to live long in Peace. As the *Venetians*, therefore, had seized on some Territories claimed by the Duke of *Ferrara*, he took that Pretence to declare War against them; and entering into an Alliance with the King of *Naples*, with the *Florentines*, and *Lewis Sforza* of *Milan*, threw all *Italy* again into the utmost Confusion, when they had scarce began to taste the Sweets of Peace and Tranquillity. The *Venetians* suffered greatly in this War. But when the Pope thought he had them at his Mercy, his Allies, growing as jealous of his Power as he was of the Power of that Republic, concluded a Peace with them quite unknown to him, being well apprized that he would

His Death. Year of Christ 1484.

g Brutus in Hist. Florent. Onuph. in Sixto. Bzovius ad ann. 1481.

leave

leave nothing in his Power unattempted to obſtruct it. As he had promiſed himſelf great Advantages from this War, he was ſo affected with the News of a Peace being concluded without his Conſent or Knowledge, that it brought upon him a moſt violent Fit of the Gout, a Diſtemper to which he had been long ſubject; and it put an End to his Life in five Days Time, when he had held the See ſixteen Years and four Days, and had lived ſeventy Years and twenty-two Days. The Circumſtances of his Death gave Occaſion to ſeveral ingenious Compoſitions, and among the Reſt we read the three following:

Year of Chriſt 1484. *To what owing.*

Non potuit ſævum vis ulla extinguere Sixtum:
Audito tandem nomine pacis, obit.

Dic unde, Alecto, pax iſta refulſit, et unde
Tam ſubito reticent prælia? Sixtus obit.

Pacis ut hoſtis eras, pace peremptus obis.

Sixtus carried Nepotiſm to the moſt ſcandalous Height, all the Oppreſſions, Rapines, Murders, and Violences, of which he was guilty, being wholly owing to his immoderate Affection for his Nephews and Relations, and his Deſire of enriching and aggrandizing them. He was ſcarce warm in the Chair, when he created two of them Cardinals, *Julian della Rovere*, his Brother's Son, and *Peter Riario*, the Son of his Siſter, though the former was but twenty eight Years of Age at the Time of his Promotion, and the latter only twenty-ſix. Of *Julian* I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak in the Sequel under the Name of *Pope Julius* II. As for the other, he enjoyed his new Dignity two Years only: But affecting all the Grandeur of a great Prince in his Equipage, in his Entertainments, and in public Sports, he ſpent in ſo ſhort a Time, two

His Character.

His Nepotiſm.

Year of Christ 1484.

two hundred thousand Florins of Gold, and left a Debt of seventy thousand. His Brother *Jerome Riario* was created by the Pope Prince of *Imola* and *Forli*, and married to *Catherine*, the natural Daughter of the Duke of *Milan*, whose younger Son *Ascanius* was, on that Account, preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal. *Leonard della Rovere*, another of the Pope's Nephews, was married to the natural Daughter of *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, and made upon that Marriage Governor of *Rome*. But he dying soon after, that Government was given to *John della Rovere*, the Brother of Cardinal *Julian*, and with it the Principalities of *Sora* and *Sinigalia*. *John*, being thus become a Prince, married *Joan*, the Daughter of *Frideric* of *Montefeltro*, Duke of *Urbino*, and had by her a Son, named *Francis Mary*, who by the Death of *Frideric*, as he had no other Child, and of his Brother *Guidobaldi*, who had none, succeeded to the Dukedom. And thus did the Pope's Family become Lords of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, which, upon the Extinction of that Family, reverted, as a Fief of the *Roman* Church to the Apostolic See. *Sixtus* took care to provide for all his other Nephews and Relations; and that, indeed, seems to have been his first and chief Care. His other Nephews *Christopher*, *Dominic*, *Jerome Bassus*, *Raphael*, were all created Cardinals in the Course of his Pontificate, though *Raphael* was but seventeen Years of Age when preferred to that Dignity. In short, he left not one of his very numerous Relations, how distant soever, unprovided for, though most of them had no other Merit to recommend them, but their being related to him, which was, indeed, of all other Recommendations by far the most powerful.

As the several Wars that *Sixtus* was engaged in (for he is said to have made War upon the whole World)

World) the many ſtately Edifices he erected, the Pomp and Grandeur in which he lived, and above all the Extravagance of his Nephews, had quite drained his Coffers, he ſtuck at nothing to repleniſh them, exacting, under various Pretences, ſuch Sums of the Clergy, as ſcarce left them enough for their own Subſiſtence. He was not even aſhamed to expoſe all the Employments and Offices at Court to public Sale, and to eſtabliſh a great many new Ones, which were all ſold to the higheſt Bidder. Thus all Bulls and Patents, that had before been diſpatched by few Perſons, paſſed now through the Hands of many, and as all had purchaſed their Places, all were to be paid for their *unneceſſary* Trouble by thoſe, in whoſe Favour the ſaid Bulls and Patents had been granted.—— But, after all, to give this Pope his Due, no Man was more generous in relieving the Diſtreſſed than he. The Prince of *Morea*, the Deſpot of *Albania*, the Queens of *Cyprus* and *Boſnia*, being forced by the *Turk* to abandon their Dominions, were kindly received by him, and maintained, at a great Expence, ſuitably to their Rank. He rebuilt from the Foundation the Hoſpital of the Holy Ghoſt, placed the Foundlings in it, maintained them at his own Expence, and gave proper Fortunes to ſuch of the Girls as choſe to marry. This, if I miſtake not, is the firſt Inſtance that occurs in Hiſtory of ſuch a truly charitable Foundation, and the Hoſpital of *S. Spirito* in *Rome*, is to this Day the moſt famous, and perhaps, the beſt endowed in all *Chriſtendom*. He took particular Care of the decayed Nobility, allotted them a proper Habitation, where they lived together by themſelves, and ſupplied them with all the Comforts as well as the Neceſſaries of Life. He repaired many, I may ſay, moſt of the chief Churches in *Rome*, erected a great Number of ſtately Edifices, reſtored the decayed Aqueducts, rebuilt the *Pons Janicularis* over

Year of Chriſt 1484.

In his Time all Offices venal.

His Character and public Works.

Year of Christ 1484.

over the *Tyber*, known to this Day, as ſome of its Arches ſtill remain, by the Name of *Ponte Siſto*, and, in ſhort, he left, at his Death, the City ſo improved, that one would have thought he had made it the whole Buſineſs of his Pontificate, to beautify and adorn it. But what moſt of all redounds to his Glory, and muſt render immortal the Name of *Sixtus* IV. was his founding the *Vatican Library*, that ineſtimable Collection of all the moſt uſeful and valuable Books in the different Branches of Literature. For by him ſuch Books were purchaſed, and at any Rate, in all Parts of the then known World, and placed in his new Library; Men well verſed in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* Languages were appointed, with conſiderable Salaries, to take Care of them, and Funds were aſſigned for adding ſuch others to them, as ſhould be judged by the Library-keepers worthy of a Place in ſo valuable a Collection[h]. *Platina*, who had ſuffered ſo much under *Paul* II. was appointed one of the Library-keepers, and in that Office he died in 1481, being at the Time of his Death in the 60th Year of his Age.——*Sixtus* created, during the thirteen Years of his Pontificate, no fewer than thirty-four Cardinals, and among them *John Baptiſt Cibo*, who ſucceeded him under the Name of *Innocent* VIII. and *John*, the third Son of *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Arragon*.

Founds the Vatican Library.

His Writings.

That *Sixtus* was a learned Writer is allowed by all who ſpeak of him; and indeed the Writings he left behind him, ſufficiently ſhew it, *viz.* a Treatiſe on the Blood of *Chriſt*, another on the Power of God, a third *De futuris contingentibus*, and a fourth upon Indulgences granted for the Relief of the Souls in Purgatory. But what gained him moſt Credit was the Piece he writ to reconcile the

h Onuph. in Sixto. Bzovius ad ann. 1481. Bonfinius Decad. 6.

Thomiſts

Thomiſts and *Scotiſts*, or the Followers, in School Divinity, of *Thomas Aquinas* and *Scotus*, ſhewing, that in Subſtance they agreed, and only differed in the Mode of Expreſſion. Of this Pope we have 135 Letters upon different Subjects, and ſeveral Bulls, by one of which he forbad the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin *Mary* to be thenceforth diſputed, and by another he confirmed that of his Predeceſſor, appointing the Jubile to be celebrated every twenty-fifth Year [i].——As for the Charge, brought againſt him by ſome Proteſtant Writers, *viz.* his having granted a Permiſſion to the Family of the Cardinal of *St. Lucia* to indulge themſelves in the Sin againſt Nature, during the three hot Months of the Year, *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, it has been unanſwerably confuted by the learned *Bayle* [k]. *Sixtus* was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, before the High Altar, with an Epitaph, recording all the chief Actions of his Life, the Time of his Death, and the Years, Days, and Hours he had lived. For he is ſaid there to have died on the 13th of *Auguſt* 1484, five Hours after Sun-ſet, when he had lived ſeventy Years twenty-two Days and twelve Hours.

Year of Chriſt 1484.

FRIDERIC III. *Emperor of the Weſt.*

INNOCENT VIII.

The two hundred and eleventh BISHOP *of* Rome.

SIXTUS was ſucceeded, after a Vacancy of ſixteen Days, by *John Baptiſt Cibo*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Melfi*, from his having been preferred from that Biſhopric to the Dignity of Cardinal. He was raiſed to the See on the 29th of *Auguſt* by the Suffrages of twenty-four Car-

Innocent VIII. *elected.*

[i] Wadding. Bibliothec. Ord. Minor. art. Sixto IV. rem. C.

[k] Bayle Crit. Dict.

dinals

Year of Christ 1484.

dinals out of twenty-eight, was crowned on the 12th of the following *September*, and on that Occaſion took the Name of *Innocent* VIII. in Memory of his Countryman *Innocent* IV. a Native of *Genoa* as well as himſelf. For the preſent Pope's Family, ſaid to have come originally from *Greece*, had, for ſeveral Ages, made a ſhining Figure in that Republic. His Father, *Aaron Cibo*, had ſerved with great Reputation in the Wars of *Naples*, firſt under *René*, of *Anjou*, and, upon his Retreat, under his Competitor *Alphonſo* of *Arragon*, and had been honoured by both with a conſiderable Command in the Army. His Son, born in 1432, was greatly favoured both by *Alphonſo*, and *Ferdinand*, *Alphonſo*'s Son and Succeſſor. However he left that Court, to try his Fortune at *Rome*; and he had not been long in that City, when *Philip*, Cardinal of *Bologna*, Brother to Pope *Nicholas* V. taken with his Parts and Addreſs, received him into his Family; and ſo pleaſed was the Cardinal with his whole Behaviour, that at his Death he left him his ſtately Palace of *St. Lawrence* in *Lucina*. At the Recommendation of the ſame Cardinal he was preferred by *Paul* II. to the Biſhopric of *Savona*, was ſoon afterwards tranſlated by *Sixtus* IV. to that of *Melfi* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and on the 7th of *May* 1473 was by the ſame Pope created Cardinal. That Dignity he chiefly owed to *Julian della Rovere*, Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, and Nephew to *Sixtus*; and it was by the Intereſt which *Julian*, and Cardinal *Roderic Borgia*, then Chancellor, had in the Conclave, that, upon the Death of *Sixtus*, he was raiſed to the See in his Room [1].

Birth, Employments, &c. before his Promotion.

Strives to unite the Chriſtian *Princes againſt the* Turks.

Innocent's firſt Care, after his Coronation, was to promote Peace and Union among the Chriſtian Princes, and apprize them of the Danger which

[1] Onuph. in Innoc. VIII.

they

they were all alike threatened with; the Enemy, whom they ſuffered thus to purſue his Conqueſts unmoleſted, aiming at nothing leſs than to eſtabliſh upon the Ruins of their States, Kingdoms, and Dominions, an univerſal Monarchy, and with it the moſt deteſtable of all Superſtitions. But his Endeavours to reconcile the *Chriſtian* Princes, and unite them againſt the common Enemy, were attended with no better Succeſs than thoſe of his Predeceſſors; and indeed no Wonder, *Innocent* himſelf quarrelling with *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, and putting all *Italy* in a Flame, at the very Time he was exhorting the *Chriſtian* Princes to Concord and Unity. Year of Chriſt 1484.

Sixtus had remitted to *Ferdinand*, as has been ſaid above, the Arrears of the Tribute due to the Apoſtolic Chamber, and contented himſelf with the King's preſenting him thenceforth yearly on *St. Peter*'s Day with a white *Spaniſh* Genet. The King therefore, upon the firſt Notice he had of *Innocent*'s Promotion applied to him for the ſame Favour, alledging the great Expence he had been at in driving the *Turks* out of *Otranto*, and the neceſſary Charge of keeping conſtantly on foot a numerous Army in the Defence of his Kingdom, the Bulwark of *Italy*. But by no Reaſons, no Remonſtrances, could his Holineſs be prevailed upon either to remit the Arrears of the Tribute, or to content himſelf, for the future, with the Genet in lieu of the uſual Sum. On the other Hand, the King refuſing to pay a Debt and Tribute, from the Payment of which the late Pope had been pleaſed to abſolve him, ſeveral ſmart Letters paſſed between him and the Pope; and it was apprehended that an open Rupture ſoon would enſue. This encouraged the diſcontented Barons of the Kingdom, who had formed a Deſign of depoſing *Ferdinand*, and excluding his Son *Alphonſo* from the Succeſſion, *Quarrels with the King of* Naples. Year of Chriſt 1485.

Year of Christ 1485.

Joins the Rebel Barons against him.

to impart that their Design to the Pope, and engage his Holiness in the Plot. As this good Pope had several natural Children, and flattered himself, that these public Disturbances would afford him the Means of providing for them all, he very readily took Part with the Rebels, promising them all the Assistance in his Power to carry their Design into Execution, and a safe Asylum in his Dominions, should it not be attended with the wished-for Success. To procure the Assistance of *France*, and thus secure the Success of the Undertaking, he resolved to restore the Kingdom to the Family of *Anjou*. As none of that Family were now remaining but *René*, Duke of *Lorrain*, the Son of *Violante*, Daughter to *René* the Elder, the Pope sent to invite him to come with all Expedition, and conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, promising to assist him with his Spiritual as well as his Temporal Arms, and grant him the Investiture, provided the Duke, in his Turn, promised to bestow certain Lordships and Honours upon his Son *Francis*, commonly called *Franciſchetto*. But *René*, mindful of the bad Success which his Ancestors had all met with in their Wars for that Kingdom, thanked the Pope for his kind Offer, but declined it [m].

The Conspiracy of the Barons discovered by the King.

In the mean Time *Ferdinand* receiving private Intelligence of the Designs of the Barons, ordered one of them, the Count of *Nola*, to be arrested. The Count had the good Luck to make his Escape; but his Wife and Children were taken, and carried Prisoners to *Castel Nuovo* in *Naples*. The Barons, alarmed at their Imprisonment, flew to Arms, and, openly shaking off the Yoke, invited all the true Lovers of their Country to join them, and redeem themselves, their Wives, and their Children from the slavish Condition which they had

[m] Mich. Rie. de reg. Sic. et Neap. l. 4. p. 36.

been

been reduced to by two lawleſs Tyrants. As both *Ferdinand*, and his Son *Alphonſo*, to whom *Ferdinand* had yielded the Reins of the Government on Account of his Age and Infirmities, were univerſally hated for their Cruelties and Oppreſſions, People flocked from all Parts to join the Barons; inſomuch that *Ferdinand*, inſtead of marching againſt them, choſe to treat with them, in order to gain Time, and grant them what Terms ſoever they ſhould demand, being determined to obſerve them no longer than he could break them with Safety. *Antonetto Sanſeverino*, Prince of *Salerno*, and High Admiral of the Kingdom, was appointed by the Barons to treat in their Name, with the King; and though the Terms he demanded were ſuch as no Man could expect the King would ever agree to, yet he very readily agreed to them all, pretending a great Deſire to leave the Kingdom in Peace at his Death. The Prince, pretending to believe him ſincere, deſired that *Frideric*, his ſecond Son, might be ſent to *Salerno*, where the chief Barons were aſſembled, in order to put the laſt Hand to the Treaty. *Frideric* was ſent accordingly, and received by the Barons with the greateſt Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem. He was a Prince endowed with every princely Virtue, of a mild Diſpoſition, humane, beneficent, and had, by his obliging Behaviour to all, gained the Hearts of the whole Nation. The Barons therefore, hearing that *René* of *Anjou* had refuſed the Crown when offered to him by the Pope, had reſolved to diſpoſe of it to *Frideric*, and it was with that View, under the Colour of having the Treaty with the King ſigned by him, that they deſired he might be ſent to *Salerno*. The Barons had ſeveral Conferences with him before they diſcovered to him their real Deſign. But the Prince of *Salerno* having one Day invited him to meet the Barons in his

Year of Chriſt 1485.

They offer the Crown to his ſecond Son.

Year of Chriſt 1485. Palace, and placed him in an eminent and ſtately Seat in the Middle of the Aſſembly, addreſſed him in the following Terms: "You are no Stranger to the cruel, oppreſſive, and tyrannical Government of your Father *Ferdinand*, and your Brother *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria*. Their illegal and arbitrary Proceedings have obliged us to take up Arms in our own Defence, and ſhake off the Yoke, which we could no longer bear. However the Regard we have for your Family will not allow us to recur to any other; and we, therefore, now offer to you the Crown, which your Father and your Brother have juſtly forfeited by an open Violation of the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Kingdom. Your mild, compaſſionate, and humane Diſpoſition, the Deſire you have ſhewn on many Occaſions of obliging all, and your ſtrict Obſervance of the Laws trampled upon by thoſe, who, at preſent, govern us, have won to you the Affections of all Ranks of People, and we are all, to a Man, ready to ſtand by you to the laſt Drop of our Blood. Our Happineſs depends upon you. If you accept of our preſent Offer, you will make us a happy People, and fix the Crown in your Family. If you decline it, the World will excuſe our ſeeking a Remedy, for the many Evils we groan under, where we can find it[n]."

Who refuſes it. *Frideric* heard the Prince of *Salerno* without ever offering to interrupt him, or betraying the leaſt Averſion to the Propoſal; inſomuch that the whole Aſſembly believed that the Offer was not diſpleaſing to him, and he would accept of it. But, riſing up when the Prince had done, he thanked the *noble Aſſembly* for the good Opinion they entertained of him; but added, to their great Surprize and Diſappointment, that he would

[n] Mich. Rie. de reg. Six. et Neapol l. 4. p. 38.

with

with Joy accept of the Crown at their Hands, could he perſuade himſelf, that they had a Power to diſpoſe of it; but as he was convinced, that his Father, and after him his elder Brother had an undoubted Right to it, he could not deprive them of their Inheritance without a more notorious Breach of the Laws than any they complained of. He added, that from his Conduct, while a private Man, they could not judge of that, which he might purſue, when raiſed to the Throne; that many had been thought worthy of a Crown before they wore it, and moſt unworthy when they wore it; that he himſelf ſhould, in many Inſtances, be obliged to tread in the Footſteps of his Father and his Brother, and do the ſame Things that had drawn the Hatred of the Nation upon them. He cloſed his Speech with exhorting them to continue ſteady in their Allegiance, pawning his Word and Honour for the religious Obſervance of the Terms which the King his Father had agreed to [o]. Year of Chriſt 1485.

The Barons, provoked beyond Meaſure at their Diſappointment, would not allow *Frideric* to return to his Father, but kept him cloſely confined, under a ſtrong Guard, in *Salerno*, and, ſetting up the Pope's Standard, declared him their only lawful Lord and Sovereign. Hereupon *Innocent*, who had nothing leſs in his View, as moſt Authors ſuppoſe, than to conquer the Kingdom, and beſtow it upon his Son *Franciſchetto*, not only approved of what the Barons had done, but, openly eſpouſing their Cauſe, left nothing unattempted to ſtir up the other States of *Italy* againſt *Ferdinand*, eſpecially the *Venetians*, promiſing them a large Share of the Kingdom, provided they aſſiſted him to conquer it. But that wiſe Republic, unwilling to provoke *Ferdinand* at the preſent Juncture, when

They proclaim the Pope their Lord and Sovereign.

Who openly eſpouſes their Cauſe.

[o] Idem Ibid. p. 40.

Year of Chriſt 1485.

he had a numerous Army on foot to defend his Kingdom againſt the *Turk*, with his Son *Alphonſo*, a moſt valiant and experienced Commander at their Head, declined entering into an Alliance againſt him; but, being jealous of the King's Power, they promiſed to aſſiſt his Holineſs underhand. As no Room was left to doubt of the Barons being encouraged in their Rebellion by the Pope, nor of his Holineſs's ambitious Views, *Ferdinand* ordered the Duke of *Calabria* to march, without Delay, to the Borders of the Eccleſiaſtical State, and at the ſame Time aſſembling on the 12th of *November* of the preſent Year, the Heads of the People, of the Nobility and the Clergy, he laid before them the unjuſt and unwarrantable Proceedings of the Pope in joining his Rebel Subjects againſt him, and attempting, by encouraging their Rebellion, to deprive him and his Poſterity of a Kingdom which his Predeceſſors had all confirmed to him; and that, in order to raiſe from the Duſt, to ennoble and aggrandize his baſe-born Children, and at a Time when he himſelf was exhorting all *Chriſtian* Princes to ſacrifice their Feuds and Animoſities to the public Good, and join againſt the common Enemy. When he had ſpoken thus, he cauſed a Manifeſto to be read, declaring that it was not his Intention to make War upon the Holy See, but only to maintain the juſt Rights of his Crown againſt the Encroachments of the Rebel Barons, and of his Holineſs, their Accomplice and Ally. At the ſame Time the King iſſued a Proclamation, ordering Eccleſiaſtics of all Ranks, poſſeſſed of any Benefice or Benefices in the Kingdom, and then reſiding at the Court of *Rome*, to preſent themſelves before him in the Term of fifteen Days, and then to go and reſide at their Benefices, on Pain of having their Revenues ſequeſtered. With this Order all complied but the Arch-

His Conduct how reſented by the King.

Archbiſhop of *Salerno*, and the Biſhops of *Melito* and *Teano*, whoſe Rents were ſequeſtered accordingly, and Collectors were appointed by the King to receive them [p]. Year of Chriſt 1485.

In the mean while the Duke of *Calabria*, entering with his Army the Territories of the Church, defeated, in ſeveral Encounters, the Troops ſent by the Pope to oppoſe him, and, advancing to the very Gates of *Rome*, laid cloſe Siege at the ſame Time to the City and the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, whither the Pope had retired. As the Army of the Barons was not in a Condition to face *Alphonſo*'s, and the *Roman* People begun to mutiny for Want of Proviſions, all the Avenues to the City being ſtrictly guarded by the Enemy, the Pope, deſpairing of Relief, and dreading to fall into the Hands of *Alphonſo*, thought it adviſeable to come to an Agreement with the King. Accordingly, a Treaty was ſet on foot, and ſoon concluded, upon the following Terms: I. That the Pope ſhould abſolve the King from the Cenſures he might have incurred. II. That he ſhould oblige the Barons to lay down their Arms, or abandon their Protection. III. That the King ſhould, on his Side, pay the uſual Tribute. IV. That he ſhould forgive the Barons upon their ſubmitting, ſhould receive them into Favour, and bury in Oblivion all paſt Offences. Laſtly, That he ſhould oblige *Virginius Urſini*, who had joined him againſt the Holy See to come bare-headed and bare-footed, with a Rope about his Neck, to aſk his Holineſs's Pardon on his Knees. The Barons knew by Experience that *Ferdinand*'s Word was not at all to be relied on, that no Treaties could bind him, and therefore refuſed to ſign the preſent Treaty, unleſs *John* King of *Arragon*, *Ferdinand*'s Uncle, and his Son *Ferdinand*, afterwards ſur-

Rome beſieged by the King's Troops.

The Pope obliged to conclude a Peace and upon what Terms.

Year of Chriſt 1486.

[p] Idem, p. 47. et Giannoni Hiſt. Neap. l. 28. c. 1.

Year of Christ 1486.

named *the Catholic*, and then King of *Sicily*, took upon them, as Guarantees, to ſee the Articles of it performed. To this both Kings readily agreed, and the Treaty was thereupon ſigned by the Barons on the 12th of *Auguſt* 1486, in the Preſence of the Embaſſadors of both [q]. However, it was not long ere *Ferdinand*, paying no Regard to a Treaty, ſo ſolemnly concluded, cauſed, under various Pretences, the leading Men among the Barons to be impriſoned, and put to Death. We ſhall ſee in the Sequel *Ferdinand* of *Sicily*, when become King of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, alledging the Breach of his Treaty as one of the Motives that induced him to drive the Family of King *Ferdinand* from the Throne of *Naples*, and annex that Kingdom to his Crown.

The Barons put to Death, contrary to the Articles of the Peace.

As for the Pope, he no ſooner heard of the Impriſonment of the Barons, than he ordered the Biſhop of *Ceſena*, his Nuncio at the Court of *Naples*, to remonſtrate againſt ſo manifeſt a Breach of ſo ſolemn a Treaty, and threaten the King with Excommunication and Depoſition, if he did not immediately ſet the Priſoners at Liberty. But *Ferdinand*, who had already cauſed many of them to be put to Death, not intimidated in the leaſt by the Pope's Menaces, ordered the reſt to be ſtrangled privately in Priſon, and their Bodies to be conveyed away by Night, in Sacks, and thrown into the Sea, leſt the Pope ſhould take Occaſion from the Execution of ſo many Perſons of the firſt Rank, were it known, to ſtir up the People, and raiſe a new Rebellion againſt him. Thus were theſe Executions kept ſome Time concealed. But a gold Chain, which one of the Priſoners, *Jerom Sanſeverino*, Prince of *Biſignano*, uſed to wear about his Neck, being found in the Cuſtody of the Executioner, it was concluded from thence

[q] Conſtanzo, l. 20. apud Giannoni, l. 28. c. 1.

that

that he, and with him all the reſt, had been diſpatched in Priſon. Hereupon *Innocent* provoked beyond all Meaſure at the Cruelty and Treachery of the King, not only pronounced with great Solemnity, the Sentence of Excommunication and Depoſition againſt him, but declared the Kingdom of *Naples* to belong of Right to the Royal Family of *France*, and invited the King, *Charles* VIII. to come and conquer it. But *Charles* being then otherwiſe employed, and the States of *Italy* refuſing to take Part in this Quarrel, *Ferdinand* continued to reign undiſturbed either by the *French* or his own Subjects, in ſpite of the repeated Excommunications thundered out by his Holineſs againſt him[r].

Year of Chriſt 1487. *and the King excommunicated by the Pope.*

Innocent ſpent the four remaining Years of his Pontificate in ſtriving, but with very little Succeſs, to recover the ſeveral Cities, belonging to the Church, that private Perſons had made themſelves Maſters of, and governed as their own; in clearing the Eccleſiaſtical State from Thieves, Robbers, Aſſaſſins, and other Malefactors, who had fled thither, from the neighbouring States, as to a ſafe Aſylum; and in erecting ſeveral ſtately Buildings, and, among the reſt, a magnificent Villa, or Houſe of Pleaſure, for the Uſe of his Succeſſors, which from its pleaſant and extenſive View was ſtyled *Belvedere*. We are told, that, in repairing the Church, called *of the Holy Croſs in Jeruſalem*, Part of the Title of our Saviour's Croſs in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* was found in the old Wall, having been placed there, as is ſaid, about one thouſand Years before, by the Emperor *Valentinian*, the Founder of that Church.——The moſt remarkable Event of the four laſt Years of *Inno-*

Some particular Actions of Innocent. Year of Chriſt 1488.

Zizini, *Brother to* Bajazet *delivered up to* Innocent.

r Surita Annal. l. 20. c. 66. Conſtanzo, l. 20. c. 17. Camillo Porzio Congiura de Baroni.

cent's

Year of Christ 1489.

cent's Pontificate was, his receiving at *Rome*, and keeping there as his Priſoner *Zizini*, or, as others call him, *Zizim*, Brother to Sultan *Bajazet*, the Son and Succeſſor of *Mahomet* II. *Zizini* had, upon the Death of his Father, ſet up for himſelf; but his Brother having gained a compleat Victory over him near *Pruſſia* in *Bithinia*, he fled for Refuge to the Iſland of *Rhodes*, then poſſeſſed by the Knights of that Name. *Peter Daubuſſon*, at that Time Grand Maſter of the Order, ſent him to the King of *France*, by whom he was ſoon afterwards delivered up to the Pope, to be employed by his Holineſs in the War, which he was then exhorting the *Chriſtian* Princes to undertake againſt his Brother *Bajazet*. He was received at *Rome* with all the Marks of Honour due to a Sovereign Prince; was attended to the Pope's Palace by ſeveral Cardinals, and preſented to his Holineſs, in a full Conſiſtory, by the Grand Prior of *Rhodes* and the *French* Embaſſador [f]. *Spondanus* tells us, that he kneeled before the Pope, and kiſſed his Foot, uttering ſome Words in his own Language with great Indignation [t]. But *Matthew Boſſi*, Canon of *Verona*, who was preſent, aſſures us, that he could by no Means, not even by Menaces, be brought to ſubmit to ſuch Acts of Humiliation [u].

How treated.

However that be, he was kept Priſoner at large, in the *Vatican* Palace, ſo long as *Innocent* lived; and leſt the Pope, grudging the Expence neceſſary to maintain him, ſhould grant him his Liberty, *Bajazet* remitted yearly to *Rome* the Sum of forty thouſand Crowns of Gold for his Subſiſtence; nay, and, to court the Favour of the Pope, he ſent him the Head or Iron of the Spear, believed to be that which our Saviour's Side was pierced with on the Croſs [w]; and as ſuch it is worſhipped to this Day in *St. Peter*'s Church at *Rome*.

[f] Onuph. in Innocent VIII. [t] Spondanus ad ann. 1489.
[u] Boſſi ep. 30. [w] Onuph. in Innoc. VIII.

As

As great Preparations were carrying on, at this Time, in *France* by *Charles* VIII. with a Deſign to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, claimed by him, as lawful Heir to the Family of *Anjou*, *Ferdinand*, who had hitherto made no Account of the Sentence of the Pope, excommunicating and depoſing him, reſolved to accommodate Matters with his Holineſs upon the beſt Terms he could get, and have his Title to the Kingdom confirmed by the Apoſtolic See. *Innocent*, now wholly bent upon a *Turkiſh* War, was not averſe to an Accommodation, and an Agreement was concluded, on the 28th of *January* 1491, upon the following Terms: That the King ſhould pay yearly the uſual Tribute; ſhould diſpoſe of no Benefices nor Biſhoprics without his Holineſs's Knowledge and Conſent; and ſhould indemnify the Biſhops and other Eccleſiaſtics, whoſe Revenues had been ſequeſtered on Account of their not complying with the King's Ordinance, requiring them to withdraw from the Court of *Rome*. On the other hand, the Pope was to revoke all the Cenſures that the King had incurred, and confirm the Bull of his Predeceſſor, *Eugenius* IV. in Favour of his Family againſt the Pretenſions of the Houſe of *Anjou*. Purſuant to this Agreement, *Innocent*, who had iſſued a Bull but four Years before, declaring the Right of the Family of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, publiſhed another on the 4th of *June* of the preſent Year, acknowledging *Ferdinand* for lawful King of *Naples*, and ordaining that he ſhould be ſucceeded by his Son *Alphonſo*, and, in caſe *Alphonſo* died before his Father, by *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Capua*, *Alphonſo*'s eldeſt Son. Upon the Publication of this Bull, the Duke of *Capua* went to *Rome* to do Homage, and take the uſual Oath of Fidelity to his Holineſs, in his Father's Name and his own, and was received by *Innocent* and the Col-

Year of Chriſt 1491.

The Pope and King Ferdinand *reconciled.*

Year of Christ 1492. College of Cardinals with all possible Marks of Respect and Esteem [x].

Death and Character of Innocent. *Innocent* died soon after the Conclusion of this Treaty, that is, on the 25th of *July* of the present Year 1492, when he had held the See seven Years ten Months and twenty-seven Days, and was buried in the Chapel, which he had erected in the Church of *St. Peter*, for the holy Spear. On his Tomb were engraved the following Words, alluding to the Name of *Innocent*, *Ego autem* INNOCENTIA *mea ingressus sum*; *redime me*, *Domine*, *et miserere mei.* His Manners did not answer that Name, it being agreed on all Hands, that he had led a most profligate Life, at least, before his Promotion. *Onuphrius* allows him to have had *several* natural Children; no fewer, says *Marullus* in his famous Epigram, than sixteen, eight Sons, and as many Daughters. The Epigram runs thus:

His natural Children.

Quid quæris testes sit mas an fœmina Cibo?
Respice natorum, pignora certa, gregem.
Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas;
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma Patrem.

I need not tell the Reader, that the Poet here alludes to the Use, that was said to have been made of the perforated Chair after the supposed Election of Pope *Joan* [y]. *Joly*, in his Remarks upon *Bayle*'s Dictionary under the Article *Innocent*, maintains him to have had only two illegitimate Children. However that be, only two of them survived, as *Onuphrius* informs us, his Promotion to the Pontifical Chair, *viz. Francis* and *Theodrina*. *Francis* he married to *Magdalen*, the Daughter of *Lawrence de Medicis*, one of the most beautiful

x Constanz. l. 20. c. 17. Raynald. ad ann. 1491. et Surita, l. 20. c. 13. y Hist. of the Popes, Vol. IV. p. 335.

Women

Year of Christ 1492.

Women of her Time, and *Theodorina* to *Gerard Uſumari*, a wealthy Nobleman of *Genoa*: To *Francis* he granted, on Occaſion of his Marriage, ſeveral Caſtles and Lordſhips in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and is ſaid to have heaped immenſe Wealth upon *Gerard*.——As he was a great Lover of Money, he eſtabliſhed, after the Example of *Sixtus*, his immediate Predeceſſor, a vaſt Number of new Offices, and, expoſing them to public Sale, repleniſhed, by that Means, his Coffers quite drained with the *Neapolitan* War [z].—What we read in *Raphael* of *Volterra*, *viz.* that *Innocent* permitted Maſs to be celebrated in *Norway* without Wine, becauſe it was either frozen, or burned into Vinegar before it could be uſed in that cold Country, has been unanſwerably confuted by the very learned *Benedict* XIV. in his Treatiſe *De Canonizatione*.—By this Pope eight Cardinals only were created, during the ſeven Years of his Pontificate; and among them were *Lawrence Cibo*, his Brother's natural Son, whom he had preferred before to the Archbiſhopric of *Benevento*, and *John de Medicis*, the Son of *Lawrence*, and Brother to his Son's Wife, though he had not yet completed the thirteenth Year of his Age [a]. Of him I ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak, at length, in the Sequel under the Name of *Leo* X.—*Innocent*, though ſaid to have been a Man of Learning, left no Writings, that we know of, behind him, beſides ſome Letters and Bulls. By one of his Bulls, dated at *Rome* the 2d of *March* 1486, he confirmed the Marriage of *Henry* VII. with *Elizabeth* of *York*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Edward* IV. *notwithſtanding their being related within the fourth Degree of Affinity, and, perhaps, of Conſanguinity.* By another he declared, the Children who ſhould

[z] Onuph. in Innoc. VIII. [a] Idem ibid.

be

Year of Christ 1492.

be born of that Marriage, legitimate in virtue of that Diſpenſation, commanded all to obey *Henry* as their lawful King, on Pain of Excommunication, from which none could abſolve them but the Pope himſelf, except at the Point of Death, and enjoined them, upon the ſame Penalty, to acknowledge the Children *Henry* might have by a ſecond Wife, in caſe *Elizabeth* died without Iſſue. This Bull too is dated at *Rome* the 27th of the ſame Month of *March* of the ſame Year 1486 [b].

FRIDERIC III.
MAXIMILIAN III. *Emperors of the Weſt.*

ALEXANDER VI.

The two hundred and twelfth BISHOP *of* Rome.

His Birth, Education, Preferments, and Life before his Promotion to the Pontificate.

IN the Room of *Innocent* was unfortunately choſen *Roderic Borgia*, whoſe Pontificate was, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel, a continued Series of the blackeſt Crimes, of Murder, Rapine, Perfidiouſneſs, Luſt and Cruelty. He was the Son of *Godfrey Lenzolio*, a wealthy Nobleman of *Valencia*, by *Joan Borgia*, Siſter to *Calixtus* III. As the *Borgian* Family was more conſpicuous than that of *Lenzolio*, *Godfrey*, with the Conſent of *Calixtus*, changed the original Name of his Family for that of *Borgia*, which from him was tranſmitted to all his Deſcendents. His Son *Roderic* gave, from his tender Years, Proofs of an extraordinary Genius, and an uncommon Capacity, but at the ſame Time betrayed a Diſpoſition of Mind ſo cruel and wicked, that one might have foreſeen what Fruit ſuch a Tree would produce, when it grew to produce any. When he had attained to the eighteenth Year of his Age, he betook himſelf to the Study of the Law, and, in a very ſhort

b Rymer. Fœdera, &c. tom. 12. p. 294, 297.

Time,

Time, outſhining moſt others of that Profeſſion, he was employed as an Advocate, in the moſt intricate Caſes, and ſoon acquired, by that Means, a conſiderable Fortune. But growing tired of the Retirement and conſtant Application, indiſpenſably required in one of his Profeſſion, he, all on a ſudden, bid adieu to the Law, and, being taken with the Gaiety of a military Life, appeared in the World in a military Character. Being now free from all Reſtraint, and at full Liberty to gratify his Paſſions, he fell in Love with a Widow, who had two Daughters, and was lately come with her Family from *Rome*; and having, with his inſinuating Manners, gained the Affections of the Mother, and robbed her of her Honour, he bent all his Thoughts upon making the Daughters a Prey to his Luſt as well as the Mother. In the mean Time the Mother died, and *Roderic*, to whoſe Care ſhe had committed her two Daughters, having them now in his Power, as their Guardian, put one of them into a Monaſtery, and continued with the other, whom ſome call *Roſa*, and ſome *Catharine Vanozza*, the inceſtuous Commerce, which he had begun in her Mother's Life-time. By her he had five Children, four Sons, and one Daughter, *viz. Francis*, *Cæſar*, *Giuffre*, and another, whoſe Name is uncertain. His Daughter was called *Lucretia*; and of her as well as her Brother we ſhall have frequent Occaſion to ſpeak in the Sequel. *Roderic* ſpared no Expence, being a moſt tender and affectionate Father, to give his Children the beſt Education, but acted therein with ſuch Caution and Secrecy, that they were not known to be his till after his Exaltation to the Papacy. While he thus enjoyed the Company of his beloved *Vanozza* quite undiſturbed, News was brought him of his Uncle's Promotion to the Pontifical Dignity under the Name of *Calixtus* III. As he thought that no Addition could be made

Year of Chriſt 1492.

to

Year of Chriſt 1492.

to his preſent Happineſs, he neither felt, nor expreſſed on that Occaſion, any extraordinary Joy. However, he wrote immediately a moſt ſubmiſſive and reſpectful Letter to the new Pope, to congratulate him upon his Promotion, to wiſh him a long and happy Pontificate, and beg him to continue to him, as his Relation, his Protection and Countenance. To this Letter *Calixtus*, who entertained the higheſt Opinion of his Nephew's Parts and good Qualities, returned a moſt affectionate Anſwer, requiring him to repair, with all Expedition, to *Rome*, in order to be employed in State-Affairs, and bear Part of the Burden that had been laid upon him. But *Roderic*, preferring the Company of his dear *Vanozza* to all the Honours and Wealth that his Uncle could confer on him, put off, under various Pretences, from Time to Time, his Journey to *Rome*. The Pope, not knowing what his affected Delays were owing to, and impatient to have one about him, whom he could truſt with his moſt ſecret Deſigns, diſpatched a Prelate with expreſs Orders to bring his Nephew with him to *Rome*, and at the ſame Time beſtowed on him, as a Pledge of what he might expect, a Benefice of twelve thouſand Crowns a Year. *Roderic*, no longer able to withſtand the preſſing Inſtances and Kindneſs of his Uncle, and on the other hand his Paſſion for *Vanozza* not allowing him to leave her behind him, and live at ſo great a Diſtance from her, it was agreed between them, that they ſhould both repair to *Italy*, but by different Roads, and to different Places, he to *Rome*, and ſhe with her Children to *Venice*. Accordingly they both ſet out after many tender Embraces, about the ſame Time, and both arrived ſafe at their Journey's End. *Roderic* was received by the Pope with all poſſible Marks of Eſteem and Affection, and, being frequently admitted to his Preſence, he raiſed in his Holineſs ſo high an Opinion of his Merit,

Merit, that, in a very ſhort Time, he preferred him to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Valencia*, his native Country, created him Cardinal of *St. Nicholas in Carcere Tulliano*, and appointed him Vice-Chancellor of the holy *Roman* Church, with the yearly Income of twenty-eight thouſand Crowns to ſupport that Dignity. *Roderic* refuſed, at firſt, the Dignity of Cardinal, knowing that he would thereby be confined to *Rome*, and have fewer Opportunities of viſiting *Vanozza* and his Children, in whom centered all his Cares and Affections. But his Friend, Cardinal *Sanſeverino*, urging to him the Folly of refuſing a Dignity, that was the laſt Step to the higheſt upon Earth, his Ambition prevailed, and he accepted the Red Hat. Having now the triple Crown in his View, he applied himſelf wholly to Acts of Devotion, preaching, adminiſtering the Sacraments, viſiting the Sick, protecting the Widows and Orphans, and relieving, with uncommon Generoſity, Perſons of all Ranks in Diſtreſs; inſomuch that he was univerſally looked upon, and honoured by the Cardinals themſelves, as a Saint. But theſe Acts of Charity did not take up his Mind ſo, as to leave no Room in it for his dear *Vanozza*. He wrote a moſt affectionate Letter to her to acquaint her with his Promotion to the Rank of Cardinal, which, he ſaid, opened him a Way to the ſupreme Dignity, to aſſure her, that he retained, and ever ſhould, the ſame Affection for her, and recommend to her Secreſy and Continence till he had the Pleaſure of ſeeing her again. In the mean Time *Calixtus* died; and in the two following Pontificates of *Pius* II. and *Paul* II. no Mention is made of Cardinal *Roderic*. But *Sixtus* IV. the Succeſſor of *Paul*, beſtowed upon him the Abbey of *Subjaco*, and ſent him with the Character of Legate into *Spain*, to mediate a Peace between the Kings of *Arragon* and *Portugal* at War about

Year of Chriſt 1492.

Year of Chriſt 1492.

the Kingdom of *Caſtile*. His Negotiations at both Courts proved unſucceſsful. For, finding himſelf at a Diſtance from *Rome*, inſtead of attending to the Affair, upon which he was ſent, he ſpent moſt Part of his Time in Intrigues with the Ladies; which rendered him contemptible in the Eyes of both Kings, as well as their Miniſters. On his Return to *Italy* on board a *Venetian* Galley, he was overtaken with a violent Storm on the Coaſt of *Piſa*; and though his Galley had the good Luck to eſcape, another in Company with his Baggage and Retinue was daſhed to Pieces, and all on board periſhed, *viz.* one hundred and eighty Perſons, and among them three Biſhops, and ſome Doctors. In the Pontificate of *Innocent* VIII. elected in the Room of *Sixtus*, we find nothing of Cardinal *Roderic* worthy of Notice, beſides his begging Leave of his Holineſs to go to *Venice*, pretending to have ſome very urgent Buſineſs there, and his calling *Vanozza* to *Rome* upon the Pope's forbidding him to depart from that City. *Vanozza* on her Arrival lodged firſt near the Capitol, but removed ſoon from thence to a more private Place beyond the *Tiber*. As they were both ſenſible, that the Affair could in no Place be long kept ſecret, it was agreed between them, that *Manuel Melchiori*, a *Spaniſh* Gentleman, who had hitherto paſſed for a near Relation of the Lady's Huſband, and was the only Perſon upon Earth who had been let into the Intrigue, ſhould now perſonate her Huſband. Accordingly, he aſſumed the Title of Count *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*, and ſhe of Counteſs, and being plentifully ſupplied with Money by the Cardinal, they both made a Figure ſuitable to their Title. The Cardinal, pretending to have been acquainted in *Spain* with the Count under Colour of viſiting him, paid frequent Viſits to the Counteſs unobſerved,

and

and when he had ſpent the whole Day in viſiting Churches and Hoſpitals, he paſſed the Night in the Arms of his Miſtreſs [c]. Year of Chriſt 1492.

The Cardinal, however, did not ſuffer his Amours to engroſs his Attention ſo as to neglect his true Intereſt. He had the Papacy conſtantly in his View ever ſince he accepted the Dignity of Cardinal, and had made it his Buſineſs to cultivate the Friendſhip of the Cardinals, who had the moſt Intereſt in the Conclave, eſpecially of the two Cardinals *Sforza* and *Riario*, of whom the former had nine Votes at his Diſpoſal. While Cardinal *Roderic* was thus employed, *Innocent* died on the 25th of *July*, and the Cardinals, in all twenty-ſeven, entering into the Conclave, as ſoon as they had performed his Exequies, the following Bargain was concluded between the leading Cardinals and Cardinal *Roderic*, *viz.* that Cardinal *Orſini* ſhould have *Roderic*'s Palace, with the two Caſtles of *Montiſelli* and *Suriani*; that Cardinal *Sforza* ſhould ſucceed *Roderic* in the Office of Vice-Chancellor; that Cardinal *Colonna* ſhould have the Abbey of *St. Benedict*; that the Cardinal of *St. Angelo* ſhould be made Biſhop of *Porto*, the City of *Nepi* ſhould be given to the Cardinal of *Parma*, and the Town of *Civita Caſtellana* to Cardinal *Savelli*. Five Cardinals only, out of the twenty-ſeven, proteſted againſt ſo open and ſo barefaced Simony, and could by no Offers be brought to concur with the Reſt. But as Cardinal *Roderic* had twenty-two Votes out of twenty-ſeven, he was, in ſpite of their Oppoſition, declared Pope on the 2d of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, under the Name of *Alexander* VI. His Election was received by the

His Election.

Bargain made with the Cardinals.

[c] Paviſt. in Alex. VI. Tomaſo Tomaſi. vita Duc. Valentin. Ciacon. vit. Alex. VI. p. 148. Burchard. Hiſt. Arian. p. 3———23. Anonym. ad Tomaſi, p. 305. apud Gordon. p. 1———15.

Year of Christ 1492.

Roman People, who looked upon him as a Pattern of every Virtue, with all poſſible Demonſtrations of Joy; and on the 26th of *Auguſt* he was crowned with extraordinary Solemnity. And now the Cardinals, his Electors, were expecting the Performance of the Promiſes he had made them. But inſtead of that, *Alexander*, in a Speech, full of Zeal for the Obſervance of the Canons, exhorted them to reform their Lives, to ſet a good Example to others, and, above all, to avoid Simony, adding, that he would ſpare none, whom he ever found guilty of that deteſtable Crime. Indeed he was as good as his Word. For, far from paying to his corrupt Electors the Wages of their Iniquity, in Proceſs of Time he either confined them to Priſon, or baniſhed, or put them to Death, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

His Son Cæſar Borgia *comes to* Rome.

At the Time of *Alexander*'s Promotion his Children were all living privately at *Rome*, except *Cæſar*, his ſecond Son, who was then purſuing his Studies at *Piſa*. But he no ſooner heard of his Father's Promotion, than he flew to *Rome*, not doubting but he ſhould be immediately preferred to ſome high Poſt, or be made a Cardinal. The Pope received him with the greateſt Marks of Affection, but at the ſame Time told him, that if he and his Brothers walked in the virtuous Path, that he ſhould point out to them, they might depend upon his Protection and Favour; but if they built their Greatneſs upon any other Foundation than that of Virtue, he would look upon them as Strangers to him, having been exalted to his preſent high Station for the Good of the Church, and not of his Family. This Speech did not a little mortify *Cæſar*'s Ambition; and he complained of it to his Mother. But ſhe bid him take Courage, ſaying, ſhe knew his Holineſs's Mind, and for what End he had expreſſed himſelf to him in that Manner; that is, ſhe knew all to be Diſſimulation,

and

and rank Hypocriſy. In the mean Time *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, created the Pope's eldeſt Son, *Francis* Duke of *Gandia*. For though *Alexander* called them his Nephews, they were by this Time commonly known to be his Children. From the Promotion of the Pope's eldeſt Son, the Cardinals and flattering Courtiers took Occaſion to recommend to him his ſecond Son *Cæſar Borgia*, and his Nephew *John Borgia*, Archbiſhop of *Monreal* in *Sicily*, as Perſons worthy of a Place in the College of Cardinals; and his Holineſs, as it were to gratify the Cardinals, conferred that Dignity on his Nephew, but, refuſing it to his Son, nominated him to the Archbiſhopric of *Valencia*, which he himſelf had formerly held. However, the following Year he made a Promotion of twelve Cardinals; and among them was his Son *Cæſar*, whom he created Cardinal of *Sancta Maria Nova*; but he is commonly called Cardinal *Valentine*, on Account of his having been preferred from the Archbiſhopric of *Valencia* to that Dignity [d].

Year of Chriſt 1492.

Created Archbiſhop of Valencia, *and Cardinal.*

Year of Chriſt 1493.

Italy had enjoyed for ſome Years a profound Peace and Tranquillity, the little States, as well as the great, having joined in a League to defend each other, by whomſoever attacked. But that Peace was unexpectedly diſturbed by the Ambition of the *French* King *Charles* VIII. claiming the Kingdom of *Naples*, as Heir to the *Angevin* Family. For *Charles* of *Anjou*, the laſt of that Family, dying without Male Iſſue, appointed *Lewis* XI. his Couſin-German, as he called him, his univerſal Heir, and after him his Son *Charles*, the *Dauphin*. By virtue of this Will *Lewis* took Poſſeſſion of *Provence* and the Dutchy of *Anjou*, but would not concern himſelf with the Affairs of *Italy*. But *Charles*, a Youth covetous of Glory, coming to

Charles, *King of* France *invited to the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of* Naples.

[d] Onuph. Tomaſo Tomaſi, &c.

Year of Christ 1493. the Crown in 1483, began to entertain Thoughts of making good his Claim to the Kingdom of *Naples*. He was encouraged to that Undertaking only by some of his Favourites, and some Malecontents, who, flying from *Naples*, had taken Refuge in *France*. But Men of Penetration left nothing unattempted to divert the young King from an Enterprize, which they apprehended might be attended with the Loss of his Army, and even of his Life. Thus was the Expedition put off till the present Year 1493, when the King received unexpectedly an Invitation from *Lewis Sforza*, Regent of the Dutchy of *Milan*, pressing him to come and conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, to which he had an unquestionable Right, and promising to assist him therein to the utmost of his Power. *Lewis* had been appointed Guardian to the young Duke *John Galeazzo*, his Nephew; and though the Duke had already attained to the twentieth Year of his Age, the Guardian still continued to keep the Government in his own Hands. As *John* had married the Daughter of *Alphonso*, Duke of *Calabria*, and King *Ferdinand*'s Grand-daughter, *Lewis* apprehended, that they would oblige him to resign the Dutchy to its lawful Owner; and it was to give them sufficient Employment at Home, that he invited *Charles* to the Conquest of the Kingdom[e].

Ferdinand, *King of* Naples, *dies.* Year of Christ 1494. *Charles*, now relying on the Invitation, and encouraged by the Offers of *Lewis*, would no longer hearken to the pacific Counsels of his best Friends, but looking upon the Kingdom of *Naples* as already half conquered, he began to make vast military Preparations by Sea as well as by Land. On the other hand, *Ferdinand*, not doubting but they were designed against him, omitted nothing

[e] Guicciardin. l. 1. Comin. c. 3.

to

to put the Kingdom in a good State of Defence. But being ſeized with a Fever, occaſioned by the extraordinary Fatigue he was obliged to undergo; and the Uneaſineſs of his Mind, he died on the fourteenth Day of his Illneſs, the 25th of *January* 1494. He was ſucceeded by his Son *Alphonſo*, Duke of *Calabria*, who ſent immediately a ſplendid Embaſſy to *Rome*, with many valuable Preſents for the Pope, and his favourite Son Cardinal *Valentine*, by whom his Holineſs was, in a great Meaſure governed. The Embaſſadors were charged to obtain of the Pope the Inveſtiture for the new King, to pay Homage to him in his Name, and to propoſe an Alliance between their Maſter and his Holineſs in Defence of their reſpective Dominions. The Embaſſadors met with a moſt favourable Reception, and after ſeveral Conferences with Cardinal *Valentine*, an Alliance was concluded between the Pope and the King upon the following Terms: That both ſhould maintain a determined Number of Troops for their mutual Aſſiſtance; that the King ſhould pay immediately to his Holineſs thirty thouſand Ducats; that he ſhould give his Daughter *Sancia* in Marriage to *Giuffre*, the Pope's youngeſt Son; ſhould create him Prince of *Squillace* with the yearly Income of ten thouſand Ducats; ſhould confer upon him the Office of Prothonotary, one of the ſeven great Offices of the Kingdom; ſhould ſettle upon *Francis*, Duke of *Gandia*, his eldeſt Son, an Eſtate of ten thouſand Ducats a Year; ſhould beſtow upon him the firſt great Employment of the Kingdom that ſhould be vacant, and a conſiderable Command in the Army; and laſtly, that to Cardinal *Valentine* he ſhould grant the beſt Benefices of the Kingdom as they happened to become vacant. The Pope knew, that the King ſtood in great Need of his Aſſiſtance, and, taking Advantage of his preſent Situation, demanded ſuch Terms, as were neither

Year of Chriſt 1494.

Treaty concluded between his Succeſſon Alphonſo and the Pope.

Year of Christ 1494.

consistent with Reason nor Justice. *Alexander* was, on his Side, to assist the King to the utmost of his Power, with his spiritual as well as his temporal Arms, to grant him the Investiture, to send a Cardinal to crown him, and to prefer his Nephew, *Lewis* of *Arragon*, to the Dignity of Cardinal [f].

The King crowned, and his Daughter married to the Pope's youngest Son.

These Articles being agreed to, the Pope dispatched his Nephew, Cardinal *Borgia*, Archbishop of *Monreal*, to *Naples*, to crown the King, and perform, at the same Time, the nuptial Ceremony. The Bridegroom went with the Cardinal, attended by the Flower of the *Roman* Nobility, and the Appearance they made during their Stay at *Naples*, was the most pompous and splendid that had ever been seen in that City. The King being crowned, with great Solemnity, by the Cardinal Legate, and the nuptial Ceremony performed with no less Solemnity, *Giuffre*, or, as I shall henceforth call him, the Prince of *Squillace*, after a short Stay at *Naples*, returned, with his Bride, the Princess, to *Rome*, his Holiness being impatient to see them. Most extraordinary Honours were paid them, by the Pope's Order, in all the Cities on the Road through which they passed, and on their Arrival at *Rome* they met with a more honourable Reception than any King or Emperor had done to that Time. They were received, at some Distance from the Gate, by the Magistrates of the City in a Body, by the Cardinals and the *Roman* Nobility of both Sexes, and conducted by them in solemn Procession, to the *Vatican* Palace. There the Princess was presented to the Pope by his Daughter *Lucretia*, attended by all the Ladies of Distinction in *Rome*, and the Prince by his Brother Cardinal *Valentine*, accompanied by the chief *Roman* Princes and Barons.

[f] Guicciardin. l. 1. Tomasi apud Gordon. p. 52. et seq.

His

His Holineſs, ſcarce allowing them Time to perform the Ceremony of kiſſing his Foot, embraced them with great Tenderneſs; and placing the Bride in a Chair of State on his Right Hand, and *Lucretia* in another on his Left, the Converſation was kept up ſeveral Hours by his Holineſs and the Ladies; and it looked more like an Aſſembly of the laſt King of *Aſſyria*, than a Meeting in the Preſence of the Vicar of *Chriſt* g. Year of Chriſt 1494.

The French *King enters* Italy.

On this Occaſion great Rejoicings were made, by the Pope's expreſs Commands, in all the Cities of the Eccleſiaſtical State, as well as at *Rome*, as if the Marriage of his Holineſs's Baſtard Son with the Daughter of a King, had been one of the greateſt Bleſſings that could have befallen them. But their Joy was ſuddenly damped by the unexpected Advice of the Arrival of the *French* King with his Army at *Aſti* in *Piedmont*, on his March to the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He arrived at *Aſti* on the 9th of *September*; but falling ill of the Small-Pox in that City, he was obliged to halt there a whole Fortnight. As ſoon as he found himſelf in a Condition to bear the Fatigue of the March, he left *Aſti*, and directing his Route through *Pavia*, *Piacenza*, and *Parma*, paſſed the Mountains, chuſing rather to enter the Kingdom of *Naples* through *Tuſcany* and the Territory of *Rome*, than by the Way of *Romagna* and the *March of Ancona*. He met with ſome Oppoſition in paſſing through the Territories of *Florence*, but Matters being in the End accommodated between him and thoſe Republicans, to their mutual Satisfaction, he purſued his March to the Eccleſiaſtical State, being determined to paſs through *Rome*, and oblige the Pope to renounce his Alliance with the King of *Naples*, and abandon his Protection.

Purſues his March to the Eccleſiaſtical State.

g Tomaſi ibid. p. 53. et ſeq.

The

Year of Christ 1494.

The Pope and Alphonso *apply to the* Turk.

The Pope, had, upon the first Notice he received of the King's Design upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, applied for Assistance both to the *Venetians* and the Emperor *Maximilian*, who, in 1492, had succeeded to his Father *Frideric* in the Empire. But finding that neither would take any Part in the War, he resolved, for Want of other Allies, to recur to the *Turk*. This Resolution he communicated to *Alphonso*; and it was agreed between them that both should send Deputies to *Constantinople* to negociate an Alliance with *Bajazet*. Pursuant to that Agreement, one *George Buzardo*, a *Genoese*, well skilled in the Oriental Languages, was immediately dispatched to the Court of *Constantinople* by the Pope, and one *Camillo Pandone* by the King. Their Instructions were, to inform his sublime Highness of the mighty Preparations that were carrying on by the *French* King in *France*, with a Design to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, and, when he had conquered it, to invade his Highness's Dominions; that the King had, with that View, demanded of his Holiness his Highness's Brother *Zizini*, whom he intended to send with a powerful Army and Fleet to recover the Countries taken from the Christians; that out of the great Regard and Friendship his Holiness had for his sublime Highness, he was determined to oppose the *French* to the utmost of his Power. But as he would be thereby put to a far greater Charge than he was able to bear, the Nuncio was ordered to beg of his Highness that he would remit to him immediately the forty thousand Crowns that would be due, on his Brother's Account, about the End of the ensuing *November*. Of *Zizini*, and the Sum allowed yearly by his Brother to him, or rather to the Pope, for his Maintenance, I have spoken in the Life of the preceding Pope *Innocent* VIII. As the *Venetians* had refused to join the Pope and *Alphonso* against the *French*, or

Embassadors sent by the Pope and the King to Bajazet.

to

concern themſelves at all in their Quarrel, the Nuncio was ordered to get the Sultan to interpoſe his good Offices, with thoſe Republicans, in Favour of the King and his Holineſs, and to diſpatch, without Loſs of Time, an Embaſſador for that Purpoſe to *Venice*. The Nuncio was received by *Bajazet* with all poſſible Marks of Honour, his Demands were all readily complied with, and he was remanded in a very ſhort Time with fifty thouſand Crowns, though forty thouſand only were due; and with him *Bajazet* ſent one *Caſimus Dautius* with the Character of his Embaſſador to the Pope. They embarked on board the ſame Veſſel at *Conſtantinople*. But the Veſſel being unfortunately ſtranded on the Coaſt of the *Adriatic*, between *Singaglia* and *Ancona*, *John della Rovere*, Lord of that Country, ſeized on the Money, the fifty thouſand Crowns, pretending that Sum to have been owing to him by the Apoſtolic See ever ſince the Pontificate of *Innocent* VIII. With the Money were found the above-mentioned Inſtructions, and five Letters from *Bajazet* to the Pope, all dated at *Conſtantinople*, one on the 12th of *September*, and the other four on the 18th of the ſame Month, in the Year 1494, *ſince the Nativity of the Prophet* Jeſus. The Direction common to them all, with very little Variation was; *Sultan* Bajazet Chan, *by the Grace of God, King and Emperor of* Aſia *and* Europe, *to the moſt worthy Father and Lord of all Chriſtians*, Alexander VI. *by divine Providence, Pontiff of the* Roman *Church*. *Bajazet*, being alarmed at the Intelligence the Pope had given him of the *French* King's Deſign to invade his Dominions, and employ his Brother againſt him, applies in the firſt of theſe Letters to his Holineſs, his good Friend and Ally, to get, by his Means, ſo dangerous an Enemy removed out of the Way. The Sultan well knew, that there was no Crime, which the *moſt worthy Father of*

Year of Chriſt 1494.

Inſtructions given by the Pope to his Nuncio.

Five Letters from Bajazet *to the Pope.*

Their Contents publiſhed to the World.

Year of Chriſt 1494.

of all Chriſtians would ſcruple to commit, provided he were well paid for it; that the Love of Money, to enrich and aggrandize his Children, was his predominant Paſſion; and that the Offer of a Sum, worthy of his Acceptance, would prove a Temptation, which he could not withſtand. Upon theſe Conſiderations he exhorts the Pope, in the Letter before us, to cauſe his Brother to be removed, as ſoon as poſſible, from the Miſeries of this World to a more happy Life; ſhews the many Advantages, that he pretends would accrue to the Chriſtians, as well as to his own Subjects, from his Death, which he ſays would be Life to him, and ſolemnly promiſes, upon Oath, to remit to his *Greatneſs*, the Title he gives to the Pope, as ſoon as he ſhall have complied with this Requeſt, the Sum of three hundred thouſand Ducats, to be employed by him in purchaſing Lordſhips for his Sons. He cloſes his Letter with renewing, for the Pope's further Security, his Promiſe and Oath in the following Terms: *I, the aforeſaid* Bajazet Chan, *do again ſwear by the true God, who made Heaven and Earth, and every Thing in them, in whom we believe, and whom we adore, that, if you, on your Part, agree to the above-mentioned Requeſt, I ſhall, on my Part, perform and execute every Thing I have promiſed.*——Two of the four remaining Letters contained the *Turkiſh* Embaſſador's Credentials: The third was a Letter of Thanks for the Intelligence *Alexander* had given to *Bajazet* concerning the Deſigns of the *French*, with a Promiſe of ſending ſpeedy Aſſiſtance to *Alphonſo*, and diſpatching, without Delay, an Embaſſador to *Venice*, with Orders to exhort that Republic, in his Name, to declare for that Prince and the Pope his Ally; in the fourth *Bajazet* deſires the Pope to make *Nicholas Cibo*, Archbiſhop of *Arles*, *a perfect Cardinal*, *ut faciat ipſum Cardinalem*

dinalem perfectum. The Archbiſhop had been ſent, in the late Pontificate, upon what Errand we know not, to the Court of *Conſtantinople*, and having, in his Embaſſy, given entire Satisfaction to *Bajazet*, he was, at his earneſt Requeſt, nominated by the Pope, *Innocent* VIII. to the Dignity of Cardinal: But *Innocent* dying before he received the Red Hat, and his Promotion was publiſhed, he was not yet looked upon as a true Cardinal, nor did he enjoy the Privileges, common to all of that Order. Theſe Particulars we learn from *Bajazet*'s Letter, entreating the Pope, by the Friendſhip ſubſiſting between them, to make the Archbiſhop a perfect, or a true Cardinal. —Theſe Papers were all ſent to King *Charles*, while he was yet at *Florence*, by *John della Rovere*, who had intercepted them, in order to their being made public: And they were, accordingly, publiſhed, in *Italian* and *Latin*, with two Certificates annexed to them; the one of *Buzardo*, the Nuncio, certifying that he had received the Inſtructions, ſpoken of above from his Holineſs's own Mouth at *Rome* in the Month of *June* 1494, and had executed them at *Conſtantinople*; the other was a Declaration by *Philip de Patriarchis*, Clerk of *Forli*, and Notary Public, atteſting that he had tranſlated Word for Word, the above-mentioned Papers ſent from *Sinigaglia*. His Declaration is dated at *Florence*, in the Convent of the *Minorites*, the 25th of *November* 1494. For theſe Letters we are indebted to *Burchardus*, a contemporary Writer of unexceptionable Authority, and Maſter of Ceremonies to *Alexander*, who has inſerted them at length in his *Diarium*, or Journal of that Pope's Actions[h].——As for the unhappy *Zizini*, he died ſoon after he was put into the *French* King's Hands; and it was univerſally believed

Year of Chriſt 1494.

[h] Burchard. Diar. p. 14. et ſeq. apud Gordon. in Appendice.

that

Year of Christ 1494.

that his Holineſs had cauſed him to be poiſoned, in order to earn by his Death, the promiſed Reward of three hundred thouſand Ducats[i].

To return now to *Charles*, whom we left on his March from *Florence* to the Eccleſiaſtical State. As he approached the Territories of the Church, he was met by Envoys from the Pope, ſent to propoſe a Treaty between him, the Holy See, and the King of *Naples*. *Charles* received the Envoys with great Politeneſs, but returned Anſwer, that he was ready to treat with his Holineſs, and would treat with no other: And, accordingly, he diſpatched immediately Embaſſadors to *Rome*. The Embaſſadors peremptorily inſiſted, purſuant to their Inſtructions, upon the King's being admitted, with his whole Army into *Rome*, and the Pope's ordering *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, Duke of *Calabria*, who was come with a Body of Troops to defend the City, to withdraw and return to the Kingdom of *Naples*. As the Pope would thus be left entirely at the Mercy of the King, who had ſeveral Cardinals in his Retinue, known to be the avowed Enemies of the *Borgias*, and all Men capable of the moſt violent Reſolutions, the Demands of the Embaſſadors were rejected by his Holineſs himſelf as well as his two Sons, Cardinal *Valentine* and the Duke of *Gandia*, in the moſt haughty and inſolent Terms. However, when News was brought that the King had entered the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Viterbo*, had left a Garriſon there, and was advancing, full March to *Rome*, the Pope, finding that he muſt either ſtand a Siege, or receive him into the City, choſe the latter, and ſent immediately Deputies to acquaint the King therewith, and ſettle the Conditions. The King appointed Deputies to confer, and adjuſt Matters,

The Pope refuſes to admit him into Rome.

But is forced to yield.

[i] Burchard. Diar. p. 14. et ſeq. apud Gordon. in Appendice.

with

with thoſe of the Pope; and it was agreed, that the King ſhould paſs through *Rome* when, and in what Manner he pleaſed; that his Troops ſhould be ſupplied with the neceſſary Proviſions, paying for them; and that the Duke of *Calabria* ſhould withdraw all his Forces from *Rome* before the King entered it. Theſe Conditions being agreed to, *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, marched out of *Rome*, with his *Neapolitan* Forces, on the laſt Day of the preſent Year, in the Morning, and *Charles* made his Entry in the Evening, by Torch-light, at the Head of his Troops, all armed, and the King reſting his Lance on his Thigh, as if he were entering an Enemy's Town. The Streets were all illuminated, and the People flocking from all Quarters, received the King with loud Acclamations, crying out as he paſſed *Viva la Francia, Viva la Francia.* *Charles* diſmounted at the Palace of *St. Mark*, which had been prepared for his Reception, and not truſting the Pope, who had retired to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, he cauſed ſtrong Guards to be placed, with Part of his Artillery, in all the Avenues leading to his Palace. The ſame Night the Pope ſent his Secretary the Biſhop of *Nepi*, and one of the Maſters of the Ceremonies, to compliment the King, on his ſafe Arrival, in his Name, as well as in the Name of the College of Cardinals, and the People of *Rome*. The next Day a Treaty was ſet on Foot, and in a few Days concluded between the Pope and the King. The Articles of that Treaty were, that a perfect Harmony ſhould thenceforth ſubſiſt between his Holineſs, and the moſt Chriſtian King; that the Cities of *Terracina*, *Civita-Vecchia*, and *Spoleti*, ſhould be delivered up to and kept by the King, till he had completed the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples*; that his Holineſs ſhould not moleſt the Cardinals, nor the *Roman* Barons who had declared for the King; that *Zizini*, Brother to Sultan *Bajazet*, ſhould be delivered up

Year of Chriſt 1494. *The King's Entry into* Rome.

Agreement between him and the Pope. Year of Chriſt 1495.

Year of Christ 1495.

up to the King to be employed by him in the War, which he intended to make upon the *Turks* after the Conqueſt of *Naples*; and laſtly, that Cardinal *Valentine* ſhould attend him, in the preſent Expedition, with the Character of Apoſtolic Legate. By this Article the King thought, that he had, in the Son, a Pledge for the Fidelity of the Father. Theſe Articles being all agreed to, the Pope returned from the Caſtle of *St. Angelo* to the *Vatican*, and was there viſited by the King on the 16th of *January*. They had ſome other Interviews the following Days; and in all the Pope expreſſed the moſt cordial Affection for the King, and the ſincereſt Attachment to his Perſon and Intereſt. At his Deſire he created two Cardinals, *William Briconnet*, Biſhop of *St. Malo*, and the Biſhop of *Mans* of the *Luxemburg* Family; and on that Occaſion told the King, that he could aſk nothing of him, that he was not ready to grant; that he had always favoured the *French* Nation in his Heart, and had only wanted an Opportunity of receding, with Honour, from the Engagements, which he had entered into with the King of *Naples*. Before *Charles* left *Rome*, moſt of the *Roman* Barons, and with them ſeveral Cardinals, informing him privately of the Manner, in which the Pope had been elected, and had hitherto governed; of his lewd and debauched Life, of his Want of all Faith, Religion and Principles, *&c.* earneſtly entreated him to cauſe a General Council to be called, in order to depoſe him, and deliver the City of *Rome*, as well as the Church, from ſo lawleſs a Tyrant. They added, that notwithſtanding the Zeal he pretended, at preſent, for his Majeſty's Service, he would find him, as the Terror of his Arms was removed, a moſt bitter and implacable Enemy. The King returned Anſwer, that it was to aſcertain his Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and not to concern himſelf with the Government, or the

The Pope pretends great Zeal for the King's Service.

Affairs

Affairs of the Church, that he came into *Italy*, and that, if his Holineſs of a Friend became his Enemy, he would then, but not till then, treat him as ſuch [i]. Year of Chriſt 1495.

The King having now ſettled all Matters with the Pope, ſet out from *Rome* on the 28th of *January*, having made near a Month's Stay in that City. He halted the firſt Day at *Marino*, but twelve Miles diſtant from *Rome*, and the next at *Veletri*, about fourteen Miles from *Marino*. From thence Cardinal *Valentine*, who, by one of the Articles of the Treaty, was to attend the King in this Expedition, made his Eſcape. He had appointed one of his Servants to wait for him, with two Horſes, about half a Mile out of Town, and walking thither in the Duſk of the Evening, in the Diſguiſe of a Groom, he mounted his Horſe, and returned, full Speed, to *Rome*. The King knew nothing of his Flight till the next Morning, when he ſent to complain to the Pope of ſo manifeſt a Breach of one of the chief Articles of the Treaty, to which, he ſaid, he was very well ſatisfied that his Holineſs was privy. The Pope pretended to have been no-ways concerned in it, but could not be prevailed to ſend the Cardinal back to the Army; which left no Room for the King to doubt of his Inſincerity. But not thinking it worth his While to return to *Rome* on that Account, he took no further Notice of it for the preſent [k]. *Burchard* tells us, that the Cardinal, to remove all Suſpicion from the Mind of the King of his intending to leave him, and prevent his being too narrowly watched, ordered nineteen covered Carriages to attend him, all loaded, in Appearance, with Things of great Value for his own Uſe; that he cauſed three of them, containing a *Cardinal* Valentine's *treacherous* Conduct.

i Guicciardin. l. 2. De Comines, c. 11. Burchard. Diar. p. 34. Tomaſi, p. 97. k De la Vigne Journal de Charle VIII. Tomaſi, p. 97. Burchard. Diar. p. 34.

Year of Christ 1495

great Quantity of Plate, to be unloaded in the Sight of the whole Army, at the Place, where the King halted the firſt Day; but that the Drivers of theſe three Carriages had private Orders to keep behind, and, when at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Army, to turn about, and make the beſt of their Way for *Rome*; which they did and arrived ſafe. The ſame Writer adds, that, when the Cardinal's Flight was known in the Army, the Soldiery fell upon the remaining Carriages in order to plunder them, but, to their great Diſappointment found them loaded only with Stones, or Things of no Value, and that the Cardinal, nevertheleſs, gave out, that being ſent for to *Rome*, upon an Affair of the utmoſt Importance, unknown till then, the *French* Soldiers had laid hold of that Opportunity to plunder his Baggage, and, in order to conceal it, filled the Carriages with Rubbiſh[1].

Alphonſo *reſigns the Crown to his Son* Ferdinand, *and quits the Kingdom.*

In the mean Time the King, thinking that he ſhould hereafter have no great Occaſion for the Aſſiſtance or Friendſhip of the Pope, purſued his March to the Frontiers of the Kingdom of *Naples*. Upon his Approach the People and moſt of the Barons, who hated the very Name of *Alphonſo* on Account of his Avarice, Cruelty, and tyrannical Government, flew every-where to Arms, and proclaiming *Charles* their lawful King and Deliverer, ſet up the *French* Standard in all their Towns, not awed by Garriſons. *Alphonſo* having no Hopes of receiving any Aſſiſtance in due Time from either of his Allies, the *Turk* or his Holineſs, and not daring to quit *Naples*, leſt that City ſhould follow the Example of the reſt, he took a very extraordinary Reſolution, that of reſigning the Royal Title and Authority in favour of his Son *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Calabria*. *Ferdinand* was not

[1] Burchard et Tomaſi ibid.

above

Year of Christ 1495

above twenty-four Years of Age, of a mild Diſpoſition, of an obliging Behaviour, and as univerſally beloved as his Father was hated. *Alphonſo* therefore flattered himſelf, that he being removed, and ſo promiſing a Youth placed on the Throne in his Room, the People would prefer him, who was born among them, and whom they all knew, to one, who was as great a Stranger to them as they were to him. Having therefore ſigned the Act of Renunciation in the Preſence of his Brother *Frideric*, and all the Nobility, and cauſed *Ferdinand* to be crowned with the uſual Ceremonies, he fled in his Gallies to *Mazara* in *Sicily*, and, after a ſhort Stay there, to *Meſſina*, where he embraced a religious Life, and ended his Days on the 19th of *November* of the preſent Year, when he had lived forty-ſeven Years and ſome Days, and reigned one Year wanting two Days[m]. He was buried with Royal Pomp in the great Church of *Meſſina*, and his Tomb is there to be ſeen to this Day.

The whole Kingdom and Naples *itſelf ſubmits to* Charles.

The Reſignation of *Alphonſo* would have had the wiſhed-for Effect, in the Opinion of *Guicciardin*, had it been made ſooner. But the Revolt was already become general; and the *French*, having taken by Storm two Places, that oppoſed them, *Montefortino* and *Mount St. John*, and, putting all they found in them to the Sword, reduced them to Aſhes, ſtruck ſuch Terror into the reſt, that they all ſubmitted as ſoon as the Enemy appeared before them. The new King advanced with his Army to defend the Cities of *St. Germano* and *Capua*, and thus prevent the *French* from advancing to *Naples*. But being either abandoned by his Troops, or betrayed by his Generals, he ſet out from *Capua* with the ſmall

[m] Guicciardin, l. 1. Comines, l. 7. c. 11. Summont. Hiſt. Neap. et Conſtanzi. l. 20.

Year of Christ 1495.

Remains of his Army, on his Return to the Capital. But, finding upon his Arrival there, that the Inhabitants had openly revolted, had proclaimed *Charles*, and sent to him to come and take Possession of their City, he resolved to abandon a Kingdom, which it was no longer possible for him to defend. Having therefore assembled the Chief of the Nobility and People, he absolved them from the Oath of Allegiance, which they had taken to him but a few Days before, and gave them Leave to submit, upon the best Terms they could get, to their new Masters. This the young King did in so affecting a Speech, and such tender Expressions, as they are related by *Guicciardin*, that they drew Tears from all who were present. But as they had no other Effect, the King, embarking in the Gallies, that waited for him in the Harbour with his Uncle *Frideric*, the old Queen, his Grand-father's Wife, her Daughter *Joan*, and a few Lords, who did not forsake him in his Misfortunes, sailed for the Island *Ischia*, often repeating, while in Sight of *Naples*, the Words of the 127th *Psalm*; *Except the Lord keep the City, the Watchmen waketh in vain* [n].

Ferdinand *retires to the Island of* Ischia.

Charles *makes his public Entry into* Naples.

Charles, being, by *Ferdinand*'s Flight, left Master of, almost, the whole Kingdom, made his public Entry into *Naples* on the 21st of *February* of the present Year, amidst the loud Acclamations of People of all Ranks, and having in a few Days, reduced *Castel Nuovo* and *Castello dell' Uovo*, in which *Ferdinand* had left some Troops, he employed the remaining Part of the short Time he stayed there in giving Orders for the securing of his Conquests in receiving the Oaths and Submissions of the Provinces, Cities, and Towns, and above all in Tournaments, Shows, and Rejoicings. While he was thus employed he received certain Intelligence from *Philip*

[n] Guicciardin, l. 1. p. 36, 37, 38.

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de Comines, his Embaſſador at *Venice*, of a League concluded againſt him, into which had entered the Pope, the *Venetians*, the Republic of *Florence*, and *Lewis Sforza*, the Uſurper of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the chief Author of the King's Expedition into *Italy*. They were all alike jealous of the Power of the *French*, who carried all before them; and this League they formed not only with a Deſign to drive them out of the Kingdom of *Naples*; but to prevent the King's Return to *France*, and to ſeize on his Perſon, in order to oblige him to ſurrender every Foot of Ground he held in *Italy*. *Sforza*, apprehending, as has been ſaid, that King *Ferdinand*, the elder, would oblige him to deliver up the Dutchy of *Milan* to *John Galeazzo*, the lawful Heir, who had married that King's Grand-daughter, had, in order to divert him from that Undertaking, invited the *French* to the Conqueſt of his Kingdom. But having, with a large Sum of Money, purchaſed of the Emperor *Maximilian* the Inveſtiture of the Dutchy, and diſpatched with Poiſon the young Duke his Nephew, he thought that he no longer ſtood in need of the *French*, and therefore very readily joined in the League againſt ſo powerful and ſo dangerous an Enemy; the rather as the Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards *Lewis* XII. laid Claim to that Dutchy. The Intelligence *Charles* received of this League obliged him to haſten his Departure from *Naples*; and having placed Garriſons in the fortified Towns, he ſet out on his Return to *France* on the 20th of *May*, about three Months after his entering that Kingdom. He paſſed through *Rome*, but found that the Pope, and the Cardinals who adhered to him, had all fled firſt to *Orvieto*, and from thence to *Perugia*. The *Romans* ſupplied his Army with Plenty of Proviſions; and to them, as he knew they did not approve of the Conduct of the Pope, he behaved in the moſt obliging Manner. He march-

Year of Chriſt 1495.

The Italian *Princes join in a League againſt him.*

He returns to France.

Year of Christ 1495

ed five Weeks without the leaſt Oppoſition: But, upon his Arrival at the River *Taro* in the *Parmeſan*, he found the Confederates encamped on the oppoſite Bank, to the Number, ſays *Comines*, of 30,000 Combatants, whereas his Army conſiſted only of 7,000 regular Troops. After ſeveral Motions the two Armies came at laſt, on the 6th of *July*, to a general Engagement, which *Guicciardin* has deſcribed, at length, not much to the Honour of the *Italian* Soldiery. For the Confederates had 3,500 Men killed on the Spot, and the *French* not above 200. Beſides, the King carried his Point, which was to open a Paſſage for his Army; and he purſued his March unmoleſted. He halted a few Day at *Aſti*,, to refreſh his Troops, who had ſuffered greatly for want of Proviſions, and then continuing his March, arrived, with his Army, at *Lions* on the 7th of *November* [o].

Battle on the Banks of the Taro.

Charles had not yet reached the Borders of *France*, when a Monitory was delivered to him by a Meſſenger from the Pope, commanding him, on Pain of Excommunication, to quit *Italy* in the Term of ten Days, and recall all his Troops out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. If he complied not with that Command, he was by the ſame Monitory ſummoned to appear, in Perſon, before his Holineſs at *Rome*. The King could not help ſmiling at this Summons; and he returned to it the following Anſwer; That he was not a little ſurpriſed at his Holineſs's commanding him to leave *Italy*, ſince, having demanded a free Paſſage for his Troops to return to *France*, his Holineſs's Allies had denied him his Requeſt, and raiſed what Troops they could to ſtop him; that he was no leſs ſurprized at his requiring him to withdraw his

Summons ſent by the Pope to Charles, *and his Anſwer to it.*

[o] Guicciardin, l. 2. p. 45. 50. Tomaſi. p. 145—148 Comines, l. 8. c. 1—7. La Vigne Journal de Charles VIII.

Troops

Troops from the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſince it was not without his Conſent, Approbation, and even good Wiſhes, that they had entered that Kingdom; and, laſtly, that as to his appearing before his Holineſs at *Rome*, ſuch a Command ſeemed to him quite unaccountable; ſince being deſirous, on his Return from *Naples*, of ſeeing him at *Rome*, and returning him Thanks for the many Obligations he owed him, he had not thought fit to grant him that Satisfaction; but, nevertheleſs, that he would ſtrive to obey, in due Time, his Holineſs's Command; and only begged that he would wait for him, and not make him undertake, a ſecond Time, the ſame Journey in vain [p]. Year of Chriſt 1495.

Ferdinand reſolves to attempt the Recovery of his Kingdom.

And now briefly to relate what happened in the Kingdom of *Naples*, after the Departure of *Charles*. He had left ſome Troops under the Command of *Gilbert*, Count of *Montpenſier*, Prince of the Blood, but too ſmall a Number, as he wanted them himſelf for his Return, to guard a great Country. Beſides, he had very imprudently neglected to reduce ſome ſtrong Holds, that had not yet ſubmitted; and the People of *Naples*, the moſt inconſtant and fickle in the World, began already to be diſſatisfied with the *French* Government. All this encouraged King *Ferdinand*, who had fled, as has been ſaid, to the iſland of *Iſchia* to *Meſſina*, to adviſe with his Father *Alphonſo*, who was ſtill living, about the moſt effectual Means of carrying his Deſign into Execution. They had ſeveral private Conferences, and in the End it was agreed, that Recourſe ſhould be had to *Ferdinand*, King of *Spain*, ſurnamed the Catholic, a Title lately conferred on him by the Pope, on Account of his Victories over the *Moors* of *Granada*. As he was nearly related to them, being the Son of *John*, King of *Arragon*, Brother to *Alphonſo*, the firſt

[p] Guicciardin, ubi ſupra, et Spond. ad ann. 1495.

Year of Christ 1495.

King of *Naples* of that Family, they did not doubt, but he would very readily espouse their Cause, and afford them all the Assistance in his Power; the rather as he had Reason to apprehend, that, should the *French* be left in the quiet Possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, they would lay hold of the first Opportunity to invade the neighbouring Island of *Sicily*, that belonged to him, and unite it to their new Kingdom. Of this the Catholic King was aware, and therefore upon the first Application from *Alphonso* and his Son *Ferdinand*, he ordered a Body of Troops to assemble, with all Expedition, at *Messina*, and to pass over from thence to the Kingdom of *Naples*, in order to assist the banished King in recovering his Kingdom. These Troops were commanded by the famous *Gonsalvo Fernandes*, of the Family of *Aguilar*, a Man who had signalized himself in a very eminent Manner, against the *Moors* of *Granada*, and had by his Courage, his Conduct, and his military Atchievements, acquired the glorious Title of the *Great Captain*; and by that Title he is commonly mentioned in History. *Gonsalvo* and the young King landed their Army, without Opposition, at *Reggio*, in *Calabria*, opposite to *Messina*. The Town opened its Gates to them, and the Castle surrendered after a three Days Siege. In *Calabria* commanded for *Charles*, *Edward Stuart*, a *Scotchman*, commonly known by the Name of *d'Aubigni*. He was originally Captain of the King's Life-guards, who were all of that Nation, the *French* Kings reposing greater Confidence in them on Account of their known Valour as well as Fidelity, than in their own Subjects. *Edward* had no less distinguished himself, on many Occasions, by his Conduct in the Field, than by his Penetration and Wisdom in the Cabinet, and had therefore been created Lord *Aubigni*, and raised to the highest Military

Ferdinand *King of* Spain, *espouses his Cause.*

A new War kindled in Italy.

Military Honours. *Charles*, upon his returning to *France*, appointed him Lord High Conſtable of his new Kingdom, beſtowed upon him the County of *Aſti*, with the Lordſhip of *Squillace*, held by the Pope's youngeſt Son, and committed to his Charge the Defence of the Province of *Calabria*, lying next to *Sicily*. He therefore no ſooner heard of the Surrender of *Reggio* than he took the Field, attacked *Gonſalvo* and the King, utterly defeated them, and obliged *Gonſalvo* to ſhut himſelf up in *Reggio*, and the King to return to *Sicily*. This was a very inauſpicious Beginning, and it tarniſhed, not a little, the Glory of the *Spaniſh Great Captain*. In the mean Time the People of *Naples*, no longer able to bear with the haughty and inſolent Behaviour of the *French*, ſent privately to invite *Ferdinand* to return, aſſuring him, that they were, all to a Man, ready to ſhed the laſt Drop of their Blood in his Cauſe. Upon that Invitation he immediately put to Sea with a Fleet of ſixty large and twenty ſmall Ships, which the Catholic King had furniſhed him with, and had the Satisfaction, as he ſailed along the Coaſt, to ſee his Standard diſplayed upon the Towers of *Salerno*, *Amalfi*, and the other Maritime Towns. He appeared the third Day off *Naples*, and *Montpenſier*, who commanded there, having very imprudently marched out with the greater Part of the Garriſon to prevent his landing, the People laid hold of that Opportunity, flew to Arms, ſeized all the Gates, and, crying out, *God ſave King Ferdinand*, brought him in Triumph, into the City, on the 7th of *July* of the preſent Year. He rode through the City amidſt the loud Acclamations of People of all Ranks; and the Ladies, not ſatisfied with covering him from the Windows with Flowers, and ſprinkling him with odoriferous Waters, many of the firſt Diſtinction among them came out to embrace him, and wipe off the Sweat from his Face.

Year of Chriſt 1495.

The Neapolitans *revolt, and invite* Ferdinand *to return.*

Year of Chriſt 1496.

The

Year of Chriſt 1496

The other Cities followed the Example of the Metropolis, and the Revolt was now become as general in favour of *Ferdinand*, as it had been, but a few Months before, againſt him. The *French* were every-where driven out, and *Montpenſier* himſelf was beſieged in the City of *Atella* by *Gonſalvo* and the King, and made Priſoner, with his whole Army, ſtill five or ſix thouſand ſtrong. But it was agreed, that he ſhould be ſupplied with Shipping to tranſport his Troops with their Baggage to *Provence*; upon Condition, however, that he obliged *Aubigni* to deliver the Towns, that he ſtill held in *Calabria*. The brave *Scot* had recovered ſeveral Towns that the *Great Captain* had reduced, and among the reſt the City of *Coſenza*, Capital of the *Hither Calabria*, and refuſed to ſurrender them, alledging, that he had not ſigned the Treaty of *Atella*, and therefore was not bound to ſtand to it. *Montpenſier* was therefore kept Priſoner at *Puzzolo*, where he died ſoon afterwards. *Aubigni* held out ſome Time longer; but finding, that the King had laid aſide all Thoughts of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and being, at the ſame Time, reduced to great Straits for want of Proviſions, as well as Money to purchaſe any, or to pay his Soldiers, he thought it would reflect no Diſgrace upon him to abandon an Enterprize, which his Maſter had abandoned; and accordingly he concluded a Treaty with the Enemy, by which he and all the other *French* Commanders were allowed to return unmoleſted to *France*, with all their Men and Baggage [q]. Such was the Succeſs of the famous Expedition of *Charles* VIII. againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*; an Expedition, to uſe the Words of Father *Daniel*, undertaken with

The French *are every-where driven out.*

And Ferdinand *reſtored.*

[q] Guicciard. l. 2. et 3. Comines, l. 7. et 8. Govius l. 3. Georgius Florus de exped. Caroli VIII. Oricellarius de Bello Italic. La Vigne Journal de Charles VIII.

much

much Imprudence, purſued with wonderful Succeſs, and little Conduct, and at laſt ſhamefully abandoned, with the Loſs of a great many brave Men[r]. Indeed no Kingdom, it muſt be owned, was ever more eaſily conquered, and more ſhamefully loſt. Year of Chriſt 1496.

By the Departure of the *French* Peace was reſtored throughout the Kingdom. But the King had ſcarce taſted the Sweets of it, when he was taken dangerouſly ill at *Soma*, a Town ſituated at the Foot of Mount *Veſuvius*, and, being carried to *Naples*, he died there in a few Days. His Death happened in the Month of *October* of the preſent Year, when he had not yet completed the 28th Year of his Age, nor the ſecond of his Reign. As he died without Iſſue, he was ſucceeded by his Uncle *Frideric*, the Brother of *Alphonſo*. Thus did *Naples* ſee, in the Space of leſs than two Years, five Kings; *Ferdinand* the elder, *Alphonſo* his Son, *Charles* VIII. of *France*, *Ferdinand* the younger, and *Frideric* his Uncle. Ferdinand *dies.* *Is ſucceeded by* Frideric.

Of Pope *Alexander* we find nothing recorded worthy of Notice, during the Courſe of the *Neapolitan* War, beſides ſimoniacal Practices in conferring not only Benefices and Biſhoprics, but even the Red Hat, upon ſuch only as were able to come up to the Price he ſet upon them; his inſtituting new Offices, and expoſing them to public Sale, and his creating the Duke of *Gandia*, his eldeſt Son, Captain General of the Church, and ſending him to make War upon the *Orſini*, whom he had declared guilty of High Treaſon, for ſiding with the *French* againſt his Ally *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*. The Duke entered the Territories of the *Orſini* at the Head of a very conſiderable Army, made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral ſtrong Holds, which that Family was poſſeſſed of in the *The Pope makes War upon the* Orſini.

r Daniel Hiſt. de France. l. 8.

Neigh-

Year of Christ 1496.

Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and, at last, laid Siege to *Bracciano*, a very strong Place, situated on the Lake of that Name. Here he met with a most vigorous Resistance, was repulsed, with great Loss, in all the Attacks he made; and in the mean Time, landed at *Gaeta* a Body of chosen Troops, sent by *Charles*, King of *France*, to the Relief of his Allies. These were joined, on their March, by most of the other *Roman* Barons and their Vassals, who, being well apprised that the Pope made War upon the *Orsini* with no other View, but to enrich his Family at their Expence, looked upon their Cause as their own. The Duke of *Gandia* no sooner heard of the Landing of the *French*, than he raised the Siege, and marched with his whole Army to meet them. The two Armies met at *Soriano*, a Village belonging to the *Orsini*, and, an Engagement thereupon ensuing, the Pope's Army was put to Flight, with the Loss of 500 Men, of all their Standards, Baggage, and Artillery. The Duke himself was wounded, and very narrowly escaped falling into the Enemy's Hands. This Battle was followed by a Treaty of Peace between the Pope and the *Orsini*, which his Holiness, bent upon enriching and aggrandizing his own Children with the Spoils of that illustrious Family, no longer observed, than he thought that he could break it with Safety, as we shall see in the Sequel.

His Army defeated.

Benevento *erected into a Dutchy, and given by the Pope to his eldest Son.*

Year of Christ 1497.

The following Year the Pope, not satisfied with having created the Duke of *Gandia*, his eldest and favourite Son, Captain General of the Church, proposed, in a Consistory, called on the 7th of *June*, the erecting of the City of *Benevento*, with its Territory, into a Dutchy, and bestowing it upon him. To that Proposal the Cardinals all agreed except Cardinal *Picolomini*, afterwards *Pius* III. who had the Courage to declare, that he never would consent to the alienating of the Lands or

Estates

Eſtates of the Church. But in ſpite of his Oppoſition *Benevento* was declared a Dutchy, and the Duke of *Gandia* received the Inveſtiture at his Father's Hands. This new Honour proved fatal to the Duke. For his Brother the Cardinal, provoked beyond Meaſure at the Partiality ſhewn by the Father for him, and envying him the extraordinary Honours that were heaped daily upon him, while he himſelf was, in a Manner, neglected, reſolved to remove him out of the Way, and thus engroſs his Father's Affections to himſelf. To this barbarous and horrid Reſolution he was inſtigated by another Motive of a different Nature. His Brother was his Rival in an Amour; and the Lady ſeemed to prefer the Duke to the Cardinal, which the latter could not bear. Being therefore determined upon the Fratricide, he charged four of the many Aſſaſſins, whom he kept conſtantly in his Pay, with the Execution of it; and the Time fixed for that Purpoſe was the Night preceding the 15th of *June*, the Cardinal knowing for certain that his Brother was to viſit his Miſtreſs that Night. As he himſelf was to ſet out early next Morning for *Naples*, to crown the new King, he ſupped with the Duke and the reſt of his Relations at his Mother's. After Supper the Duke and the Cardinal came away together; but the Duke telling the Cardinal with his uſual Familiarity, that he had a Mind to paſs ſome Hours with a Lady of their Acquaintaince before they went Home, the Cardinal wiſhed him much Pleaſure, and thus they parted. As the Duke did not return that Night, nor the Day following, and Perſons even of Diſtinction were at this Time frequently miſſing, it was ſurmiſed by ſome, that he had been murdered, and that his Body, which, upon the ſtricteſt Search, could be no-where found, had been thrown into the *Tiber*. Upon that Surmiſe the Pope, diſtracted with Grief, ordered the Water-

Year of Chriſt 1497.

Who is murdered by his Brother the Cardinal.

Circumſtances attending that Murder.

Year of Christ 1497.

Watermen, and all who had Houſes on the River, to be examined, whether they knew of any dead Body being lately thrown into the River. Amongſt the many who were examined, one *George*, *a Sclavonian*, who uſed to bring Timber up the River in his Boat, declared, that on *Wedneſday* Night (the Night preceding the 15th of *June*) while he had put aſhore, he ſaw two Men, and ſoon after two others, coming out of an Alley, and looking every-where around them, to ſee, as he ſuppoſed, whether the Streets were clear from Paſſengers; that, upon their ſeeing no body, they made a Signal to their Companions to advance, which they immediately did; that one of them was on Horſeback, and had behind him the Body of a dead Man, the Head and Arms hanging down on one Side, and the Legs on the other; that as he approached the River, two of his Companions taking the dead Body, the one by the Arms, the other by the Legs, after ſwinging it two or three Times, threw it with all their Might into the River. The *Sclavonian* being aſked, upon this his Depoſition, why he had not made ſuch a Diſcovery to the Governor, he anſwered, that he had ſeen an hundred Bodies of Perſons who had been murdered thrown into the River, and that, as no Notice had been ever taken of thoſe Murders, he thought it was no Buſineſs of his to take any Notice of this. Upon this Intelligence all the Watermen, in and about *Rome*, were employed to fiſh for the Body, with a Promiſe of a great Reward to thoſe who ſhould find it. It was found and haled aſhore the ſame Day about the Hour of Veſpers, and, upon their waſhing it, they diſcovered nine Wounds, all of them mortal. The Body was carried in the Evening with great Funeral Pomp, to the Church of *St. Mary de Populo*, and there interred, as he had been General of

of the Church, with all the Military Honours. The Pope affected beyond Expreſſion with the tragical End of his eldeſt and favourite Son, and taking it for granted, that the Murder had been perpetrated by the Enemies of the Family, cauſed the ſtricteſt Enquiries to be made after the Authors of it, that he might have, at leaſt, the Satisfaction of wreaking his Vengeance upon them. None could bear Witneſs againſt the Cardinal, but the Ruffians whom he had employed, and they dared not, leſt they ſhould be ſent after the Duke. However, from the Diſcoveries, that were made in the Courſe of theſe Enquiries, it evidently appeared, that the Cardinal, and no other, was the Author of the Murder. The Pope himſelf was convinced of it, and overwhelmed with Grief; he ſhut himſelf up in his Cloſet, and there remained, without admitting any Perſon whatever, or taking any Kind of Nouriſhment, from *Wedneſday* to *Saturday*, when he was prevailed upon by the Cardinal of *Segovia*, who had never departed from his Chamber-door, to admit him, and take ſome Food. The following Night *Vanozza*, whoſe Favourite the Cardinal was, as the Duke was the Pope's, viſited his Holineſs, and ſtaid ſeveral Hours with him in private. What paſſed at that Interview we know not. But in this all Authors agree, that the Pope thenceforth, by a ſudden and unaccountable Change, appeared quite unconcerned; that all further Enquiries concerning the Duke's Death were ſtopped; and his Name no more mentioned, than if he never had exiſted [f]. Some Authors ſuppoſe *Vanozza* to have been privy to the Murder, nay, and to have inſtigated the Cardinal to it, finding him endowed with much better Talents than the Duke, and more capable of

Year of Chriſt 1497.

The Pope's Behaviour on that Occaſion.

[f] Guicciardin, l. 3. p. 96. Tomaſi. p. 497---262. et Burchard. p. 36.---40. apud Gordon, p. 152---159.

raiſing

Year of Christ 1497.

raiſing the Family to the higheſt Pitch of Grandeur, if the Honours, beſtowed upon the Duke, were conferred upon him. And now let us ſee what Meaſure his Holineſs purſued to exalt this Fratricide, and in him his Family.

The Pope grants the Inveſtiture to Frideric, *King of* Naples, *and ſends Cardinal* Valentine *to crown him.*

Ferdinand II. King of *Naples*, was ſucceeded, as has been ſaid, by his Uncle *Frideric*, who immediately wrote a moſt ſubmiſſive Letter to the Pope, to acquaint him with his Acceſſion, and beg his Holineſs to ſend him the Bull of Inveſtiture. *Alexander*, in Compliance with the King's Requeſt, ſent him, the very next Day, the Bull he had applied for, and with it a Letter, filled with the moſt friendly and kind Expreſſions, wiſhing him a long and proſperous Reign, and aſſuring him that he ſhould ever employ all his Power, temporal as well as ſpiritual, to ſupport him upon a Throne, to which he had ſo juſt a Title. To do him greater Honour he ſent ſoon afterwards Cardinal *Valentine*, with the Character of his Legate *a latere*, to crown him; and on the 10th of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year that Ceremony was performed by the Cardinal, with the utmoſt Magnificence, not at *Naples*, where the Plague then raged, but at *Capua* [t].

Quarrels with the King.

Year of Chriſt 1498.

As *Charles* VIII. of *France*, died on the 7th of *April* of the following Year 1498, and great military Preparations were carrying on by his Succeſſor *Lewis* XII. with a Deſign of making a new Attempt upon the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Pope, thinking that King *Frideric*, to engage his Favour and Protection againſt ſo powerful an Enemy, would readily grant him whatever he ſhould aſk, demanded his Daughter for the Cardinal, who wanted to renounce that Dignity, and the Principality of *Taranto* for her Portion. The Pope's View in this was, as is ſuppoſed by the contem-

[t] Camill. Peregrin. in Append.

porary

temporary Writers, to raiſe his Son, ſo unbounded was his Ambition, to the Throne of *Naples*. For ſhould his Son marry the King's Daughter, and get Poſſeſſion of ſo conſiderable a Part of the Kingdom, he thought it would be no difficult Undertaking, with the Wealth and Forces of the Church, to drive out the Father-in-Law, who had but few Troops, and empty Coffers. Of this *Frideric* was aware, and therefore rejected, in the leaſt diſobliging Terms he could, the propoſed Marriage. *Lewis Sforza*, the Uſurper of the Dutchy of *Milan*, whoſe Dominions the *French* King claimed, and intended to invade, as well as the Kingdom of *Naples*, uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to perſuade *Frideric* to gratify the Pope, leſt the Deſire of aggrandizing his Family, the only Object he had in his View, ſhould induce him to recur to *France*, and unite with that King againſt both. But *Frideric* ſtill refuſed to comply with the Pope's Demand, ſaying, that he well knew he ſhould thereby forfeit his Holineſs's Friendſhip, and expoſe himſelf to the Danger of loſing his Kingdom; but that he likewiſe knew, that by giving his Daughter in Marriage to the Pope's Son, with the Principality of *Taranto*, he ſhould expoſe himſelf to the ſame Danger, and was therefore determined of two Evils to chuſe that, which was the leaſt derogatory to his Honour, and proceeded not from his own Act [u].

Year of Chriſt 1498.

Occaſion of that Quarrel.

That the Duke of *Milan*'s Apprehenſions were not ill-grounded appeared ſoon afterwards. For upon *Frideric*'s obſtinately perſiſting to reject the propoſed Match, the Pope reſolved, as the Duke had foreſeen, to apply to *France*, not doubting, but, at ſo critical a Juncture, that King would purchaſe his Friendſhip at any Rate. Accordingly the Archbiſhop of *Raguſa* was ſent, with the

The Pope concludes an Alliance with France againſt Frideric.

[u] Guicciardin. l. 4. Tomaſi, p. 311.

Year of Chriſt 1498. Character of Nuncio, to the *French* Court, to conclude an Alliance with the King, though the Pope gave out, that his only Buſineſs was to congratulate the new King upon his Acceſſion to the Throne. As the King promiſed himſelf great Advantages, in his intended Expedition into *Italy*, from the Friendſhip of the Pope, a Treaty was ſoon concluded upon the following Terms; that his Holineſs ſhould aſſiſt the King in the War he intended to make upon the Duke of *Milan*, and the King of *Naples*; that he ſhould declare null his Marriage with *Jane* of *France*, Daughter to *Lewis* XI. ſhould grant him a Diſpenſation to marry *Anne* of *Britany*, and prefer *George* of *Amboiſe*, Archbiſhop of *Roan*, to the Dignity of Cardinal. The King, on his Side, was to confer ſome conſiderable Eſtates, Titles, and Dignities in *France*, upon Cardinal *Valentine*, as ſoon as he had renounced that Dignity, to procure a Match between him and *Charlotta*, Daughter of *Alan d' Albert*, and Siſter to Queen *Jane* of *Navarre*, and to put the Pope in Poſſeſſion of ſome Towns in *Romagna*, held by petty Princes, ſtyling themſelves *Vicars of the Church*. *Anne* of *Britany*, mentioned in the Treaty, was Heireſs to that Dutchy, and the Widow of the late King *Charles* VIII. who had married her to annex *Britany* to the Crown of *France*. But he dying without Iſſue, it reverted to her by one of the Articles of the Marriage-Treaty; and it was to ſecure that Principality to *France*, that *Lewis* ſued for a Diſpenſation to marry her, and obtained it, though he had lived twenty Years with *Jane* in all Appearance, as his lawful Wife[w].

And upon what Terms.

Remarkable Inſtance of the Pope's Baſeneſs and Cruelty.

Under this Year we read of a remarkable Inſtance of *Alexander*'s Baſeneſs, Cruelty, and Injuſtice. He had granted a Diſpenſation to a Nun, Heireſs

[w] Guicciardin. l. 4. Seyſſel. Annal. de France. Argentre Hiſt. de Bretagne, l. 12.

to

to the Crown of *Portugal*, to quit her religious Profeſſion, and marry the natural Son of the late King. That Diſpenſation gave great Offence to *Ferdinand*, the *Catholic*, who claimed that Kingdom as the next Heir to it after the Nun; and the Pope was, on the one hand, unwilling to revoke it, and, on the other, apprehenſive of the Conſequences, that might attend his maintaining it, in Oppoſition to ſo powerful a Prince. But *Valentine* extricated him out of his Perplexity, adviſing him to deny his having ever iſſued ſuch a Diſpenſation, to charge the Archbiſhop of *Coſenza*, the Secretary of Briefs, with having forged it. This Expedient the Pope readily embraced; and the Archbiſhop was immediately apprehended by his Order, as guilty of Forgery, and ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*. As he, conſcious of his own Innocence, denied the Fact with great Conſtancy and Firmneſs, and all, who were acquainted with his Character, looked upon the Charge as a malicious and groundleſs Calumny, the Pope ſent *John Merades*, Biſhop elect of *Toul*, one of the noted Inſtruments of his Cruelty, to aſſure the Priſoner in his Name, that, though he was innocent, if he would, for ſome weighty Reaſons, take the Guilt upon him, his Holineſs would cauſe him to be immediately ſet at Liberty, and prefer him to the greateſt Dignities. The unhappy Biſhop, allured with the Hopes of Liberty and Preferment, fell into the Snare, pleaded guilty in the Preſence of ſeveral Witneſſes, and moſt humbly begged his Holineſs to forgive him. But inſtead of the promiſed Liberty and Dignities, the Pope ordered him to be more cloſely confined than ever. He was ſoon afterwards brought before a private Conſiſtory, and being there found guilty, upon his own Confeſſion, of having forged the Diſpenſation in Queſtion, the following Sentence was pronounced by the Pope himſelf againſt him, that he ſhould be

Year of Chriſt 1498.

Year of Christ 1498.

degraded, that his Effects be confiscated, and his Person delivered up to the Civil Magistrate. This cruel and unjust Sentence was executed with the utmost Rigour; all the Bishop's Effects, and the Money, he was possessed of, were given to *Valentine*, and he himself was, by the Civil Magistrate, confined, for Life, to a Dungeon in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, without any other Food but Bread and Water. But Death soon put an End to his Misery [x].

Valentine renounces the Ecclesiastical State.

The Way being paved for *Valentine*'s secular Grandeur by the above-mentioned Treaty concluded with the King of *France*, he applied to the Pope, and the College of Cardinals, for Leave to quit the Ecclesiastical State, alledging, that he had embraced it against his Will, merely out of Obedience to his Holiness's Command; and therefore hoped that they would not oblige him to continue in it. It was a Thing quite unprecedented for an Archbishop and a Cardinal to become a Layman; but the Cardinals knowing that the Affair had been determined before-hand by the Pope, they all agreed to it; and *Valentine* went the very next Day in a rich Lay Habit to meet the Embassador, whom the King of *France* had sent to confirm the above-mentioned Treaty. The Embassador stayed about a Month at *Rome*, and had the Satisfaction, during that Time, to notify to the Pope, that his Master, in Compliance with the Treaty, had created *Cæsar Borgia*, Duke of *Valence* in *Dauphine*, had settled upon him a Pension of Twenty thousand Livres, and given him the Command of a Company of one hundred Lances, with Twenty thousand Livres more by Way of Pay. *Cæsar* (whom I shall henceforth call *Duke Valentine*, the Title given him by almost all the *Italian* Historians) set out from *Rome* with the *French* Embas-

Is created by the French *King Duke of* Valence.

[x] Burchard. p. 40——44. Tomasi, p. 294.

sador

ſador for the Court of *France*, carrying with him the Pope's Bull for the Divorce, and the Cardinal's Cap for the Archbiſhop of *Roan*. He was received with the moſt extraordinary Marks of Honour in all the Towns of *France* through which he paſſed, and above all at *Chinon*, where the *French* Court then reſided. The Magnificence of his Entry into that City, as deſcribed by *Tomaſi* and *Burchard*, almoſt exceeds all Belief[y]. *Tomaſi* tells us, among other Things, that he had in his Train a conſiderable Number of led Horſes, all ſhod with maſſy Gold. The King, to gratify his Vanity and that of the Pope, received, and entertained him, in a Manner as a ſovereign Prince, created him Knight of the Order of *St. Michael*, an Order greatly eſteemed at that Time in *France*, and continued daily heaping new Honours upon him, though he had already ſufficiently diſcovered his Genius and Temper, and deſpiſed him in his Heart.

Year of Chriſt 1498.

The following Year 1499 *Valentine*'s Marriage with the Daughter of *Alan d' Albret* was brought about, not without ſome Difficulty, by the King, and the Nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt Pomp and Magnificence. And now the King, thinking he might ſafely rely upon the Pope's ſteady Adherence to his Intereſt, ordered the Troops, deſigned for the Conqueſt of the Dutchy of *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, to rendezvous at *Lions*, and he went thither himſelf, attended by Duke *Valentine* and the Chief of the *French* Nobility. The King remained at *Lions*, but his Army paſſed the *Alps* in the Beginning of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, and before the End of that Month made themſelves Maſters of the whole Dutchy. So rapid a Conqueſt was owing to the Cowardice of ſome of the Duke's Commanders,

Valentine's Marriage. Year of Chriſt 1499.

The Dutchy of Milan *reduced by the* French.

[y] Tomaſi, p. 314. Burchard. Diar. p. 85.

Year of Christ 1499.

and the Treachery of others, but above all to the Hatred his Subjects universally bore him, on Account of his Usurpation, and the Severity of his Government. The King, upon the News of the Surrender of *Milan*, immediately set out to go and take Possession of so glorious an Acquisition; and on the 16th of *October* he made his public Entry into that City, in the Ducal Habit, amidst the loud Acclamations of the People. The Reader will find a particular Detail of the Events of this War in *Guicciardin*, and to that excellent Historian, as they are foreign to my Subject, I refer him [y].

Some Cities of Romagna *reduced by* Valentine.

The Pope sent to congratulate the King, upon his Success, as soon as he heard of his Arrival at *Milan*, and at the same time took care to remind him of his Promise to put the Holy See in Possession of the Towns that were held by petty Princes in *Romagna*, but had originally belonged to the Church. This was the only Article of the Treaty, that the King had not yet fulfilled, and, in Compliance with it, he immediately granted to Duke *Valentine*, whom the Pope had appointed Captain-General of the Church, a Body of three hundred Lances, and Four thousand *Swiss*, the former to be paid by the King, the latter by the Pope. With these Troops the Duke began his Expedition by besieging *Imola*, which, as it was not defensible, immediately surrendered, *Catherine Sforza*, the Governess, having retired with her young Son, *Octavian Riarius*, Lord of the Place, to *Forli*, that belonged to the same Family. As the Governess had not a sufficient Number of Troops to defend that City, she abandoned it, and, having sent away her Children and her most valuable Effects to *Florence*, withdrew to the Citadel. There she held out, for some time,

[y] Guicciadin. l. 4.

with

with a Courage and Reſolution far above her Sex. But the Citadel being taken as well as the Caſtle, to which ſhe had retired, ſhe was made Priſoner, and, being ſent to *Rome*, was there ſhut up in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*. But the preſſing Inſtances of the *Florentines*, and the Remonſtrances of *Ivo d' Alegre*, whom the King had appointed to command under the Duke, ſaved her from falling a Victim, as many others had done, to the *Borgian* Cruelty and Avarice. *Valentine* was prevented, for the preſent, from purſuing the War, by an Incident quite unforeſeen, a general Inſurrection againſt the *French* in the State of *Milan*, which obliged them to recall the Troops, employed in reducing the Cities of *Romagna*. Thus was a new and far more bloody War than the former kindled in the *Milaneſe*. But the King, who was returned to *France*, having, upon the firſt News of this ſudden Revolution, ſent a ſtrong Reinforcement to *Trivulzio*, whom he had appointed Governor of his new Dutchy, all the Places, that had revolted, were recovered, and on the 10th of *April* of the following Year 1500 the Duke himſelf was taken Priſoner, being betrayed by the *Swiſs* in his Pay, and carried into *France*. As he had uſurped the Dutchy of *Milan*, had poiſoned his Nephew the lawful Heir, and had frequently put all *Italy*, by his unbounded Ambition, in a Flame, the King confined him for Life to the Caſtle of *Loches*; and he died there about the Year 1510[z].

Year of Chriſt 1499.

General Inſurrection againſt the French *in the State of* Milan.

Quelled, and the Duke taken Priſoner.

Year of Chriſt 1500.

As the King had not yet made the neceſſary Preparations for his intended Expedition into the Kingdom of *Naples*, he ſent, at the Requeſt of the Pope, a ſtrong Body of choſen Troops to aſſiſt *Valentine* in renewing the War againſt the Princes of *Romagna*. With that Reinforcement the Duke

Valentine *compleats the Reduction of* Romagna.

[z] Guicciardin. l. 5. Hiſt. de Bayard. c. 16. Anton. Hiſt. de Louis XII.

Year of Christ 1501.

ſoon made himſelf Maſter of *Peſaro* and *Rimini*, the firſt Place being abandoned by its Lord, *John Sforza*, and the latter, which was held by *Pandolf Malateſta*, opening its Gates to him as ſoon as he appeared before them. At *Frenza* he met with a moſt vigorous Reſiſtance from *Aſtor Manfredi*, Lord of that City, though only a Youth about eighteen Years of Age. The Duke is ſaid to have loſt in the Courſe of this Siege, above two thouſand of his beſt Troops. But the Beſieged being, in the End, reduced to great Straits for Want of Proviſions, and dreading the Conſequences of their falling into the Hands of ſo mercileſs an Enemy without any previous Agreement, prevailed upon their young Prince to capitulate; and the Town was, accordingly, delivered up upon the following Conditions; that the Perſons and Effects of the Inhabitants ſhould be ſafe, and that *Aſtor* ſhould be allowed to retire unmoleſted to what Place ſoever he pleaſed, and carry with him all his Effects. *Valentine* ſwore to the Obſervance of theſe Articles; but, regardleſs of his Oath, he retained the young Prince at his Court, and for ſome time treated him, in Appearance, with great Reſpect. But not long after he was ſent to *Rome*; and there, when a certain Perſon, as was reported, had ſatiated his Luſt with him, he being a moſt beautiful Youth, he was, with his natural Brother, privately put to Death. Thus *Guicciardin*. *Tomaſi* adds, that about a Twelvemonth after, the young Prince was found in the *Tiber* with a Bow-String about his Neck, and his Brother, a Youth of fifteen Years of Age, with his Hands tied behind his Back[a]. As the Reduction of *Romagna* was completed by the taking of *Faenza*, great Rejoicings were made, on that

Inſtance of his Cruelty and Treachery.

[a] Guicciardin. l. 5. Tomaſi, p. 139.

Occa-

Occaſion, at *Rome*; and the Pope not only confirmed to *Valentine* the Title of *Duke of Romagna*, which he had aſſumed, but granted to him the whole Province, to be held by him and his Heirs, and inveſted him with it in a full Conſiſtory; ſo that the Church got nothing by this War, in which ſo many Lives were loſt, though the Pope had undertaken it under Colour of recovering to her her ancient Domains; and the Duke was, in the End, the only Gainer. Year of Chriſt 1501. *Is created Duke of* Romagna.

The Pope and *Valentine* were for carrying the War next into the State of *Bologna*, held, with that City, by the *Bentivogli*. But the King of *France*, having, by this Time, made the neceſſary Preparations for adding the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of *Naples* to that of the Dutchy of *Milan*, recalled the Troops he had lent to *Valentine*; and thus was the intended Attempt upon *Bologna* put off to a more proper Seaſon. Of the King's Expedition againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Succeſs that attended it, Authors give us the following Account. As *Ferdinand the Catholic* claimed that Kingdom as well as *Lewis*, they privately agreed to conquer it, with their joint Forces, and divide it between them, laying it down as a Principle, that *Frederic*, the Prince then on the Throne, had no Right to it, being deſcended only from a natural Son of the Houſe of *Arragon*, and that they two were the only Perſons, who could have a lawful Claim to it, *Lewis*, as Heir to the Family of *Anjou*, and *Ferdinand*, as Nephew to *Alphonſo*, who conquered it, he being the Son of *John*, King of *Arragon*, *Alphonſo*'s Brother, and conſequently lawful Heir, as he pretended, to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which his Uncle had conquered with the Arms and the Money of *Arragon*. By that Convention *Ferdinand* was to have *Calabria* and *Apulia*, lying next to *Sicily*, which belonged *The Kings of* France *and* Spain *agree to divide the Kingdom of* Naples *between them.*

Year of Christ 1501.

longed to him, and *Lewis* the Reſt of the Kingdom with the Capital. Each was to conquer his own Share, and neither was obliged to aſſiſt, but only not to hinder the other. This Treaty was ſigned by *Ferdinand* at *Granada* on the 11th of *November* of the preſent Year. But by both Princes it was thought expedient, that it ſhould be kept ſecret till ſuch Time as the *French* Army, deſtined for the Conqueſt of *Naples*, arrived at *Rome*[b]. In the mean time the unhappy King *Frideric*, hearing of the March of the *French* Army, and knowing nothing of this Treaty, applied to *Ferdinand* as a Prince of the ſame Family, earneſtly entreating him to take him into his Protection, and aſſiſt him as powerfully againſt *Lewis* of *France*, as he had aſſiſted his Nephew againſt *Charles*. *Ferdinand*, in Compliance, as he pretended, with *Frideric*'s Requeſt, ordered *Gonſalvo*, called the *Great Captain*, having firſt let him into the Secret, to embark immediately on board the Fleet, that lay at *Malaga* with a great Number of Troops on board, and ſail to *Sicily*. The News of his Arrival there gave great Joy to *Frideric*, who entertained not, (and how could he?) the leaſt Suſpicion of the Catholic King's Treachery, and he immediately wrote to *Gonſalvo*, preſſing him to paſs over, without Delay, to *Calabria*, that he might be ready at hand to make Head againſt the *French* in full March to invade his Kingdom. *Gonſalvo* demanded, and obtained ſome Towns in *Calabria*, that he might have Places to retreat to, as he pretended, in caſe of any Misfortune; but his real Deſign was thus to get more eaſily Poſſeſſion of his Maſter's Share. Upon the Landing of the Great Captain with his Troops in *Calabria*, the deluded King drew together the few Forces he had, in order to join him. But, in the mean time, the whole

Treachery of the King of Spain.

[b] Recueil de Traites de Leonard. tom. 1.

Secret

Secret was diſcloſed. For the *French* Army being arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, the Embaſſadors of *Spain* and *France* demanded an Audience of the Pope in a full Conſiſtory, and having obtained it, they notified to him and the Cardinals the Treaty concluded between the two Kings, begging his Holineſs to confirm it by granting the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples* to the King of *France*, and that of *Apulia* and *Calabria* to the King of *Spain*. Their Requeſt was immediately granted, and a Bull was ſoon afterwards iſſued, depriving *Frideric* of the Kingdom, and confirming the above-mentioned Diviſion. The unfortunate *Frideric* was thunder-ſtruck at the News of this Treaty, and could ſcarce believe, that a Prince of his own Family would be ſo baſe as to abuſe the Confidence he placed in him, to procure his Ruin more effectually. But being ſoon convinced of it by the Hoſtilities, that the Great Captain began to commit in *Calabria*, and finding it abſolutely impoſſible for him to reſiſt two ſuch formidable Powers, he put the few Forces he had into his Towns to defend them as long as they were able, and retired himſelf to *Caſtel Nuovo* in *Naples*. But being there beſieged, without any Hopes of Relief by *Aubigni*, who commanded the *French* Army, he ſurrendered upon the following Conditions: That he ſhould be permitted to withdraw to the Iſle of *Iſchia* with what Effects he could carry with him, ſhould be allowed to remain there ſix Months, and then retire to what Place he pleaſed out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He was ſo provoked at the Baſeneſs and Treachery of *Ferdinand*, that, before the ſix Months expired, he retired to *France*, and being well received by that King, he made over to him, out of Spite to *Ferdinand*, all his Rights to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and had, upon that Account, the Dutchy of *Anjou*, and a Penſion of 30,000 Ducats a Year, which he enjoyed

Year of Chriſt 1501.

The Partition Treaty confirmed by the Pope.

Frideric *driven out, and the Kingdom divided between the Kings of* France *and* Spain.

Year of Christ 1501.

joyed to the Hour of his Death. The Great Captain met with as little Oppoſition in reducing *Calabria* and *Apulia*, as *Aubigni* had done in conquering the Reſt of the Kingdom. *Taranto* held out for ſome Time, but was, in the End, forced to capitulate; and one of the Articles of the Capitulation was, that the Duke of *Calabria*, the dethroned King's Son, then in that City, ſhould be at Liberty to retire to what Place ſoever he ſhould think proper. They obliged the Great Captain to ſwear, upon the conſecrated Hoſt, to the Obſervance of this Article in particular. But, notwithſtanding his Oath, he ſent the young Prince, under a ſtrong Guard, into *Spain*, where he met with kind Uſage, but was kept, in a Manner, as a Priſoner, ſo long as he lived[c]. Thus ended the Reign of this unhappy Branch of the Houſe of *Arragon* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. Great Numbers of Manifeſtos were publiſhed by the King of *Spain*'s Friends to juſtify his Conduct in this War. But with all their Manifeſtos they could not hinder People, as *Guicciardin* informs us, from making a Joke of his Title of *Catholic*, as well as of his Pretences to Piety and Religion in driving the *Moors* out of the Kingdom of *Granada*, which procured him that Title.

Valentine *invades, and reduces the States of* Piombino.

While theſe Things paſſed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Pope, watching every Opportunity of extending his Power, and aggrandizing his Family at the Expence of his Neighbours, formed a Deſign of making himſelf Maſter of the Republic of *Florence*, divided, at this Time, into two oppoſite Factions. Accordingly, he ſent Duke *Valentine*, with all the Forces of the Church under his Command, to invade the Dominions of that Republic, under Colour of reinſtating *Peter de Medicis*, who

[c] Guicciard. l. 5. Anton. Hiſt. de Louis XII. Hiſt. du Chevalier Bayard.

had

Year of Christ 1501.

had been lately driven out by the popular Faction. The Duke made himſelf Maſter of ſome Places; but while he was advancing in full March to *Florence*, he received a Letter from the King of *France*, to whom the *Florentines* had applied, requiring him inſtantly to withdraw his Troops from the *Florentines* Dominions, to reſtore the Places he had taken, and not concern himſelf with the Affairs of that Republic. With this Order *Valentine* complied much againſt his Will; but turning his Arms, before he left *Tuſcany*, againſt *Appiano*, Prince of *Piombino*, to whoſe Dominions he had no Shadow of Claim or Right, he made himſelf Maſter of all the Places belonging to that Prince, and after a Siege, that laſted ſome Time, of *Piombino* itſelf his Capital. The Prince had gone in Perſon, upon this unexpected Invaſion, into *France*, to implore the Protection of the King, who was bound by former Stipulations to maintain him in quiet Poſſeſſion of all his Dominions. *Lewis* received him very coldly, and returned to his Requeſt the following Anſwer; that he could afford no Aſſiſtance without the Breach of a poſterior Treaty concluded with his Holineſs and Duke *Valentine*. However the Prince ſaved, at leaſt, his Life by his Journey into *France*. For the City of *Piombino* being taken in his Abſence, he eſcaped by that Means, falling into the Hands of the Duke, who, to ſecure to himſelf the Poſſeſſion of the States, which he had unjuſtly ſeized, ſeldom failed to remove the Proprietors, by ſome Means or other, commonly by Poiſon, out of the Way. From *Piombino Valentine* returned to the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, and there ſeized on all the Towns and Territories belonging to the *Colonnas* and the *Savellis*, pretending that they had forfeited them by joining the King of *Naples* againſt the *French*. Out of the States of theſe two wealthy and powerful *Roman* Families

Year of Christ 1501.

Families the Pope created two Dutchies, the one of *Nepi*, the other of *Sermoneta*. With the former he inveſted *John Borgia*, another natural Son of his, not by *Vanozza*, but by a *Roman* Lady after his Acceſſion to the Pontificate. But in the Bull of Inveſtiture he is called the Son of *Cæſar Borgia*. The other Dutchy he beſtowed upon *Roderic* of *Arragon*, the ſuppoſed Son of his Daughter *Lucretia* by her third Huſband, the natural Son of *Alphonſo* II. King of *Naples* [d]. I ſaid *the ſuppoſed Son*; for it was commonly believed, that *Roderic* was his Holineſs's own Son by his own Daughter.

Seizes on the Dutchy of Urbino *by Treachery.* Year of Chriſt 1502.

Valentine's next Undertaking was to make himſelf Maſter of the Dutchy of *Urbino*; with that View he ſent Part of his Troops to inveſt *Camerino*, belonging to the *Varani* Family, and ſoon after came himſelf, with the Reſt of his Army, to *Perugia* to aſſiſt in Perſon, as he pretended, at the Siege. From *Perugia* he diſpatched two Meſſengers to *Guidobaldo*, Duke of *Urbino*, to compliment him in his Name, and beg he would lend him ſome Troops and Artillery to be employed in the Siege of *Camerino*. As the Duke had lately compounded ſome Differences with the Pope to the entire Satisfaction of both, and received moſt affectionate Letters from his Holineſs, he apprehended no evil Conſequences from his complying with *Valentine*'s Requeſt. But no ſooner had he put himſelf out of a State of making any Defence by complying with it, than *Valentine* marching with incredible Speed, entered the Dutchy, in a hoſtile Manner, ſeized on *Cagli*, and, advancing with the ſame Expedition to *Urbino*, made himſelf Maſter of that City without the leaſt Oppoſition. He had placed Guards on all the Roads, in order to get the Duke and his Nephew into his Power. For it was a Rule with him

[d] Guicciard. l. 5.

to

to extirpate the whole Race of thoſe Princes, whom he had diveſted of their States. But the Duke mounting a Peaſant's Horſe, in the Diſguiſe of a Peaſant, had the good Luck to eſcape undiſcovered firſt to *Ravenna*, and afterwards to *Venice*; and his Nephew, eſcaping a thouſand Snares, got ſafe to *Aſti* [e]. —*Valentine*, after a ſhort Stay at *Urbino*, returned to purſue the Siege of *Camerino*. As he met there with a moſt vigorous Reſiſtance from *Julius da Varano*, Lord of the Place, a Treaty was ſet on Foot, and a few Days Truce agreed to by both, in order to ſettle the Terms. But *Valentine*, obſerving that the Beſieged, depending upon the Truce, were leſs vigilant, he aſſaulted the Place on all Sides with his whole Army, and carried it Sword in Hand. The Attack was ſo ſudden, and ſo unexpected, that the unhappy Prince, not having Time to make his Eſcape, fell into the Hands of the perfidious Conqueror, with two of his Sons; and they were all three by his Order immediately ſtrangled [f]. The Prince's eldeſt Son had been ſent ſome Time before to *Venice*, and thus happily eſcaped the Fate of his two younger Brothers [g].

Year of Chriſt 1502.

And on the City of Camerino.

The Treatment, that the Duke of *Urbino*, and the Lord of *Camerino* had met with, taught the other Princes of *Italy* to provide for their own Safety. With that View they met at a Place called *Mogione*, not far from *Perugia*, and there agreed, all to a Man, to join their Forces in their Defence, and ſtop the Career of *Valentine*'s unjuſt Uſurpations. At this Meeting were preſent *Vitelozzo Vitelli*, Lord of *Citta di Caſtello*, *Paul Baglione*, Lord of *Perugia*, *Liverotto*, Lord of *Fermo*, *Hermes*, Son of *John Bentivoglio*, Lord of *Bo-*

Confederacy againſt Valentine.

[e] Guicciard. ibid. et Buonacorſi. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Tomaſi. p. 234.

logna,

Year of Christ 1502.

logna, *Antony da Venafro*, as the Deputy of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, the chief Magistrate of the Republic of *Siena*, Cardinal *Orsini* with *Paul*, and *Francis Orsini*, Duke of *Gravina*. This Confederacy alarmed *Valentine*, the rather, as the People of *Urbino* had recalled their lawful Sovereign, who landing at *Sinigaglia* had recovered the whole Dutchy, except some strong Holds, and was ready to join the Confederates. At the same Time the City of *Camerino*, shaking off the Yoke, put *John da Varanno*, their late Lord's eldest Son, in Possession of the Place. Upon the first News of this Alliance, the Pope and *Valentine*, sensible that they were not then in a Condition to oppose so many Enemies with any Success, resolved to recur to their usual Arts, and, instead of Arms, employ Guile and Deceit. Accordingly they proposed the accommodating Matters in an amicable Manner, and by Treaty, his Holiness engaging his Word with the most solemn Protestations, that the Articles agreed to should, on his Part and *Valentine*'s, be most religiously observed. They applied to *Paul Orsini* in particular, and having gained him by promising to restore to his Family all the Towns and Territories that had been taken from them, they met with very little Difficulty in gaining the Rest, and thus breaking the Confederacy. *Valentine*, being thus delivered from all his Fears, appointed the Heads of the Confederacy to meet him at *Sinigaglia*, in order to give their Opinion concerning an Affair of the utmost Importance, he being, he said, no less willing to confide in the Counsel of his Friends, than in their Arms. The two *Orsini*, *Paul*, and the Duke of *Gravina*, *Vitelli* of *Cita di Castello*, and *Liverotto* of *Fermo*, in Compliance with *Valentine*'s Invitation, repaired to *Singaglia*, and were there received by him with all the Marks of the most sincere Friendship.

The Confederacy broken, and four of the Chiefs treacherously murdered.

When

When he had talked ſome Time with them in a moſt friendly Manner, he took them into an inner Room, under Colour of having ſomething to communicate to them in private. But no ſooner had they entered the Room, than they were made Priſoners, and two of them, *viz. Vitelli* and *Liverotto*, ſtrangled upon the Spot. The two *Orſini* underwent the ſame Fate ſoon afterwards, and the Cardinal of that Name, when he had been confined for ſome Time in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, was diſpatched with Poiſon [h]. Year of Chriſt 1502.

And now the Duke having no Enemy to oppoſe him, recovered the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and without the Loſs of a ſingle Man, made himſelf Maſter of *Citta di Caſtello*, *Fermo*, and *Perugia*, the *Baglioni*, Lords of the latter Place, having abandoned it at his Approach. He turned his Arms next againſt the *Orſini*, and, pretending that they had formed a Deſign of ſeizing even on *Rome* itſelf, as they had many ſtrong Holds in that Neighbourhood, he poſſeſſed himſelf of all their Territories, and having laid their Fortreſſes level with the Ground, returned to *Rome*, loaded with the Spoils of that ancient Family. He had long aſpired at the Sovereignty of the Free State of *Siena*, of *Piſa*, and of *Florence*, and had even ſet out on his March, with all the Forces of the Church under his Command, in order to invade thoſe States, beginning with that of *Siena*. But by an expreſs Order from the King of *France* he was obliged to drop that Undertaking, and withdraw his Troops from the Territory of *Siena*, where he had already committed many ſhocking and unheard of Barbarities. However, being afterwards emboldened by the Misfortunes of the *French*, in the War carried on between them and the *Spaniards*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, about the Diviſion of that Kingdom, he reſolved, and ſo did the Pope, to purſue the War *Several Cities reduced.* *Perſecution of the* Orſini. Year of Chriſt 1503.

[h] Guicciardin. l. 5. Tomaſi.

Year of Christ 1503.

againſt the above-mentioned States, whether the *French* King approved of it, or not; nay, though they owed to him all their Grandeur, they had determined to abandon his Party in caſe he oppoſed them, and eſpouſe that of *Spain* againſt him. But the ſudden and quite unexpected Death of the Pope defeated at once all their vaſt Projects.

Alexander *dies.*

Account of his Death.

It was univerſally believed, ſays *Guicciardin*, that the Death of the Pope was owing to Poiſon; and, as that Author informs us, it happened according to the more common Report in the following Manner. *Valentine* had reſolved to diſpatch with Poiſon *Hadrian*, Cardinal of *Corneto*, one of the moſt wealthy of the ſacred College; and being one Night to ſup with him, with his Holineſs, and other Gueſts, in a Vineyard, near the *Vatican*, that belonged to the ſaid Cardinal, he ſent thither, before Supper, ſome Flaſks of Wine infected with a moſt deadly Poiſon. Theſe Flaſks were delivered to the Waiter, with ſtrict Orders not to open them for any Perſon whatever. In the mean Time the Pope arrived, and being overcome with Thirſt, as the Seaſon was extremely hot, he aſked for ſomething to drink. As the Waiter, who was truſted with the Wine, had not been let into the Secret, he imagined that it was ſome of the choiceſt, and preſented his Holineſs with it. While the Pope was drinking *Valentine* arrived, and took a Draught of the ſame Wine. The Poiſon operated immediately; the Pope was carried for dead to the Pontifical Palace, and his Son after him in the ſame Condition [i]. Such is the Account *Guicciardin* gives us of *Alexander*'s Death; and from that Account it does not appear that the Pope was privy to the Affair. But by other Authors the Plot is charged upon the Father as well as the Son. *Alexander*, ſays Cardinal *Bembo*, died on the 18th of *Auguſt*, having, by a Miſtake of the Waiter, drunk

[i] Guicciardin. l. 5.

drunk the Poiſon, which he had privately ordered to be given to his intimate Friend Cardinal *Hadrian*, in whoſe Gardens he ſupped with his Son *Cæſar*. It providentially happened, that they, who had diſpatched, with Poiſon, ſo many illuſtrious Perſons, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of their Treaſures, and deſigned to have added their intimate Friend and their Gueſt to the Reſt, ſhould, by the ſame Means, have deſtroyed themſelves inſtead of him[k]. *Tomaſo Tomaſi* writes, that the Pope intended to have poiſoned all the rich Cardinals, as well as the Cardinal of *Corneto*, and ſeize on their Wealth, as he ſtood in great Want of Money for his Expedition againſt *Tuſcany*; that he invited them, with that View, to ſup with him and his Son, in a Vineyard near the *Vatican*, that belonged to the ſaid Cardinal of *Corneto*; that *Valentine* conſigned the poiſoned Wine to the Head-waiter, and acquainted him with the whole, but that the Pope arriving in his Abſence, and aſking for ſomething to drink, the Under-waiter, who had received no Inſtructions, gave him ſome of the poiſoned Wine, imagining, as it was ſet apart, that it was reſerved for his Holineſs. *Tomaſi* adds, that the Pope had ſcarce ſat down to Supper, when being ſeized with a racking Pain in his Bowels, he fell off his Chair, and was taken up and carried to his Palace for dead[l].——He died the next Day, the 18th of *Auguſt*, in the ſeventy-ſecond Year of his Age, when he had held the See eleven Years and ſixteen Days: His Body, all ſwelled, black, and ſhockingly disfigured, was carried to *St. Peter*'s, in order to be there interred, the People crowding, with incredible Joy, about it, and congratulating each other upon their being, at laſt, delivered from one, who with his immoderate Ambition, and unexampled Treachery, with innumerable Inſtances of horrid Cruelty, of monſtrous Luſt, and unheard

Year of Chriſt 1503.

His Character.

[k] Bembo, l. 6. [l] Tomaſi apud Gordon. vita Alex. p. 361, et ſeq.

Year of Chriſt 1503.

of Avarice, expoſing all Things to Sale, both ſacred and profane, had, like a venomous Serpent, intoxicated the whole World. Such is the Portrait *Guicciardin* has left us of this Pope [n].

His Vices.

I ſhall paſs over, in Silence, the many ſhocking Inſtances, that occur in Hiſtory of his Holineſs's *monſtrous Luſt*, but cannot help taking Notice of his being ſtrongly ſuſpected of Inceſt with his own Daughter, and his having, in his Amour with her, his two Sons, the Duke of *Gandia* and *Valentine*, for his Rivals. This gave Occaſion to ſeveral Paſquinades, and, among the reſt, to the following famous Diſtich of *Pontanus*, written by way of Epitaph for *Lucretia*'s Tomb.

Hoc jacet in tumulo Lucretia nomine, ſed re
Thais; Alexandri filia, ſponſa, nurus.

He is charged with the ſame Crime by the celebrated *Sannazar* in the following Lines,

Humana jura, nec minus cæleſtia,
Ipſoſque ſuſtulit Deos;
Ut ſcilicet liceret heu ſcelus! Patri
Natæ ſinum permingere [o].

His Holineſs, ſays *Burchardus*, was a great Lover of Women, and in his Time the Apoſtolic Palace was turned into a Brothel, a more infamous Brothel than any of the public Stews. He then tells us of an Entertainment, given by *Valentine*, in the Apoſtolic Palace, to fifty of the moſt noted Harlots then in *Rome*, and deſcribes, perhaps, too minutely, the Obſcenities practiſed, on that Occaſion, in the Preſence of the Pope, and his Daughter *Lucretia* [p]. In ſhort, none of the Eaſtern, none of the *Roman* Emperors, however lewd and debauched, exceeded *Alexander* in Lewdneſs and

[n] Guicciard. l. 5. [o] Sannazar, l. 2. Epigram 29. [p] Burchard. Diar. p. 77. ibid.

Debauch!

Year of Chriſt 1503.

Debauchery [q].——Of his *immoderate Ambition*, his *unexampled Treachery*, and his *horrid Cruelty*, I have already alledged ſeveral ſhocking Inſtances. As for his *unheard of Avarice*; he ſtuck at nothing to accumulate Wealth wherewithal to feed the Extravagance of his unnatural Brood, and raiſe them to the higheſt Pitch of Grandeur. It was a common Practice, ſays *Guicciardin*, both with the Father and the Son, to diſpatch with Poiſon, not only thoſe, whom they had reſolved to ſacrifice to their Revenge and Jealouſy, but all other Perſons, whoſe Wealth tempted their unhallowed Avarice, not ſparing Cardinals nor other Courtiers, nor even their moſt intimate Friends, and their moſt faithful and uſeful Miniſters [r]. Innumerable Inſtances are to be met with in the Writers of theſe unhappy Times, eſpecially in *Tomaſi* and *Burchardus*, of Perſons thus diſpatched, and charged, after their Death, with Crimes, for which it was pretended, that they had forfeited their Eſtates; and thus were they twice moſt barbarouſly murdered [s].

All Things venal in his Time at Rome.

——In Simony he far ſurpaſſed all his Predeceſſors; expoſing to Sale all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, Dignities, Benefices, and even Biſhoprics; nay, and admitting none into the Sacred College, but ſuch as had purchaſed that Dignity with ready Money; which gave juſt Occaſion to the following Paſquinade.

Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Chriſtum.
Emerat ille prius, vendere jure poteſt.

To conclude, all, who ſpeak of *Alexander*, ſeem to agree in this, that for Luſt, Avarice, Cruelty, Treachery, and Perfidiouſneſs, he ſcarce ever had his Equal. But, at the ſame Time they allow him to have been endowed with moſt extraordinary

Allowed to have had ſome good Qualities.

[q] Tomaſi, p. 187. [r] Guicciard. l. 5. [s] Burchard. et Tomaſi, ubi ſupra.

Year of Chriſt 1503.

dinary Talents, and a Capacity equal to the Government of an Empire. No Man ever propoſed Matters with more Art, or drew others with more Eaſe into his own Sentiments. His Language was attracting, and his Eloquence irreſiſtible. He made it his Study to accommodate himſelf to the Temper and Genius of others; with the Grave and Serious he was ſo too, but jocoſe and facetious with Men of Pleaſantry. He loved Shows, and public Sports, but never ſuffered his Diverſions to interfere with Buſineſs. He contented himſelf with little Sleep, was very temperate in his Diet, and never known to have been guilty of the leaſt Intemperance. He is ſaid, for all his Love of Money, never to have with-held from the Profeſſors of the liberal Arts their Salaries, from the Soldiers their Pay, nor from the Workmen their Wages: It was a Maxim with him, that *who takes from the Great muſt give to the Little:* And it was by adhering to that Maxim, that he cauſed ſo many *Roman* Barons to be diveſted of their Eſtates, and barbarouſly murdered, without any Inſurrection enſuing thereupon in *Rome*, or any Dangerto himſelf[t].

His Writings.

Alexander left behind him a Treatiſe under the Title of *Clypeus defenſionis fidei Romanæ Eccleſiæ*, with ſeveral Bulls; and amongſt theſe the Bull relating to the Diſputes between the Kings of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, concerning the Diſcovery of the *Weſt Indies*. That Affair being by both Princes referred to his Arbitration, he determined it thus; that their Conqueſts in thoſe Parts ſhould be bounded by a Line, ſuppoſed to be drawn from North to South, paſſing about one hundred Leagues from the Iſlands of *Cape Verde*, and that the Part of the Ocean, lying to the Weſt of that Line, ſhould

[t] Burchard. Tomaſi, ubi ſupra, et Onuphrius in Alex. VI.

be

belong to the King of *Caſtile*, and the other to the South, to the King of *Portugal*[u]. Year of Chriſt 1503.

MAXIMILIAN, *Emperor of the Weſt.*

PIUS III.

The two hundred and thirteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

THE Death of *Alexander* was attended with great Diſturbances, not only at *Rome* but throughout the Eccleſiaſtical State. For no ſooner was it known that he was dead, and his Son *Valentine* lay dangerouſly ill, than the Cities of *Peſaro*, *Sinigaglia*, *Citta di Caſtello*, *Camerino*, *Urbino*, *Piombino*, and *Perugia*, ſhaking off the Yoke, recalled their old Lords, and reinſtated them in their Dominions. Thus did *Valentine* loſe at once what it had coſt him ſo much Blood and Treaſure to gain. However the People of *Romagna* ſhewed no Inclination to revolt, being entirely ſatisfied with their new Governor, and his new Government. In *Rome* every Thing was in the utmoſt Confuſion. For the *Orſini*, and the other *Roman* Barons, whom *Valentine* had diveſted of their Eſtates, being returned upon the News of the Pope's Death and *Valentine*'s Illneſs, Battles were daily fought in the Streets between the two oppoſite Parties; inſomuch that the Cardinals were obliged to raiſe a conſiderable Body of Troops to protect them, while they were ſhut up in the Conclave. Beſides, they applied to the *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Venetian* Embaſſadors, and having by their Means prevailed upon *Valentine*, as well as upon the Heads of the oppoſite Party, to withdraw with their Men from *Rome*, till the Election was made, they began, at laſt, to celebrate the Funeral Solemnities of the deceaſed Pope, not in the Church of *St. Peter*, where he was buried, but in that of the *Dominicans*, called

Diſturbances on Occaſion of the Death of Alexander.

[u] Cherubini Bullar. mag, et Bembo, l. 6.

Year of Christ 1503.

The Minerva. They did not, it seems, think it safe to meet in the *Vatican*, as being too near to the Castle of *St. Angelo*, garrisoned by *Valentine*'s Men[w]. However, being assured by the Governor, that they should meet with no Disturbance, nor Interruption, they assembled in the *Vatican*, to the Number of thirty-eight, and in a very short Time elected, with one Consent, *Francis Piccolomini*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Eustathius*. His Election fell on the 22d of *September*, when the See had been vacant thirty-five Days, and he was crowned on the 8th of *October*, under the Name of *Pius* III.

Pius III. elected.

His Family, Preferments, &c.

He was a Native of *Siena*, of the *Todeschini* Family; but being Nephew to *Pius* II. by his Sister *Laodamia*, of the *Piccolomini* Family, he was allowed by that Pope to take the Name and bear the Arms of that Family. He was preferred by his Uncle to the Dignity of Cardinal, when only twenty-two Years of Age, and not long after to the Bishopric of *Siena*, and it was to renew the Memory of his Benefactor that he took the Name of *Pius* III. The succeeding Popes *Paul* II. *Innocent* VIII. and *Alexander* VI. employed him in several Legations, which he is said to have discharged to their entire Satisfaction, being a Man of great Experience and equal Probity[x].

New Disturbances in Rome.

Upon the News of his Election *Valentine*, who still continued greatly indisposed, and was obliged to travel in a Litter, returned to *Rome* with 200 Men at Arms, as many light Horse, and 800 Foot. But the *Orsini* being likewise returned, the War was renewed within the Walls, and the City thrown again into the utmost Confusion. But as the *Orsini* received daily new Reinforcements they prevailed in the End, and obliged *Valentine* to fly for Refuge to the Castle of *St. Angelo*. Upon

w Guicciadin. l. 6. Onuph. in Pio III. x Onuph. in vit.

his

his Flight his Men diſperſed; and thus was he left at the Mercy of the Pope, who nevertheleſs would allow no Violence to be offered to him, but ordered the Governnor to let him depart unmoleſted whenever he pleaſed. Thus was Peace reſtored to the City, but *Pius* did not live to enjoy it. For being advanced in Years and very infirm, he died on the 26th Day after his Election. Some aſcribe his Death to Poiſon, conveyed into an Ulcer he had in his Leg, at the Inſtigation of *Pandolfo Petrucci*, Lord of *Siena*. His Death happened on the 18th of *October*, when he had lived ſixty-four Years five Months and ten Days [y]. He was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, in a Marble Sepulchre, near that of his Uncle *Pius* II. in the Chapel of *St. Andrew*. *Guicciardin* ſpeaks of him as a Man of an unſpotted Life, and not unworthy of the high Dignity, to which he was raiſed [z].

Year of Chriſt 1503.

Death of Pius.

MAXIMILIAN, *Emperor of the Weſt.*

JULIUS II.

The two hundred and fourteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

AS at the Time of *Pius*'s Death the Troops of the *Orſini* were ſtill in *Rome*, the Cardinals delayed entering into the Conclave till they had evacuated the City. But in the mean Time they agreed in their Choice without Doors, and aſſembling on the laſt Day of *October*, elected that Night without ſhutting the Conclave, *Julian della Rovere*, Cardinal Preſbyter of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, who took the Name of *Julius* II. This Unanimity in electing a Man, who was known to be of a

Julius II. elected.

[y] Guicciard. l. 6. Tomaſi, Onuph. in vita. [z] Idem ibid.

reſtleſs

Year of Christ 1503.

restless and untractable Temper, and to have spent his whole Life in Contentions and Bustles, is ascribed by *Guicciardin*, partly to his being looked upon as the principal Defender of the Immunities and Rights of the Church, but chiefly to the great Promises he made to the Cardinals, that is, to Simony, Corruption, and Bribery. He even courted the Favour of *Valentine*, and to gain him, and, by his Means the *Spanish* Cardinals, he proposed a Marriage between the Duke's Daughter and his own Nephew *Francis Maria della Rovere*, Governor of *Rome*. He promised, besides, to confirm *Valentine* in the Post of Captain General of the Church, and to assist him in the Recovery of the Cities of *Romagna*, that had begun to revolt [a].

His Preferments before his Election.

Julius, thus elected, was a Native of *Savona* in the State of *Genoa*, and the Son of *Raphael della Rovere*, Brother to *Sixtus* IV. By that Pope he was preferred to the See of *Carpentras*, and in 1471 created Cardinal Presbyter of *St. Peter ad Vincula*. By the same Pope he was made Bishop of *Albano*, then of *Ostia*, and lastly high Penitentiary, and Apostolic Legate at *Avignon*. He was greatly esteemed and caressed by *Innocent* VIII. the Successor of *Sixtus*. But having Reason to believe that *Alexander*, coveting his Wealth, intended to remove him out of the Way, as he had done many others, he retired to *France*, and attended King *Charles* in his Expedition against the Kingdom of *Naples* [b].

Misunderstanding between him and the Venetians.

The new Pope was scarce warm in his Chair, when a Quarrel broke out between him and the *Venetians*, on the following Occasion. The People of *Romagna*, who, in the general Revolution of the other States and Cities, had continued faithful to

[a] Guicciard. ibid. [b] Idem ibid. et Onuph. in vit. Julii II.

Valen-

Year of Christ 1503.

Valentine, hearing that he had fled into the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and his Troops were diſperſed, began to take different Parties. Some returned under their former Obedience to the Church, while others recalled their ancient Lords. But the *Venetians*, aſpiring at the Dominion of all *Romagna*, broke unexpectedly into that Province, and having got Poſſeſſion of *Forlimpopoli*, of *Rimini*, and of ſeveral other Places, laid Siege to *Faenza*. Hereupon the *Faentines*, ſenſible that they could not long hold out with their own Force alone, againſt ſo powerful an Enemy, ſent Deputies to *Rome*, to implore the Protection and Aſſiſtance of the Pope. *Julius* was provoked beyond Meaſure at the Proceedings of the *Venetians*. But being newly placed in the Chair, and deſtitute both of Men and Money, he was obliged to content himſelf for the preſent with ſending a Nuncio, to remonſtrate againſt their attempting to ſubject to their Republic a City that belonged to the Church, to which they themſelves could not but know, that they had no Shadow of Right. The Nuncio, the Biſhop of *Tivoli*, was ordered to add, that his Holineſs had been moſt cordially affected to their Republic before his Exaltation, and that now he was raiſed to ſo high a Station, they might expect to feel the Effects of his ancient Benevolence. The Senate received the Nuncio with the greateſt Marks of Honour and Reſpect, and after deliberating ſome Time among themſelves, returned him the following Anſwer: That the Senate had always moſt ardently wiſhed for the Promotion of the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula* to the Pontificate, on Account of the Friendſhip that had ſubſiſted ſo long between them, and his Holineſs could not doubt that they would pay him more Deference and Reſpect now he was Pope, than they had done while he was a Cardinal; but that they did not underſtand why his Holineſs ſhould be offended at

Year of Christ 1503.

at their embracing the Opportunity that offered of poſſeſſing themſelves of *Faenza*, ſince the Church had diveſted herſelf of all Right to it in a full Conſiſtory, and transferred the Sovereignty to Duke *Valentine*. They added, that the City of *Faenza*, with its ſmall State, had been governed, Time out of Mind, by its own Princes, who received the Inveſtiture of the Popes, and paid no other Acknowledgment of their Subjection of the Holy See than a ſmall Tribute, which the Senate was ready to pay, provided it was really due. The Senate having diſmiſſed the Nuncio with this Anſwer, ordered *Chriſtopher Moro*, their Commander, to purſue the Siege; and the Town was ſoon obliged to ſubmit [c]. The Pope diſſembled for the preſent, but it was not long ere the *Venetians* had Occaſion to repent their having made him an Enemy, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel.

Who make themſelves Maſters of Faenza.

As ſome Caſtles in *Romagna* ſtill held out for *Valentine*, though the Cities had revolted, the Pope propoſed his delivering them up to him, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the *Venetians*. That Propoſal *Valentine* rejected, which ſo provoked the Pope, that he ordered him to be arreſted, and conveyed to the Caſtle of *Oſtia*, to be committed there to the Cuſtody of Cardinal *Carvajal*, till he had put the Pope in Poſſeſſion of his Fortreſſes in *Romagna*. The Pope did not intend to ſet him at Liberty even upon his delivering up thoſe Fortreſſes; but the Cardinal, to whoſe Cuſtody he was committed, no ſooner heard of their being put into the Pope's Hands, than he reſtored the Duke to his Liberty, without the Knowledge of his Holineſs. The Duke inſtead of returning to *Rome*, and putting himſelf in the Power of the Pope, whom he began to miſtruſt, repaired, in great Haſte, to the Kingdom of *Naples*, and met

Valentine *arreſted by the Pope's Order.*

Year of Chriſt 1504.

Flies to the Kingdom of Naples.

[c] Guicciard. ibid.

there

there with a moſt friendly Reception from the Great Captain, who, having driven the *French* quite out of the Kingdom, governed it as the Catholic King's Viceroy, or Lieutenant. The Duke, in the ſeveral Conferences he had with that General, communicated to him the vaſt Projects he was ſtill forming, eſpecially his Deſign upon the States of *Piſa* and *Florence*, all which *Gonſalvo* not only pretended to approve, but gave him Leave to raiſe, in the Kingdom, what Number of Troops he thought neceſſary to carry his Deſign into Execution, nay, and offered his Gallies to convey him and his Troops to *Piſa*. The Troops being raiſed with incredible Expedition, and the Gallies ready to receive them on board, the Duke, before he imbarked, had a long Conference with *Gonſalvo*, who, at parting, embraced him with the warmeſt Expreſſions of Friendſhip. But he no ſooner came out of the Room, than he was arreſted by the General's Order, and carried Priſoner to the Caſtle. When *Gonſalvo* was charged with breaking his Faith, he alledged, in his Vindication, the expreſs Command of his Sovereign, to which, he ſaid, all private Engagements ought to give Way [d]. *Giovio* will have the Pope to have been the chief Author of the Impriſonment of *Valentine*, conſulting therein his own Safety and the Peace of *Italy*. However that be, by his Impriſonment an End was, at laſt, put to all his Grandeur, Fortune, and Hopes. He had taken for his Motto the Words, *Aut Cæſar aut nihil, Cæſar or nothing*, and he was, for ſome Time, as great and victorious as *Cæſar*. But falling from the Greatneſs, to which he had raiſed himſelf by Fraud and Cruelty, he became, before his Death, *nothing*, as has been elegantly expreſſed by *Sannazar* in the Two following Lines:

Year of Chriſt 1504.

Is there impriſoned, and ſent to Spain.

[d] Idem ibid.

Omnia

Year of Christ 1504.

Omnia vincebas, ſperabas omnia Cæſar:
Omnia deficiunt, incipis eſſe nihil.

Ad by another Poet thus:

Borgia Cæſar erat, factis et nomine Cæſar.
AUT NIHIL, AUT CÆSAR *dixit*; *utrumque fuit.*

He was ſoon afterwards ſent on board a light Galley, Priſoner to *Spain*, and there confined in the Caſtle of *Medina del Campo*; nor was he ever more heard of, tho' he had made ſo much Noiſe in the World, except on Occaſion of his Death, which happened ſome Years afterwards. He had made his Eſcape from the Caſtle of *Medina*, and having fled to *John*, King of *Navarre*, his Brother-in-Law, he was killed in a Skirmiſh with ſome Rebels, who had taken up Arms againſt that Prince [e]. I cannot help obſerving, that, *Valentine*, guilty, on ſo many Occaſions, of the blackeſt Treachery, of ſo many horrid Murders, unheard-of Cruelties, and moſt unjuſt Uſurpations, is propoſed by *Machiavel* in his *Principe* for a Pattern, to be imitated by all, who aſpire to, or have arrived at Empire [f]. But with that Writer all Juſtice, Morality, and Religion, were out of the Queſtion.

His Death.

Julius *reſolves to recover* Bologna *and* Perugia.

Year of Chriſt 1506.

As the new Pope found, at his Acceſſion to the Chair, the Treaſury of the Church quite exhauſted, he continued quiet and unactive, though full of vaſt Projects during the Firſt Three Years of his Pontificate. But having, in that Time, by retrenching all unneceſſary Expences, and living himſelf with great Parſimony, amaſſed a very conſiderable Sum, he begun in 1506 to carry his Deſigns into Execution. As the City of *Bologna* was held by *John Bentivoglio*, and that of *Perugia* by *Gian-*

e Idem, l. 7. Jovius l. 8. f Machiavel, c. 7.

pagolo

pagolo Baglione, but were Parts of the ancient Domains of the Church, the Pope reſolved to recover them out of the Hands of thoſe Tyrants, as he called them, and reunite them to the Church. Purſuant to that Reſolution he applied to the King of *France*, *Lewis* XII. begging he would aſſiſt him in ſo juſt an Undertaking. *Lewis*, ſenſible that it was his Intereſt to have the Pope his Friend, promiſed him, very readily, the Aſſiſtance he required. But, at the ſame time, he endeavoured to divert him, in the moſt friendly Manner, from ſuch an Undertaking, for the preſent, as calculated to involve all *Italy* in a War. However, when the Pope imparted his Deſign to the Cardinals, in a full Conſiſtory, he told them, that the King of *France* had promiſed to aſſiſt him, and that, depending upon his Aſſiſtance, he would go immediately, in Perſon, upon the intended Enterprize. When this was told to the King, he expreſſed no ſmall Surprize at the Pope's depending upon his Forces, before he had given them any Orders to march, eſpecially in an Undertaking, which he did not approve, and turning to thoſe about him, ſurely, his Holineſs, he ſaid with a Smile, muſt have indulged, more than uſual, his Love of Wine, when he declared what muſt oblige me either to quarrel with him, or to countenance his unſeaſonable Undertaking[g].

Year of Chriſt 1506.

The King of France ſtrives in vain to divert him from that Undertaking.

Julius, however, whom no Difficulties could diſcourage, ſet out from *Rome*, on the 27th of *Auguſt*, on his March to *Perugia*, being attended by twenty-four Cardinals, and four hundred Men at Arms. *Gianpagolo Baglione*, not acting, on this Occaſion, with the ſame Courage he had ſhewn on all others, went to meet the Pope as far as *Orvieto*, and delivered up to him the Keys of the City, which the Pope entered in a Kind of Triumph. In the mean time

Marches in Perſon againſt both thoſe Cities.

g Guicciard. l. 7. Onuph. in vita Julii II.

the

Year of Christ 1506. the King of *France*, unwilling to disoblige the Po ordered *Chaumont*, Governor of the *Milanese*, march in Person, with five hundred Lances, assist the Pope in the Reduction of *Baglione*.

And both submit. the Pope's Army received daily new Reinforc ments from the *Florentines*, from the Duke *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua*, *Bentivo* despairing of being able to withstand so great Force, had Recourse to *Chaumont*; and upon interposing in Behalf of that Family, the P consented, that *John Bentivoglio*, with his W and Children, might retire from *Bologna* unmole ed, and settle in any Part of the Dutchy of M *lan*; that they should be allowed to sell, or car with them, all their Effects, and enjoy the Rev nues of the Estates, to which they had a just Tit These Articles being agreed to, the *Bentivo* quitted the City, and the Pope made his publ Entry into it, with extraordinary Pomp, on S *Martin*'s Day, the 11th of *November* of the pre sent Year, and continued there, settling the new Government, till the latter End of *February* of the following Year, when he returned to *Rome*[g].

The Pope and the Emperor endeavour to stir up the Germanic *Body against* France. In the mean time the City of *Genoa* revolted from the *French*, to whom it was subject, as well as the State of *Milan*, and great Disputes arising between the People and the Nobility, the King re solved to go in Person into *Italy*, and re-establish his Authority by Force of Arms. With that

Year of Christ 1507. View he began to make great Preparations both by Sea and Land, which did not a little alarm the Pope, who could not persuade himself that such vast Preparations were only designed for the Reduction of *Genoa*. He therefore left nothing unattempted to divert the King from leading an Army, in Person, against the Rebels of *Genoa*. But finding that it was to no Purpose,

[g] Guicciard. et Onuph. ibid.

and,

d, at the ſame time, giving Way to his own oundleſs Suſpicions, he notified to the Emperor his Nuncio, and by a Brief directed to him and the Electors of the Empire, that the King of *rance* was preparing to come into *Italy* at the ead of a very powerful Army, under Colour of elling the Tumults in *Genoa*, but that his real eſign was to enſlave the Church, and uſurp the mperial Dignity. The *Venetians*, no leſs appre-enſive than the Pope of the Coming of the *French* ing into *Italy* with ſo great an Army, aſſured the *German* Princes, that he had nothing leſs in his iew than to raiſe his great Favourite, the Cardinal *D'Amboiſe*, to the Pontifical Throne, and receive he Imperial Crown at his Hands. Upon this In-elligence the Emperor ſummoned a Diet of all the rinces to *Germany* to meet at *Conſtance*, and hav-ng cauſed the Pope's Brief, and ſeveral other Let-ers of the ſame Import, to be read to them at the Opening of the Diet, he endeavoured, in a long Speech, to unite the whole *Germanic* Body in one common League againſt *France*. But the Con-duct of the King in returning, with his whole Army, to *France*, as ſoon as he had reduced *Genoa*, de-prived both the Pope and the Emperor of the Pre-tence, which they made uſe of to animate the Princes of the Empire againſt him; and it was only reſolv-ed, in the Diet, that the Emperor ſhould be furniſh-ed, with eight thouſand Horſe, and twenty-two thou-ſand Foot at the Expence of the Empire, for ſix Months, when he deſigned to go to *Rome* to re-oceive the Imperial Crown.

Year of Chriſt 1507.

The following Year 1508 was concluded the fa-mous Treaty or League of *Cambray* againſt the Re-public of *Venice*, that had been long aſpiring at the

League con-cluded at Cambray *againſt the* Venetians.

h Idem ibid.

Year of Christ 1508.

Empire of all *Italy*. The contracting Parties were the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *France*, and the King of *Spain*; and it was agreed, that they ſhould enter the State of *Venice* on all Sides; that each of them ſhould recover what that Republic had taken from them; that they ſhould therein aſſiſt one another; and that it ſhould not be lawful for any of the Confederates to enter into an Agreement with the Republic, but by common Conſent. The Duke of *Ferrara*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, and whoever elſe had any Claims upon the *Venetians*, were to be admitted into this Treaty. The *Venetians* had ſome Suſpicion of what was contriving againſt them at *Cambray*, but they had no certain Knowledge of it, till the Pope informed them of the whole. For *Julius*, no leſs apprehenſive of the Increaſe of the Emperor's Power in *Italy*, than of the *French* King's, acquainted the *Venetian* Embaſſador at *Rome*, before he ſigned the Treaty, with all the Articles it contained, repreſented to him the Danger that his Republic was threatened with, and offered not to confirm the League, but to ſtart Difficulties, and raiſe Obſtacles againſt it, provided they only reſtored to him the Cities of *Rimini* and *Faenza*. This Demand appeared very reaſonable to the Pope; but it was rejected by a great Majority in the Senate, when communicated to them by their Embaſſador; and the Pope thereupon confirmed the League by a Bull dated at *Rome* the 22d of *March* 1508[i].

They are excommunicated by the Pope.

The *Venetians*, hearing of the mighty Preparations that were carrying on all over *Chriſtendom* againſt them, began to repent their not having complied with the Pope's Requeſt, and by that Means broken the Confederacy. They therefore

[i] Idem, l. 8.

renewed

renewed their Negotiations with his Holineſs, and offered to reſtore to him the City of *Faenza*. But *Julius*, inſtead of accepting their Offer, publiſhed, by Way of Monitory, a thundering Bull againſt the Republic, ſummoning them to reſtore, in the Term of twenty-four Days, all the Places they had uſurped, belonging to the Apoſtolic See, as well as the Profits they had reaped from them, ſince the Time they firſt uſurped them. If they obeyed not this Summons, within the limited Time, not only the City of *Venice*, but all Places, within their Dominions, were, *ipſo facto*, to incur a general Interdict, nay, and all Places that ſhould receive or harbour a *Venetian*. They were, beſides, declared guilty of High Treaſon, worthy to be treated as Enemies to the Chriſtian Name, and all were impowered to ſeize on their Effects, where-ever found, and to enſlave their Perſons. This Monitory gave no great Uneaſineſs to the Republic: They appealed from it to a future Council, and no Regard was paid to it, except by a few Monks and Friars[k]. Year of Chriſt 1508.

Loſe their Dominions on the Continent.

In the mean time the King of *France*, entering, from the *Milaneſe*, the Territories of the Republic at the Head of a numerous Army, gave the *Venetians* a total Overthrow on the 14th of *May* of the preſent Year, and purſuing the Blow, made himſelf Maſter, in a few Days, of *Bergamo*, *Breſcia*, *Crema*, *Cremona*, and all the *Ghiaradadda*, which he pretended to have anciently belonged to the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Loſs of the *Venetians* did not end here. The Pope's Army, entering *Romagna* under the Direction of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, with the Character of Apoſtolic Legate, recovered the Cities of *Faenza*, *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, Year of Chriſt 1509.

[k] Idem ibid. et Raymund. ad ann. 1509.

Year of Christ 1509.

while the Emperor, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua*, retook moſt of the Places that the *Venetians* had taken from them, and the King of *Spain* obliged them to deliver up all the Towns and Ports in *Apulia*, that *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, had mortgaged to them. Thus every Prince recovering his own, that haughty Republic was ſtripped of the beſt Part of its Dominions on the Continent, and well nigh confined to the Marſhes, where it firſt ſprang up[1].

The Pope concludes a Peace with them.

The *Venetians* were well apprized of the Jealouſy the Pope entertained of the immoderate Increaſe of the *French* King's Power in *Italy*, and likewiſe of the Emperor's, and therefore reſolved, in their preſent Diſtreſs, to apply to his Holineſs; the rather, as he had now recovered all the Places, to which he had a juſt Claim. Accordingly they ſent Six Embaſſadors, all Men of the Firſt Rank, to implore his Holineſs's Protection; and beg he would abſolve them from the Cenſures, which they had incurred. The Pope would not admit them to his Preſence, but appointed a Congregation of Cardinals to treat with them in his Name. The Embaſſadors of the Emperor, and the King of *France* warmly oppoſed his granting them their Requeſt, as contrary to one of the Articles of the League of *Cambray*, by which it was ſtipulated, that none of the contracting Powers ſhould make a ſeparate Peace. But his Holineſs, thinking that it highly conduced to the Safety of *Italy*, as well as his own, to preſerve the Republic from utter Ruin; and the Archbiſhop of *York*, *Thomas Wolſey*, whom the King of *England*, *Henry* VIII. had ſent to *Rome* with the Character of his Embaſſador, interpoſing in their Favour by the expreſs Order of his Maſter,

[1] Idem ibid.

ſter, they were abſolved on the 24th of *February* 1510, upon the following mortifying Conditions: I. That the *Venetians* ſhould diſpoſe of no Benefices nor Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, nor oppoſe the Proviſions made concerning them in the Court of *Rome*. II. That they ſhould not obſtruct the Trials of Cauſes relating to Benefices, or other Eccleſiaſtical Matters. III. That they ſhould lay no Impoſts upon the Goods of the Church, nor of Places exempt from the ſecular Juriſdiction. IV. That they ſhould withdraw their Appeal to a future Council, and renounce all Right, however acquired, to the Towns poſſeſſed by the Church. V. That the Subjects of the Church ſhould have a free Navigation in the Gulph, or the *Adriatic* Sea; that their Ships ſhould not be ſearched, nor obliged to pay any Duties, whether their Cargoes belonged to them, or to other Nations. VI. That all Conventions with the Subjects of the Church, to the Prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity, ſhould be annulled. VII. That they ſhould afford no Shelter, in their Dominions, to any Dukes, Barons, or other Vaſſals of the Church, who ſhould be declared Rebels, or Enemies to the Apoſtolic See. Laſtly, That they ſhould repair all the Loſſes the Church had ſuſtained, by their Means, during the Courſe of the War, and reſtore to the Eccleſiaſtics the Sums they had raiſed upon their Eſtates. Theſe Articles being agreed to by the *Venetian* Embaſſadors in the Name of their Republic, they repaired to the Porch of *St. Peter*'s Church, and there proſtrating themſelves at his Holineſs's Feet, they humbly begged Pardon for their paſt Conduct. The Pope abſolved them with the uſual Ceremonies, and enjoined them no other Penance than to viſit the ſeven chief Churches of *Rome*. He did not content himſelf with abſolving them, but, by a manifeſt

Year of Chriſt 1509

And upon what Conditions.

Abſolves them.

Year of Chriſt 1510.

And takes them into his Protection.

Year of Chriſt 1510.

nifeſt Breach of Faith againſt his Confederates, he took them into his Protection, granted Leave to all the Feudatories and Subjects of the Church to ſerve under their Banners, and, growing daily more and more jealous of the Power of the *French* in *Italy*, left nothing unattempted to prevail upon the Emperor to come to an Agreement with the *Venetians*, and join them and himſelf againſt the King of *France* as a common Enemy [m].

Quarrels with the Duke of Ferrara.

The Pope had formed a Deſign of driving the *French* quite out of *Italy*, and wanting a Pretence to quarrel with them, he laid hold of the following Opportunity to quarrel with the Duke of *Ferrara*, their Friend and Ally. As Salt was made both at *Comachio*, that belonged to the Duke, and at *Cervia*, lately reſtored by the *Venetians* to the Church, the Pope, as Lord Paramount of both Places, the Duke being his Feudatory, forbad the making of Salt, for the future, at *Comachio*, in order to engroſs the Sale of that uſeful Commodity to himſelf. The Duke, *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, thinking it hard, that he ſhould be obliged to purchaſe of others, for the Uſe of his own Subjects, what he could ſupply foreign Countries with, refuſed to comply with his Holineſs's Prohibition. Upon that Refuſal the Pope, threatening to do himſelf Juſtice by Force of Arms, ordered Part of his Army to march into the Territory of *Bologna* and the Province of *Romagno*, to be there ready at hand to enter the Dominions of the Duke. The King of *France*, to leave no Pretence for the Pope to quarrel with his Ally, and conſequently with himſelf, perſuaded the Duke to gratify his Holineſs; and *Alphonſo* ſent accordingly, Embaſſadors to *Rome*, offering to

m Idem ibid. et l. 8. Raynald. ad ann. 1510. Buonacorſi in Diar.

his

his Holineſs all the Salt he had made at *Comachio*, and promiſing to make no more. But the Pope, who wanted the Duke to quit the *French* Party, without hearkening to his Embaſſadors, ordered the Army of the Church to march immediately againſt him. They made themſelves Maſters of ſeveral Places in the *Ferrareſe* without Oppoſition. But the Marſhal of *Chaumont*, Governor of the *Milaneſe*, and the Duke, joining their Forces, ſoon obliged them to abandon all the Places they had taken. The Pope's Forces took them a ſecond Time; and his Holineſs, determined either to cruſh the Duke, or oblige him to renounce his Alliance with the *French*, ordered the Duke of *Urbino*, the Commander of his Army, to make the neceſſary Preparations for the Siege of *Ferrara* [n].

Year of Chriſt 1510.

The Duke of Ferrara *and all the* French *Officers excommunicated.*

The Pope, now wholly bent upon the Reduction of *Ferrara*, and laying aſide, for the preſent, all other Projects, ſet out for *Bologna* to haſten the Preparations, and made his public Entry into that City in the End of *September*. He had not been long in *Bologna*, when he ſolemnly excommunicated *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, and all, who had taken, or ſhould take Arms in his Defence, and *Chaumont* by Name, with all the chief Officers of the *French* Army. *Chaumont* paid no Regard to the Pope's Thunders, but in order to ſilence them with the Thunder of his Cannon, he marched unexpectedly towards *Bologna*, with a Deſign to ſeize his Holineſs, and got within ten Miles of that City before they received any Intelligence of his March. The News of his Approach, and of his having the *Bentivogli* with him, occaſioned an univerſal Terror and Conſternation among the Nobility and the Prelates of the Court, as well as among the

[n] Guicciard. l. 9. Buonac. in Digrio. Bembo Hiſt. Venet.

Year of Christ 1510.

People. The Pope alone remained, in Appearance, quite undisturbed, and without betraying the least Symptom of Fear, he sent *Pico*, Count of *Mirandola*, to treat with the *French* General about a Peace. *Chaumont* knew that the King wished for nothing so much as to accommodate Matters with the Pope, and therefore drew up such Conditions, as he thought his Holiness might agree to, and the King would approve. But his Holiness only wanted to gain Time; and he no sooner heard, that his own Forces, as well as those of the *Venetians*, were in full March, from all Quarters, to relieve him, than thinking himself out of Danger, he sent his final Answer to *Chaumont*, which was, that he might save himself the Trouble of making any new Proposals, unless he previously consented to abandon the Duke of *Ferrara*. In the mean time the expected Succours arrived at *Bologna*, and *Chaumont*, now despairing of Success in attempting to reduce that City, thought it advisable to abandon the Enterprize, and return to his former Camp.

The French *disappointed in an Attempt upon* Bologna.

As the Season was already far advanced, the *Venetians* were, upon the Retreat of *Chaumont*, for putting their Troops into Winter-Quarters. But the Pope, though just recovered from a severe Fit of Illness, declared that he would first make himself Master of *Ferrara*. That Project was disapproved by all the General Officers; and they advised his Holiness against it, thinking it high Time, as Winter drew near, to allow the Troops some Rest after the Fatigues of so long a Campaign. But the Pope answering in great Wrath, that it was their Part to obey, and not to advise, the Siege of *Ferrara* was determined upon. But

Mirandola *besieged by the Pope.*

[o] Guicciardin. et Buonacorſ. ibid.

as

as it was neceſſary, in order to prevent the *French* from relieving it, to get Poſſeſſion of *Mirandola*, the Pope's Army ſat down before that Place ſo late as the latter End of *December*. It was defended by *Frances*, the Widow of the late Count of *Mirandola*, and Daughter of the Marquis of *Trivulzio*; and from her the Beſiegers met with a moſt obſtinate Reſiſtance, though the Garriſon conſiſted of no more than four hundred Foot and ſeventy Horſe under the Command of *Alexander Trivulzio*, her Couſin-Germain. The Pope, to encourage his Men, attended the Army in Perſon, and took up his Quarters at the Village of *St. Felix* about three Leagues from the Camp. It was not long before the Beſiegers were reduced to the utmoſt Diſtreſs, not only on Account of the extraordinary Rigour of the Seaſon, but for want of Proviſions, their Convoys being intercepted by Parties, placed on all the Roads by the Duke of *Ferrara*, and Marſhal *Chaumont* [p].

Year of Chriſt 1510.

Who narrowly eſcapes falling into an Ambuſcade.

As the Pope went daily from *St. Felix* to the Camp before *Mirandola* to animate his Men, he one Day narrowly eſcaped falling into an Ambuſcade, laid for him by the famous Partiſan *Peter du Ferrail*, commonly known by the Name of *Chevalier Bayard*. The Chevalier placed an hundred Men at Arms in Ambuſh on the Road from *St. Felix* to the Camp, who ſallying out, as ſoon as ſome of the Pope's Retinue appeared, ſeized them, and purſued the Reſt, full Speed, in their Flight back to *St. Felix*, not doubting but the Pope was juſt behind them. But fortunately for him, a heavy Snow had obliged him to return, when he was as yet but at a ſmall Diſtance from the Town, and he reached it before the Chevalier came up

[p] Idem ibid.

with

Year of Christ 1510.

with him, having just Time to cause the Draw-Bridge to be pulled up, to which he himself lent a helping Hand [q].

He assists at the Siege in Person.

As the Pope, impatient to get Possession of *Ferrara*, thought the Siege of *Mirandola* advanced but slowly, he took a Resolution to assist at it in Person. Accordingly he left *St. Felix*, and, repairing to the Camp, took up his Quarters at a Place so near the Walls, that he had two Persons killed with a Cannon-Ball in his Kitchen. He was perpetually on Horseback, riding about the Lines, notwithstanding the intense Cold, scarce supportable by the Soldiery, reprimanding some, animating others, and acting, in every Respect, the Part of a General. It was no unusual Sight, says here the Historian, to behold the High Priest, the Vicar of Christ upon Earth, old and infirm, employed, in Person, in carrying on a War, kindled by himself against Christians, exposing himself to all the Fatigues and Dangers, incident to Commanders of Armies, and retaining nothing of the Pontiff but the Name and the Habit. The Town held out till the 20th of *January*, when it capitulated, and the Pope entered it by the Breach, as Conqueror [r]: And he was now wholly bent upon the Reduction of *Ferrara*, which he ordered to be immediately invested. But the Duke, falling unexpectedly upon the Pope's Troops, obliged them to raise the Blockade with the Loss of a great many Men, and of all their Baggage and Artillery: And thus was *Ferrara* saved to the great Disappointment of the Pope [s]. This Exploit is ascribed by *Brantome* to the Chevalier *Bayard*, who, according to that Writer, cut five or six thousand

Mirandola taken. Year of Christ 1511.

[q] Hist. du Chevalier Bayard, c. 42. Bembo, Buonacorsi ibid.

[r] Guicciard. l. 9.

[s] Guicciard. ibid.

of

of the Enemy in Pieces, and obliged the Reſt to ſave themſelves by Flight [t]. Year of Chriſt 1511.

Congreſs propoſed for a general Peace, but rejected by the Pope.

In the mean time the King of *Spain*, no leſs jealous than the Pope of the Increaſe of the *French* Power in *Italy*, and under Apprehenſions for his Kingdom of *Naples*, which he thought to be in Danger from the Greatneſs of the King of *France*, propoſed a Congreſs to be held at *Mantua* for a general Pacification. To that Propoſal the Emperor and the King of *France* readily agreed upon certain Conditions. But when the Biſhop of *Goritz* came to wait upon the Pope, who was ſtill at *Bologna*, in the Emperor's Name, and invite him to the Congreſs, he found his Holineſs unalterably determined to make no Peace with *France* till he was put in Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, and its Capital. Upon this Occaſion the Pope offered the Dignity of Cardinal to the Biſhop, provided he prevailed upon the Emperor to quit his Alliance with the King of *France*, and join the *Venetians* and himſelf againſt him. That Offer the Biſhop rejected with no ſmall Indignation at the Pope's thinking him capable of betraying his Truſt, and immediately ſet out on his Return to the Imperial Court [u]. As the Emperor had honoured him with the Title of his Lieutenant-General in *Italy*, when the Pope ſent ſome Cardinals to treat with him upon his Arrival at *Bologna*, he appointed ſome of his Gentlemen to confer with them, ſaying, that it was beneath him to treat with any but his Holineſs himſelf [w].

The pacific Meaſures of the other Princes being thus defeated by the invincible Obſtinacy of the

[t] Brantome Eloge du Chevalier Bayard.
[u] Idem ibid.
[w] Mezerai Abregé Chron. tom. 4.

Pope,

Year of Christ 1511.

Pope, and his inveterate Hatred to the *French*, Marshal *Trivulzio*, who had taken the Command of the *French* Army upon the Death of *Chaumont*, that happened at this Time, drew his Forces together early in the Spring, and having retaken all the Places in the *Ferrareſe*, that the Eccleſiaſtical Army had taken the Year before, he came unexpectedly, and encamped at the Diſtance of five Miles from *Bologna*. The Pope had already retired from that City to *Ravenna*, leaving the Cardinal of *Pavia* with a Body of Troops to defend it. But the Cardinal fled, in Diſguiſe, out of the City at the Approach of the Enemy, and his Example being followed by the greateſt Part of his Troops, the *Bentivogli*, who attended the *French* Army, were admitted, without Oppoſition, into the City. Thus was that Family once more put in Poſſeſſion of their ancient Inheritance. The Populace of their Party, overjoyed at the Return of their old Lords, fell upon a Statue of the Pope in Braſs, and having dragged it about the Streets with great Contempt and Deriſion, broke it in Pieces[x].——That Statue repreſented the Pope ſtanding, and in the Attitude of holding up his Right Hand to give the People his Benediction. That Poſture gave them Occaſion to aſk, whether it was to bleſs or to curſe them, that his Holineſs thus held up his Hand; which coming to the Pope's Ears, he anſwered, that *it was for both as they ſhould deſerve to be bleſſed or curſed*[y].——Marſhal *Trivulzio*, wiſely apprehending, that his keeping *Bologna* would give Umbrage both to the Emperor, and the King of *Spain*, left that City in the Poſſeſſion of the *Bentivogli*, and marching the very

Bologna taken by the French, *and reſtored to the* Bentivogli.

The Pope's Army defeated.

x Guicciard. l. 9. y Ciacon. in Jul. II.

next

next Day, on the 22d of *May*, againſt the Army of the Pope and the *Venetians* under the Command of the Duke of *Urbino*, put them to Flight at the firſt Onſet, took all their Baggage and Artillery, a great many Colours, and the Doge's own Standard, with ſeveral General Officers. Upon the News of this Defeat, the Citadel of *Bologna*, which the preſent Pope had built, ſurrendered, and the People immediately demoliſhed it. From this Victory the Duke of *Ferrara* took Occaſion to drive the Pope's Forces and thoſe of the *Venetians* quite out of his Dominions[z]. Year of Chriſt 1511.

The Cardinal of Pavia murdered by the Duke of Urbino.

The melancholy Death of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, late Legate at *Bologna*, that happened at this Time, added greatly to the Concern his Holineſs was under for the Loſs of that City and the Defeat of his Army. As the Cardinal was charged by ſome with Treachery, by others with Cowardice, he came to *Ravenna* to juſtify his Conduct, and demanded an Audience of the Pope. His Holineſs, overjoyed at his ſafe Arrival, as he was one of his chief Favourites, not only granted him his Requeſt, but ſent him an Invitation to dine with him. But as he was going to the Palace, the Duke of *Urbino*, who knew the City of *Bologna* to have been loſt by the Cowardice of the Cardinal, and the Army, which the Duke commanded, to have been defeated in Conſequence of that Loſs, made up to him, and in the Tranſport of his Rage ſtabbed him with his own Hand. His manifold and enormous Vices deſerved, ſays *Guicciardin*, the worſt of Deaths. But when the News of it was brought to the Pope, he burſt into Tears and loud Lamentations, be-

[z] Guicciardin. ibid.

wailing,

Year of Christ 1511.

wailing, beyond Measure, the Loss of one, who was so dear to him; the more, as he had set up for a zealous Assertor of the Ecclesiastical Immunity, and the high Dignity of Cardinal was so notoriously violated before his Eyes, and by his own Nephew [a]. As we read of no Punishment inflicted by the Pope on his Nephew for so daring an Attempt, some will have his Holiness to have been privy to it. But of that no Notice is taken by *Guicciardin*, or by any other contemporary Historian.

A General Council summoned by some of the Cardinals.

The Pope, for all his Firmness and Intrepidity, could not help shewing his Concern at so many Misfortunes, and thinking himself no longer safe ar *Ravenna*, after the taking of *Bologna*, and the Defeat of his Army, he set out from thence on his Return to *Rome*. To aggravate his Concern, he received certain Intelligence, upon his Arrival at *Rimini*, that an Order, for the assembling of a General Council at *Pisa*, was set up at *Modena*, *Bologna*, and other Cities of *Italy*, and that he himself was summoned to appear at it in Person. For the Emperor and the King of *France*, finding the Pope would hearken to no Terms of Accommodation, and looking upon him as a Disturber of the public Peace, had agreed to call a General Council, and lay their Complaints against his Holiness before them. This their Design they had communicated to some of the Cardinals, and five of them approving of it, had left the Pope the preceding Year, while he was on his Journey from *Rome* to *Bologna*, and fled first to *Florence*, and afterwards, for their greater Security, to *Milan*. These were the Cardinals of *Santa Croce*, *St. Malo*, *Bayeux*, *St. Angelo*, and *Cosenza*. They main-

[a] Guicciardin. ibid.

tained,

tained, that as the Church ſtood in evident Neceſſity of a Reformation both in its Head and Members, as the neceſſary Reformation could only be procured by a General Council, and the Pope neglected to aſſemble one, the Power of applying that Remedy was lawfully devolved to them; the rather as they acted therein by the Authority of the Emperor, and with the Conſent of the moſt Chriſtian King, and the Concurrence of the *German* and *French* Clergy. On the other hand the Pope, to defeat their Views, and clear himſelf from the Charge of neglecting to aſſemble a General Council, appointed one to meet the following Year in the Church of *St. John Lateran* at *Rome*, pretending, that he had thereby diſſolved the Council convoked by the Cardinals. But they maintained, that as theirs had been called and proclaimed the firſt, it ought to take Place, and appointed the 1ſt of *September* next enſuing for the opening of it. The King of *France* ſent immediately twenty-four Biſhops to *Piſa* to repreſent the *Gallican* Church in the Council, and ordered all the Prelates of his Kingdom to aſſiſt at it in Perſon, or by their Proxies [b].

Year of Chriſt 1511.

Another ſummoned by the Pope.

The Calling of a Council gave the Pope a great Deal of Uneaſineſs; and indeed not without Reaſon, the King of *France* being in a Condition, after the Victory lately gained by *Trivulzio*, to cauſe the Decrees, that ſhould be iſſued by that Aſſembly, to be carried into Execution. He therefore ordered the Biſhop of *Tivoli*, his Nuncio at the *French* Court, to negotiate a Reconciliation between the Apoſtolic See and the King. But being, in the mean Time, informed, that the King, inſtead of improving the Opportunity, af-

His Holineſs's double Dealing.

[b] Idem ibid. et l. 10.

forded

Year of Christ 1511.

forded him, by his Victory, of reducing the whole State of the Church, had, with more Piety, says *Guicciardin*, than Policy, ordered the Marshal to return with the Army into the Dutchy of *Milan*, he was thereby encouraged to make such Demands, as the King could not, in Honour agree to. The Pope only wanted to gain Time; and while he was negotiating a Peace with *France*, he was privately carrying on a Treaty with the King of *Spain* and the *Venetians* against the *French*, and using his utmost Endeavours to persuade the King of *England Henry* VIII. to enter into that Confederacy [c].

Is taken dangerously ill.

During these Negotiations the Pope was taken ill on the 17th of *August*, and on the fourth Day of his Illness thought to be dead. The Report of his Death occasioned great Disturbances in *Rome*. But it was only a Fainting-fit, and being recovered out of it, though with very small Hopes of his Life, he assembled, the next Day, the Cardinals in the Form of a Consistory, and in their Presence absolved his Nephew, the Duke of *Urbino*, from the Murder of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, not by Way of Justice, but of Apostolic Favour and Indulgence. In the next Place, to prevent others from being raised by Simony to the Pontificate, as it happened to himself, he caused a Bull to be published, which he had drawn up before, fraught with terrible Penalties and Curses against any, who should procure that Dignity by Money or any other Reward whatever, and declaring all such

But recovers.

Elections to be in themselves null. In the mean Time he grew daily better, and was no sooner out of Danger, than he resumed his former Schemes, treating of Peace with the King of *France*, and

[c] Idem. l. 10.

nego-

negotiating, at the ſame Time, an offenſive League with the *Venetians*, and the King of *Spain*, againſt him [d]. Year of Chriſt 1511.

In the mean Time the Council of *Piſa* was opened on the Day appointed, the 1ſt of *September*, but with very little Hopes of Succeſs. None of the Cardinals, who had convoked it, were preſent, nor were any of the *French* Biſhops, though many of them were already arrived in *Italy*. They kept back, as long as they could, through Fear of Cenſures and the Loſs of their Benefices; ſo that the Council was opened by none but Deputies or Proxies. But the Archbiſhop of *Lions* and *Sens* being ordered by the King to attend the Council, they repaired to *Piſa* with fourteen Biſhops and ſeveral *French* Doctors and Abbots; and the firſt Seſſion being held ſoon after their Arrival, *Bernardine Carvajal*, Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, and the chief Promoter of the Council, was choſen Preſident. As the City of *Piſa* was, at this Time, ſubject to the *Florentines*, the Pope, provoked at their ſuffering ſuch a ſchiſmatic Conventicle, as he called it, to be held within their Dominions, laid the City of *Florence*, as well as that of *Piſa*, under an Interdict, excommunicated all who ſhould any-ways countenance that execrable Aſſembly, and ſummoning a public Conſiſtory, pronounced, with great Solemnity in his Pontifical Robes, the Sentence of Depoſition againſt the Cardinals, Authors and Promoters of the Schiſm, declaring them liable to all the Pains and Penalties denounced againſt Schiſmatics and Heretics. The *Florentines*, taking no Notice of the Council then ſitting at *Piſa*, appealed from the Pope's Sentence, interdicting their City, to a holy Council of the Church Uni-

Council of Piſa *opened.*

The Cities of Piſa *and* Florence *interdicted.*

The Florentines *appeal to a General Council.*

[d] Idem ibid.

Year of Christ 1511.

versal, and, after their Appeal, obliged the Ecclesiastics to perform Divine Service, as usual, in the four principal Churches of the City [e].

League between the Pope, the King of Spain, *and the* Venetians *against* France.

The Pope continued to amuse the King of *France* with Proposals of Peace. But, in the mean while, the League, which he had been long negotiating with the Catholic King and the *Venetians* against that Prince, was brought to a Conclusion, and published, with great Solemnity on the 5th of *October*, in the Presence of the Pope and all the Cardinals assembled in the Church of *St. Mary del Popolo*. No Mention was made of the King of *France* in the Articles of that Confederacy. But the contracting Powers engaged to preserve the Unity of the Church, in imminent Danger from the Council of *Pisa*, to put the Pope in Possession of the City of *Bologna*, as well as of every other City, to which he had a just Claim, meaning thereby the City of *Ferrara*, and to act with a powerful Army against any, who should oppose the Execution of these their Designs, in order to drive them quite out of *Italy*. Upon the first Notice the King received of this new Confederacy, evidently calculated to divest him of all his *Italian* Dominions, if he did not comply with all the Pope's Demands, however inconsistent with his Honour and his Interest, he acquainted his Generals in *Italy* with it, ordering them to maintain, at all Events, the *Baglioni* in Possession of *Bologna*, and defend the City of *Ferrara*, as they would the City of *Paris*. At the same Time he wrote to the Cardinals and the Bishops, assembled at *Pisa*, to pursue the Work, for which they had met, the Reformation of the Church in its Head and Members [f].

[e] Idem ibid. et Petrus de Anglerin. ep. 468. [f] Idem ibid.

No

No *German* Biſhops had yet appeared at *Piſa*, nay, in an Aſſembly, held at *Augſburg*, they had condemned that Council, as tending to produce a Schiſm; but with this Clauſe, that they were ready to change their Opinion, if ſatisfactory Reaſons were offered to the contrary. The four Cardinals therefore, for the fifth, *Francis Borgia*, Cardinal of *Coſenza*, had died at *Lucca*, and the *French* Biſhops, meeting in the Church of *St. Michael*, declared, in the three Seſſions they held there, on the 5th, 7th, and 10th of *November*, that they repreſented the Church Univerſal, were lawfully aſſembled, held their Power immediately of God, and all, the Pope himſelf not excepted, were bound to obey their Decrees; that none ſhould be allowed to withdraw from the Council without juſt Cauſe, and that all Acts made or attempted, to the Prejudice of the Council, ſhould be deemed in themſelves null. In the mean time the People of *Piſa*, alarmed at the Interdict, began to inſult, in the public Streets, the Members of the Council, and even the Cardinals themſelves, who had brought it upon them. This occaſioned daily Quarrels between the People and the *French* Soldiers, whom the King had appointed to guard the Council; which ſo terrified the Cardinals, and the Reſt of the Prelates, that they paſſed an Act for tranſlating the Council to *Milan*, and departed in all Haſte the very next Day [g].

Year of Chriſt 1511.

Proceedings of the Council of Piſa.

Which is adjourned to Milan.

While theſe Things paſſed at *Piſa*, the Forces, that the King of *Spain* was bound to furniſh by one of the Articles of the League, arrived in *Romagna*, *viz.* twelve hundred Men at Arms, one thouſand Light

Bologna *beſieged by the Confederates.*

Year of Chriſt 1512.

[g] Idem ibid. et Concil. Piſan. II. p. 73, et ſeq.

Year of Christ 1512.

Horſe, and ten thouſand *Spaniſh* Foot, under the Command of *Raymond de Cardona*, then Viceroy of *Naples*. They joined the Eccleſiaſtic Army in the Neighbourhood of *Imola*, and after taking ſome Places in *Romagna*, that belonged to the Duke of *Ferrara*, they advanced to *Bologna*, and, at the repeated Inſtances of the Pope, impatient to recover that important City, they laid Siege to it in the Beginning of *January*. But they were ſoon obliged to abandon that Enterprize by *Gaſton de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, the King's Nephew, who had been lately made Governor of the *Milaneſe*, though, at that Time, not above two or three and twenty Years of Age. He found Means to get into the Place with a ſtrong Body of Troops; and the Confederates, deſpairing of being able to reduce it, when defended by ſo numerous a Garriſon with their General at their Head, ſilently withdrew in the Night, and returned to *Imola*.

The Siege raiſed.

King of England *inclined to accede to the League.*

As the King had taken the City of *Bologna* under his Protection, and it ſerved as a Bulwark againſt the Attempts of the Pope upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, he expreſſed an unuſual Joy at that Event. But his Joy was allayed by the News he received ſoon afterwards, that the Parliament and King of *England* had been prevailed upon by the Pope's Nuncio, the Biſhop of *Moravia*, a *Scotchman*, to ſend Prelates to repreſent that Kingdom in the *Lateran* Council, and that the King had ordered the *French* Embaſſador to depart, ſaying, it was not fit that the Repreſentative of one, who ſo openly perſecuted the Apoſtolic See, ſhould be ſeen near the Perſon of a King, and in a Kingdom ſo devoted to the Church. At the ſame Time the Emperor ſeemed diſpoſed to quit his Alliance, being tempted thereunto by the mighty

mighty Promiſes of the Pope; and the *Swiſs*, gained over by their Country-man, the Cardinal of *Sion*, ſhewed a great Inclination to enter into the Service of the Confederates againſt him. Year of Chriſt 1512.

The King therefore, finding himſelf alone againſt ſo many Enemies, who had either declared, or were ready to declare againſt him, and being at the ſame Time, ſenſible, that, upon the King of *England*'s invading his *French* Dominions, which he expected daily, he ſhould be obliged to recall great Part of his Forces out of *Italy*, he ſent an expreſs Order to the Duke of *Nemours* to march, without Delay, againſt the *Spaniſh* and Eccleſiaſtic Troops in *Romagna*, and draw them to a deciſive Battle. But they, determined not to hazard an Engagement, took Care to encamp in Places, where they could not be forced to it. As no Opportunity therefore offered of attacking them, but under great Diſadvantage, the Duke of *Nemours* reſolved to lay Siege to *Ravenna*, perſuading himſelf, that they would not tamely ſuffer a City of ſuch Importance to be loſt before their Eyes. He was not miſtaken; for the Generals of the Allies, hearing that the Town was beſieged, that the Siege was briſkly carried on, and that the Place muſt ſurrender, if not relieved, reſolved in a Council of War, to march with the whole Army to its Relief. *Ravenna beſieged by the French.*

As they approached, the Duke of *Nemours* went out to meet them; and one of the moſt bloody Engagements thereupon enſued, that had been fought for many Years in *Italy*. It laſted near eight Hours; and on both Sides fell a great Number of brave Men, and Perſons of Diſtinction. But the Allies were, in the End, forced to give Way, and leave the *French* Maſters of the Field. *Raymund* of *Cardona*, a *Catalonian*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and Commander in Chief of the whole *Battle of* Ravenna. *Compleat Victory gained by the* French.

Year of Christ 1512.

Allied Army, fled among the firſt, and never ſtopped till he reached *Ancona*, about thirty Leagues diſtant from the Field of Battle. He was remarkable for the Comelineſs of his Perſon, but wanted Courage, and was therefore called by the Pope *Madam da Cardona*. The Reſt, following his Example, betook themſelves to a diſorderly Flight, all but a ſmall Body of *Spaniſh* Infantry under the Command of *Peter Navarre*, a brave and experienced Officer; and *Foix*, thinking that the Victory was not compleat, if they were not broken and diſperſed as the Reſt, fell furiouſly upon them. But being ſurrounded, and falling from his Horſe, or, as others ſay, his Horſe falling upon him, he was wounded with a Pike in his Side, and, at the ſame Time, received ſeveral other Wounds, ſome ſay fourteen, of which he died upon the Spot. The *French* were ſo ſtunned with the Loſs of their brave Commander, that they ſuffered the *Spaniards* to march off unmoleſted. As to the Number of the Slain of both Armies, it amounted at leaſt, according to *Guicciardin*, to ten thouſand, and of that Number the *French* made out one-third. All the Baggage, Colours, and Artillery of the Allies were taken, and a great many Perſons of the firſt Rank were made Priſoners, with the Cardinal *de Medicis*, the Pope's Legate, whom they delivered up to Cardinal *Sanſeverino*, Legate of the Council of *Piſa*, then ſitting at *Milan*. This memorable Battle was fought on *Eaſter-day*, the 11th of *April* of the preſent Year [b].

The Pope exhorted to Peace.

The Defeat of the Allies was followed by the Loſs of *Ravenna*, *Imola*, *Forli*, *Ceſena*, *Rimini*, and all the Fortreſſes of *Romagna*, except thoſe of *Forli*, and *Imola*; and Cardinal *Sanſeverino* took

[b] Guicciard. l. 10. et Brantome Eloge de Foix.

Poſſeſſion

Poſſeſſion of them in the Name of the Council of *Piſa*, that it might not be thought the King intended to extend his Dominions at the Expence of the Church. When the News of ſo ſignal a Victory, gained over the Confederates, was brought to *Rome*, it threw the whole Court into the utmoſt Confuſion. The Cardinals flying immediately to the Palace, conjured his Holineſs, as he tendered the Welfare of the Church and his own Safety, not to defer concluding a Peace with *France*. On the other hand the Embaſſadors of the *Venetians* and the King of *Spain* remonſtrated in very ſtrong Terms, againſt his coming to any Agreement with the *French*. Thus Fear, Indignation, and his irreconcileable Hatred to the King, combating together in his Breaſt, he knew not what to determine, but ſeemed, at one Time, inclined to Peace, and, at another, determined to continue the War: But being, in the mean while informed that the *Swiſs* had eſpouſed his Cauſe, and were on their March to join the Confederates, and that *Palice*, who had ſucceeded *Foix* in the Command of the Army, inſtead of marching to *Rome*, was returned to the *Milaneſe* with the greateſt Part of his Forces, in order to prevent their entering that Dutchy, his Holineſs recovered his Courage, ordered new Forces to be raiſed, and, declaring that he would not depart from the League, wrote to his Nuncio in *France* to break off the Negotiations, which he might have begun with the King or his Miniſters. At the ſame time arrived at *Rome* a Meſſenger from the King of *England* with a Commiſſion, impowering the Cardinal Archbiſhop of *York*, then reſiding at the Pope's Court, to ſign the League in his Name, and the King of *Spain* aſſured his Holineſs that, to prevent the *French* from reaping any Advantage from their late

Year of Chriſt 1512.

What encouraged him to continue the War.

Year of Christ 1512.

Victory, he was resolved to send a powerful Army into *Italy* under the Command of the *Great Captain*.

The Swiss *espouse the Cause of the Pope, and enter the Dutchy of* Milan.

But what above all delivered the Pope from his Fears, and confirmed him in his Resolution of pursuing the War, was the unexpected Arrival of the *Swiss* in the *Trentine* to the number of eighteen, or twenty thousand fighting Men, though the Pope had only demanded Six thousand. They joined the *Venetian* Army in the *Veronese*, and jointly with them directed their March to the Dutchy of *Milan*, which they no sooner entered, than all the Cities, where the Citizens were stronger than the Garrisons, revolting from the *French*, surrendered to them. *Palice*, whose Army only consisted of six or seven thousand Men, the Rest being employed in garrisoning the fortified Towns, retired as the Enemy advanced, and Marshal *Trivulzio*, Governor of *Milan*, thinking himself no longer safe in that City, furnished the Castle with Men and Provisions, and set out for *Piedmont* with all the King's Officers, and the Cardinals and Bishops of the Council.

Which the French *are forced to abandon.*

Thus were the *French* every where driven out, nothing being left to them of the whole *Milanese*, but the Castles of *Milan*, *Novara*, and *Cremona*, and the Towns of *Crema*, *Brescia*, and *Peschiera*. *Palice*, upon the first Notice he received of the Motions of the *Swiss*, had ordered the Troops, which he had left in *Romagna*, to march, with all Speed, to *Milan*; and they were no sooner gone, than the Cities of *Rimini*, *Cesena*, and *Ravenna*, returned under the Obedience of the Pope. The Cities in the State of *Milan* had all submitted to the *Holy League*, as they were pleased to call it, and were therefore governed, for the present, by the Cardinal of *Sion* with the Character of the Pope's Legate. But the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza* submitted, of their own Accord, to the Pope,

Pope, who pretended a Right to them, as anciently apppertaining to the Exarchate of *Ravenna*. Year of Christ 1512.

To compleat the Ruin of the *French* Affairs in *Italy*, *Genoa* revolted, expelled the *French* Governor, and conferred the Dignity of Doge upon *Janus Fregoso*, the Author of the Revolt. At the same time the Duke of *Urbino*, approaching *Bologna* with the Ecclesiastic Forces, obliged the *Bentivogli* to abandon that City, and the Inhabitants to acknowledge the Pope for their only Lord and Sovereign. His Holiness, carrying his Rage against that Family beyond all Bounds, interdicted all Places that should receive or entertain any of them; and to be revenged upon the *Bolognese*, who had insulted his Statue, and cast many abusive Reflections upon his Character, he deprived them of all their Privileges, excluded them from all Share in the Government, extorted large Sums from many of the Citizens, as Friends to the *Bentivogli*, nay and had formed a Design, as was reported, says *Guicciardin*, of destroying the City, and removing the Inhabitants to *Cento*; but he did not live to carry it into Execution [i].

Genoa revolts from the French. *Bologna recovered to the Pope.*

The Bishops and Cardinals of the Council of *Pisa* had continued their Sessions at *Milan* ever since their Removal to that City; and in the Eighth, held on the 21st of *April*, they declared Pope *Julius* II. a Disturber of the public Peace, a Sower of Discord among the People of God, a Rebel to the Church, a public Incendiary, a blood-thirsty Tyrant, hardened in his Iniquity, and incorrigible; pronounced him, as such, suspended from all spiritual and temporal Administration of the Church, and forbad the Faithful, of what Rank soever or

The Pope suspended by the Council of Pisa.

[i] Idem ibid.

Profession,

Year of Christ 1512.

Profeſſion, thenceforth to acknowledge or obey him. This Decree was received in *France*, and by the King's expreſs Command ſtrictly complied with throughout the Kingdom[k]. It was the laſt Act of the Council of *Piſa*. For the *Swiſs* breaking into the *Milaneſe*, the Biſhops, who were all *French*, fled from thence firſt to *Aſti* in *Piedmont*, and ſoon afterwards to *Lions*, where they were well received, and kindly entertained by the King.

End of that Council.

The King of France excommunicated, and the Kingdom laid under an Interdict.

The Pope, provoked more than ever againſt the King on Account of his receiving the above-mentioned Decree of the Council, and his affording a ſafe Retreat in his Dominions to the Biſhops of that Aſſembly, declared him, and all who adhered to him, liable to all the Puniſhments due to Heretics and Schiſmatics, granted a Power to every one to ſeize on their Goods, their Eſtates, and whatever elſe belonged to them, and laid the whole Kingdom of *France* under an Interdict. At the ſame time, to wreak his Vengeance upon the City of *Lions* for receiving the Biſhops of the Council, he ordered, under grievous Cenſures, the Fair, that was kept there four Times a Year, to be thenceforth held at *Geneva*, whence it had been removed by *Lewis* XI. to *Lions*[l].

The Pope enters into a Confederacy with the Emperor againſt the Venetians.

The *French* having nothing now left in *Italy* but a few Caſtles, the Confederates began to quarrel among themſelves about the Poſſeſſion of the Places, which they had abandoned. But the Pope, apprehending that the *French*, taking Advantage of their Diviſions, might recover the *Milaneſe*, prevailed upon them to hold a Congreſs at *Mantua*, in order to ſettle their Differences in an amicable Manner; and it was there agreed, that the Dutchy of

k Idem ibid. et Concil. Piſan. p. 110. l Idem ibid. et Raynald. ad ann. 1512.

Milan

Milan ſhould be reſtored to *Maximilian Sforza*, as Heir to his Father *Lewis*, to whom that Dutchy had belonged. But the *Venetians* could by no Means be brought to an Agreement with the Emperor, demanding the Reſtitution of the City of *Vicenza*, which he had taken in the Beginning of the War, and they had afterwards retaken. The Pope ſpared neither Entreaties nor Menaces to oblige the Republic to yield that City, and enter into an Alliance with himſelf and the Emperor to oppoſe the *French*, in caſe they attempted the Recovery of their Dominions in *Italy*. But, at laſt, finding that he could not induce them, either by Entreaties or Menaces, to give up the City in Queſtion, he concluded an Alliance with the Emperor againſt them. By one of the Articles of this new Alliance the Cities of *Parma*, *Piacenza*, and *Reggio*, which the Pope had ſeized, were to be left in the Poſſeſſion of the Holy See, but with this Clauſe, *without Prejudice to the Rights of the Empire*[m]. This Clauſe was added, ſays *Guicciardin*, becauſe it did not appear, that thoſe Cities had ever been poſſeſſed by the Church, and of the Donations, made by the Emperors, there was nothing to ſhew but one ſingle Writing, that might have been forged.

Year of Chriſt 1512.

The Pope had, as has been ſaid, ſummoned a Council to meet in the Church of *St. John Lateran*, in Oppoſition to that of *Piſa*; and it was, accordingly, opened at the Time appointed, the 3d of *May* of the preſent Year, his Holineſs aſſiſting at it in Perſon with the College of Cardinals, and a great Number of Biſhops, Doctors, and Abbots. In the

The Proceedings of the Lateran *Council.*

m Idem ibid. et Petrus de Angleria, Ep. 512.

Firſt

Year of Chriſt 1512.

Firſt Seſſion, held on the 10th of that Month, it was declared, that the Council there aſſembled was a true, lawful, and holy Council, in which reſided all the Power and Authority of the Church Univerſal. In the Second Seſſion, held on the 17th of the ſame Month, was read the Declaration of the Catholic King, approving the Convention of the Council, and a Sermon was preached by Cardinal *Caitan*, or rather a furious Invective againſt the Councils of *Conſtance*, of *Baſil*, and of *Piſa*, ſubjecting *Peter* to the Church, and the Pope to a Council; which, he ſaid, was ſetting Children above their Parents, the Members above their Head, and the Servants above their Lord. In the Third Seſſion, held on the 3d of *December*, the Biſhop of *Goritz* preſented to the Fathers, in the Emperor's Name, a Revocation of all Acts and Powers made in Favour of or granted to the Council of *Piſa*, with a Declaration that he approved of the *Lateran* Council, and would adhere to it. In the ſame Seſſion was confirmed the Pope's Bull, interdicting the Kingdom of *France*, and removing the Fair, ſpoken of above, from *Lions* to *Geneva*. In the Fourth Seſſion, held on the 10th of *December*, were read the Letters Patent of *Lewis* XI. aboliſhing the Pragmatic Sanction, and they, who ſtill maintained it, were ſummoned to appear, in the Term of ſixty Days, and ſhew Cauſe why the ſaid Pragmatic ſhould not be abrogated. The Fifth Seſſion was held on the 16th of *February*; but the Pope being taken ill, the Cardinal of *St. George*, Biſhop of *Oſtia*, preſided at it in his Room; and the Defenders of the Pragmatic were again ſummoned to appear within the above-mentioned Time [o].

[o] Concil. Lat. tom. 14. p. 91.——100.

In

In the mean while the Pope's Illneſs increaſed daily, and no Hopes being now left of his Recovery, he cauſed a Conſiſtory to be called, and the Bull to be confirmed, which he had publiſhed before againſt Simoniacal Practices in the Election of the Pope. At the ſame time he declared the Election of a Succeſſor to belong to the Cardinals, and not to the Council, and deſired, that the ſchiſmatic Cardinals might have no Share in the Election; but he forgave them their Offences againſt him, and prayed God to pardon them the Injuries they had done to his Church. He then begged the College of Cardinals to gratify him ſo far, as to grant the City of *Peſaro* in Fee to his Nephew the Duke of *Urbino*, ſince it had by his Means been recovered to the Church. Thus retaining the ſame Vigour of Mind, which he had enjoyed before his Illneſs, he received the Sacraments of the Church, and died on the 21ſt of *February* 1513, when he had lived Seventy Years, and governed the Church Nine Years Three Months and Twenty-one Days[p]. He was buried, with the uſual Solemnity, in the Church of *St. Peter*, in the Chapel of his Uncle Pope *Sixtus*.

Year of Chriſt 1513. Julius *dies.*

Julius was certainly a Man of moſt extraordinary Parts, of great Courage, Reſolution, and Conſtancy, and would have deſerved the higheſt Commendations, had he employed his Talents, as was incumbent upon him, in promoting Religion and Piety, and reforming the enormous Abuſes that prevailed, in his Time, in the Church. But entirely neglecting all ſpiritual Concerns, he made it his whole Buſineſs, from the Time of his Promotion to the Hour of his Death, to extend the temporal Empire of the Church by Dint of Arms, and the Blood of Chriſtians, acting therein, to uſe the Ex-

His Character.

[p] Guicciard. l. 21.

preſſion

Year of Christ 1513.

preſſion of a celebrated Writer, more like a Sultan of the *Turks*, than as the Vicar of the Prince of Peace, and the common Father of all Chriſtians [q]. Two hundred thouſand Perſons are ſaid to have periſhed in the Wars, carried on chiefly at the Inſtigation of this furious and blood-thirſty Pope; and as many more would have, probably, undergone the ſame Fate, had not Death intervened, and prevented his diſturbing the Repoſe of *Europe* any longer.

His vaſt Projects.

For he had formed a Deſign of renewing the War againſt the Duke of *Ferrara* as ſoon as the Seaſon would permit; of changing the Government of *Florence*, and, what he had above all Things at Heart, to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*, as well as the *French*, to ſubject the Kingdom of *Naples* to his See, and thus deliver *Italy*, as he frequently expreſſed himſelf, from the Yoke of Barbarians. With this View he cultivated, by all Means, the Friendſhip of the *Swiſs*, preſented them with a Sword, a Cap, a Helmet, and a Standard, beſtowed on them the Title of *Defenders of the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity*, and ſecretly prevented them from entering into a Confederacy with the Catholic King.

His Hatred to the King of France.

The Averſion, or rather Hatred, that *Julius* bore to the King of *France*, was carried by him beyond all Bounds of Moderation, and even of Decency. For not ſatisfied with driving him out of *Italy*, with laying his whole Kingdom under an Interdict, and ſtirring up the King of *England* to invade his *French* Dominions, he had drawn up a Bull, transferring the Title of *Moſt Chriſtian King* to the King of *England*, diveſting *Lewis* of the Royal Title and Dignity, and giving his Kingdom to any, who ſhould conquer it. This Bull the Pope intended to have confirmed

[q] Mezeray, Abregé Chron. tom. 5. p. 117.

by

by the *Lateran* Council. But he was providentially removed out of the World before this, or any other of the many Projects he had formed, could be carried into Execution. For it was commonly believed, that had he ſucceeded with the Aſſiſtance of the *Swiſs*, in expelling the *Spaniards* out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and adding that Kingdom to the other Dominions of the Church, his reſtleſs Temper, and unbounded Ambition, would not have allowed him to remain unactive, but prompted him to attempt, with the Aſſiſtance of the ſame mercenary *Swiſs*, the ſubjecting of all *Italy* to his See[r]. —— *Julius* is charged by all the contemporary Writers with immoderate Drinking; and *Gradineco* tells us in his Diary, that his Holineſs loved Wine to ſuch a Degree, that when he was taken dangerouſly ill in 1511, he could not refrain, even in the Height of his Fever, from drinking ſtrong *Greek* Wines. He was a Lover of Women, at leaſt, before his Promotion to the Pontificate, as well as of Wine, and had a Daughter named *Felice*, whom he married to *John Jordan Orſini*. —— But not to defraud this Pope of the Praiſe that is due to him, he did not tread in the Footſteps of preceding Popes, in aggrandizing, at the Expence of the Church, his Nephews and Relations. His purchaſing of the Emperor the City of *Siena* for his Nephew, the Duke of *Urbino*, and his beſeeching the Cardinals, a little before his Death, to grant to him and his Poſterity the City of *Peſaro* in Fee, are the only Inſtances of his ſhewing any private Concern or Affection for his Family. Of the Twenty-ſeven Cardinals, whom he created at different Promotions, four only were any ways related

Year of Chriſt 1513.

A Lover of Wine and Women.

Free from Nepotiſm.

[r] Guicciard. l. 11. Ferron. in Ludovic. XII.

to

Year of Christ 1513.

to him, and they Men of untainted Characters. When his Daughter earneſtly entreated him in his laſt Illneſs, to confer that Dignity upon *Guido* of *Montefalcone*, her uterine Brother, he ſternly anſwered, that the Perſon, whom ſhe recommended, was not worthy of ſo high a Dignity, and, turning away from her, expired in a few Minutes[s].—As for the famous Medal, that the King of *France*, *Lewis* XII. is ſaid to have cauſed to be ſtruck with this Inſcription, *Perdam Babylonis Nomen*, *I will deſtroy the Name of Babylon*, meaning *Rome*, its Authenticity has been much diſputed, *Et adhuc ſub judice lis eſt.*

His Writings.

In *Cherubini* we find Thirty-one Bulls of Pope *Julius*, the moſt remarkable of which are, that by which he grants a Diſpenſation to the then Prince of *Wales*, afterwards *Henry* VIII. to marry *Catherine*, the Widow of his Brother *Arthur*; a Bull againſt all Simoniacal Practices in the Election of the Pope; and One for Indulgences to encourage the Faithful to contribute to the Building of *St. Peter*'s Church at *Rome*; for by him that Structure perhaps the moſt magnificent in the World, was firſt begun.

[s] Guicciard. ibid.

MAXIMILIAN, CHARLES V. *Emperors of the West.*

LEO X.

The Two Hundred and Fifteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

JULIUS dying, as has been ſaid, on the 21ſt of *February* of the preſent Year, the Cardinals, to the Number of Twenty-three, having performed his Exequies, according to Cuſtom, entered into the Conclave, and on the 7th Day, that is, on the 11th of *March*, elected fairly without Simony, or Suſpicion of any corrupt Practice, *John* Cardinal *de Medicis*, who took the Name of *Leo* X. So quick an Election of ſo young a Pope, for he was but Thirty-ſeven Years of Age, was owing to a Combination of the young Cardinals, who had agreed among themſelves to chuſe the Firſt Pope out of their own Number ---*Leo* was the Son of *Lawrence de Medicis*, who had the good Luck to eſcape with a ſlight Wound, when his Brother *Julian* was barbarouſly murdered at the Inſtigation of Pope *Sixtus* IV. as has been related above [u]. He was the Grandſon of *Coſmus*, the Founder of the Greatneſs of his Family [w], and had Three Sons, *Peter*, *John* and *Julian*. *Peter* ſucceeded him in the Government of the Republic, but was declared a Rebel, and obliged to fly from *Florence* with his Two Brothers, for yielding ſome Places to the *French*, when *Charles* VIII. paſſed through *Tuſcany* on his March to the Kingdom of *Naples*. *John*, now Pope *Leo*, was yet a Child, when *Lewis* XI. out of the great Regard he had for his Family, preſented him with a rich Archbiſhopric in *France*. Being thus deſtined for the Church, his Father, who was the *Mecænas* of the Time, and himſelf a Man of great Learning, took Care to have him educated and inſtructed in all

Year of Chriſt 1513.

Leo X. *elected.*

Some Account of his Family and Preferments, &c. before his Promotion.

[t] Guicciard. l. 11. [u] See above, p. 307, et ſeq. [w] See above, p. 208.

Year of Christ 1513.

all the Branches of polite Literature, by the ableſt Men of that Age, and no other Age has abounded with more able Men ſince the Revival of Learning. When he was but Thirteen Years of Age, *Innocent* VIII. created him Cardinal-Deacon of *St. Mary in Dominica*, on Occaſion of the Marriage between his Siſter *Catherine* and *Francis Cibo* his Holineſs's natural Son [x]. *Innocent* appointed him, a little before his Death, his Legate *a latere* for *Tuſcany*. But his Brother *Peter* being, in the mean Time, driven out of *Florence* by the contrary Faction, and all the *de Medicis* declared Outlaws, he travelled all over *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany* till the Death of *Alexander* VI. who ſucceeded *Innocent*, and countenanced the popular Party in *Florence*. Upon his Death he returned to *Rome*, and was appointed by his Succeſſor, *Julius* II. Legate of *Perugia*, and afterwards of *Bologna*. In 1512 he attended the Confederate Army with the Character of Apoſtolic Legate, and was made Priſoner in the Battle of *Ravenna*. The *French* conducted their illuſtrious Captive to *Milan*, where he was treated with the utmoſt Civility, and all the Reſpect that was due to his Character. But he ill repaid the kind Treatment he met with. For the Pope having granted him a Power to abſolve from all Cenſures ſuch as ſhould quit the *French* Service, and promiſe to bear Arms no longer againſt the Church, he prevailed upon great Numbers to deſert by offering them Abſolution. When the *French* abandoned *Milan*, the King ordered the Cardinal to be ſent into *France*. But the Peaſants of a Village, called *Pieve del Cairo*, falling unexpectedly upon the Soldiers, who guarded him, delivered him out of their Hands. Being thus ſet at Liberty, he applied to *Raimund de Cordona*, Vice roy of *Naples*, and Commander of the *Spaniſh* Troops in *Italy*, and had the Satisfaction of ſeeing his Family by their Means, and the Concurrence

x See above, p. 326.

of

of the Pope, reſtored to their former Grandeur at *Florence*, and his Brother *Julian* placed, with all the Power the Family had ever enjoyed, at the Head of that Republic. Matters being thus ſettled in *Florence*, the Cardinal upon the Firſt News he had of the Death of Pope *Julius*, flew to *Rome*, and was elected for his Succeſſor in the Manner we have ſeen [y]. Year of Chriſt 1513.

The new Pope was crowned, according to Cuſtom, in the Church of *St. John Lateran*, on the 11th of *April*, the very Day, on which he had been made Priſoner at the Battle of *Ravenna* the Year before. So pompous was the Appearance, on that Occaſion, of his Family, of his Court, of the Prelates and the Nobility, that it was univerſally believed, that nothing had been ſeen equal to it ſince the Inundation of the *Barbarians*, or the Times of the old *Romans*, his Holineſs ſtriving to imitate and renew the Pomp, Splendor, and Magnificence of their public Shews. The Parade of that Day, by no Means ſuitable to the preſent Times, is ſaid to have coſt him, at leaſt, One hundred thouſand Ducats. He thereby gained, indeed, the Applauſe and Eſteem of the Vulgar; but Men of Senſe could not help blaming him for thus ſquandering away, in uſeleſs Expences, the Treaſure of the Church [z]. *Pompous Coronation of the new Pope.*

The Two Cardinals *Carvajal* and *Senſeverino*, the chief Promoters of the Council of *Piſa*, now ſitting at *Lions*, no ſooner heard of the Death of *Julius*, than, leaving that City, they haſtened to *Marſeilles*, and from thence ſet out for *Rome* by Sea, being attended by an Embaſſador from the King. They landed at *Leghorn*; and being there informed of the Election of the new Pope, they advanced, depending upon his known Good-Nature, to *Piſa*. But they were there arreſted, and being conducted to *Florence*, the Pope ſent the Biſhop of *Orvieto* to adviſe them not to proceed any further *The Two depoſed Cardinals arreſted*

y Guicciard. l. 6, 7, 11. et Onuph. in Leone X.
z Guicciard. l. 11.

Year of Christ 1513.

till it was determined in what Manner they ſhould be received at *Rome*, and at the ſame time to exhort them no longer to appear in the Habit of Cardinals ſince they had been lawfully depoſed, and their Depoſition had been confirmed in the *Lateran* Council [a].

The Pope ſtrives to gain the King of France.

As the late Pope had ſhewn, on all Occaſions, an irreconcileable Averſion to the King of *France*, and by that Means quite eſtranged him from the Apoſtolic See, *Leo*, in order to regain him, and put an End to the Schiſm, made in the Church by the Council of *Piſa*, which the King ſtill ſupported, wrote to him a moſt kind and obliging Letter ſoon after his Coronation. In that Letter he declared, that, as the common Father of all Chriſtian Princes, he was extremely grieved, that the King, by his Diſagreement with the Church, had put it out of his Power to ſhew how much he was inclined by Nature to be his Friend, but that he was ready to receive him as a moſt Chriſtian King, and embrace him, as the eldeſt Son of the Church, as ſoon as he returned to the Obedience of the Apoſtolic See. As the *French* were, generally ſpeaking, deſirous of being reſtored to the Communion of the Church, from which they had been cut off by the late Pope, the King, upon the Receipt of the Pope's Letter, immediately diſpatched the Biſhop of *Marſeilles* to *Rome*, to treat with his Holineſs about a Reconciliation. Not long after his Arrival the Sixth Seſſion of the *Lateran* Council was held, at which *Leo* preſided in Perſon; and in that Seſſion was read a Paper, ſigned by the Two depoſed Cardinals, wherein they approved of all that was done in the *Lateran* Council, promiſed to adhere to it, and condemned that of *Piſa* as a *ſchiſmatic Conventicle*. The Two Cardinals of *Sion* and of *York*

The depoſed Cardinals renounce the Council of Piſa, *and are reſtored.*

[a] Idem ibid. et Petrus de Angleria. Epiſt. 515.

ſtrongly

ſtrongly oppoſed their Reſtoration; but the Biſhop of *Marſeilles* earneſtly interceding for them, in his Maſter's Name, the Pope, to gratify the King, conſented to their being reinſtated in their Dignity; and the Ceremony was performed in the following Manner. The Two Cardinals entered *Rome* privately by Night without any Badges of that Dignity, and appearing the next Day, in the Habit of common Prieſts, before the Pope ſitting in Conſiſtory, and attended by all the Cardinals, except thoſe of *York* and *Sion*, who refuſed to be preſent, they fell on their Knees, and, in the moſt ſubmiſſive Terms, aſked Pardon of the Pope and the Cardinals, declared their Approbation of their own Depoſition, and the Election of a new Pope, as done canonically, and condemned the Council of *Piſa* as a ſchiſmatic and deteſtable Aſſembly. They remained in the ſame humble Poſture till this their Confeſſion, ſigned by them, was entered upon Record; and then riſing up, they embraced all the Cardinals, who ſtirred not from their Seats, reſumed, as ſoon as they had done, the Badges of their former Dignity, and were admitted to ſit in the ſame Place, where they had ſat before their Depoſition [b].

Year of Chriſt 1513.

In the mean time the Seſſions of the *Lateran* Council were continued; but nothing was tranſacted in the Seventh worthy of Notice, though *Leo* preſided at it in Perſon; and the Eighth was put off till the 17th of *December*, his Holineſs ſtriving, in the mean while, to prevail upon the King of *France* to renounce the Council of *Piſa*, to adhere to the *Lateran*, and ſend his Biſhops to aſſiſt at the latter. His Endeavours were, in the End, crowned with Succeſs. For the King, being daily importuned by his People, eſpecially by the Clergy, and earneſtly preſſed by the Queen, *Anne*

The King of France *renounces the Council of* Piſa, *and receives the* Lateran.

[b] Idem ibid. Onuph. in Leon. et Raymund. ad ann. 1513.

Year of Chriſt 1513. of *Bretany*, to come to an Agreement with the new Pope, conſented at laſt, much againſt his Will, to receive the *Lateran* Council, which he had hitherto oppoſed, and renounce that of *Piſa*, which he had ſo zealouſly promoted. Accordingly Embaſſadors were ſent to *Rome*, who being introduced to the Council in the Eighth Seſſion, held on the 17th of *December*, acknowledged that Council, in the King's Name, as the only true and lawful Council, condemned the Aſſembly, then ſitting at *Lions* under the Name of the Council of *Piſa*, and engaged that the ſaid Aſſembly ſhould be diſſolved in One Month's Time, and the Biſhops, who compoſed it, all be remanded to their reſpective Sees. Thus ended the Council of *Piſa*, called by ſome a mock Council, and, perhaps, not undeſervedly, as it conſiſted of a very ſmall Number of Biſhops, and they of One Nation only. The King, not ſatisfied with obliging the Biſhops to depart from *Lions*, and forbidding them to aſſemble in any other City of his Dominions, ordered Six of them, and Four Doctors, to repair to *Rome*, and aſk the Pope's Pardon, and Abſolution, in the Name of the *Gallican* Church, for countenancing, with their Preſence, the ſchiſmatic Aſſembly of *Piſa*; which was commanding them to aſk Pardon for doing what he himſelf had commanded them to do[m].

Leo's Perfidy and falſe Dealing.

Year of Chriſt 1514. The following Year 1514 was chiefly employed by *Leo* in Negotiations with the Emperor, with the Kings of *Spain* and *England*, as well as with the *Venetians* and the *Swiſs*, to preventthe King of *France* from reconquering the Dutchy of *Milan*, which that Prince ſeemed to have above all Things at Heart. In this Affair his Holineſs acted all along with the utmoſt Perfidy, encouraging the King to that Undertaking, and, at the ſame time, ſtirring up underhand all *Chriſtendom* againſt him, in order

m Idem ibid. et Mezeray Abrege Chron. tom. 4. p. 123.

to

to divert him from ſuch an Enterprize, or render it abortive, if he perſiſted in it. The King was informed by ſome, who were truſted with the Secret, of his Holineſs's Treachery and Double-dealing, and would have reſented it in a proper Manner, had not Death intervened. *Lewis* died at *Paris* on the Firſt Day of the Year 1515, and was ſucceeded by *Francis* of *Angouleſme*, Duke of *Valois*, in the Twenty-firſt Year of his Age. The new King wrote immediately to the Pope to acquaint him with his Acceſſion to the Crown, and at the ſame time to aſſure him, that no Perſon upon Earth was more devoted to his Holineſs than himſelf, and that from none he could expect more advantageous Conditions for himſelf and his Family. *Leo* anſwered him by a moſt kind and obliging Letter, but ſoon afterwards entered into a Confederacy with the Emperor, the Catholic King and the *Swiſs* againſt him in Defence of the State of *Milan*, there being no Room to doubt, that the vaſt military Preparations, then carried on in *France*, were deſigned againſt that Dutchy, This powerful Confederacy did not deter the King from purſuing his Deſign upon the *Milaneſe*. He paſſed the *Alps* early in the Spring at the Head of a very numerous and well appointed Army, and having gained a compleat Victory over the *Swiſs*, who alone had the Courage to oppoſe him, he made himſelf Maſter, in a very ſhort Time, of the whole Dutchy, and its Capital. This unexpected Succeſs alarmed the Pope, and abandoning, or rather betraying, the Confederates, he entered into an Alliance with the King of *France*; and it was agreed, that the Pope and the King ſhould have an Interview at *Bologna*. They met there accordingly, the Pope making his public Entry into that City on the 8th of *December*, and the King on the 10th. The King, being introduced to the Pope in a public Conſiſtory, paid him, in Perſon, all the Honours that it was cuſto-

Year of Chriſt 1515.

Death of Lewis XII. Year of Chriſt 1515.

The Pope enters into a Confederacy firſt againſt and afterwards with his Succeſſor Francis I.

Interview between the Pope and the King of France *at* Bologna.

Year of Christ 1515.

mary for Christian Princes to pay to a new Pope by their Embassadors, *Antony du Prat*, High Chancellor of the Kingdom, making a Speech, on that Occasion, in his Majesty's Name. The Pope and the King lodged in the same Palace, and privately conferred for Three Days together with all the Marks of mutual Benevolence and Sincerity.

The chief Subject of their Conferences was the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and on this Occasion was begun a Negotiation about the famous *Concordat*, which was afterwards substituted in the Room of the *Pragmatic*. The King, after Three Days Stay at *Bologna*, returned to *Milan*, leaving Chancellor *du Prat* to finish that Affair. The Chancellor had several Conferences with the Cardinals of *Ancona*, and *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and in the End an Agreement was concluded, and signed by both the Cardinals and the Chancellor, under the Name of *A Concordat between Pope* Leo X. and Francis I. *King of* France. The chief Articles of this Agreement or *Concordat* were, I. That the *Pragmatic* should be abolished throughout the King's Dominions. II. That the Chapters of the Cathedral and Metropolitan Churches should not thenceforth elect their own Bishops, but that the King should nominate a fit Person, and the Pope should confer the Dignity on the Person, whom he had nominated. III. That the Pope should thenceforth grant no expectative Graces, nor Reservations, either general or special. IV. That the Ordinaries should be obliged to confer on the Graduates of the Universities such Benefices, as should be vacant in Four Months of the Year, to be specified, but should be at Liberty to dispose of those, vacant in the other Eight Months, to whom they pleased. V. That every Pope might, once in his Pontificate, oblige every Collator, having from Ten to Fifty Benefices in his Gift, to confer One as his Holiness should direct, and Two, if he

The King consents to the Abolition of the Pragmatic, *and the* Concordat *is established in its Room*

he had Fifty or more at his Diſpoſal. VI. That the Annates ſhould be reſtored and paid according to the true Value, and not according to the ancient Rates greatly below the true Value [n]. As the Annates, condemned by the Council of *Baſil* as rank Simony, and as ſuch ſuppreſſed by the *Pragmatic*, were reſtored by the *Concordat*, and in the ſame *Concordat* the Article, eſtabliſhing the Superiority of a General Council to the Pope, was omitted, though it had been defined by the Councils of *Conſtance* and of *Baſil*, and aſcertained by the *Pragmatic*, this new Agreement was univerſally diſapproved, and rejected throughout the Kingdom of *France*, the Clergy, the Univerſities, and the Parliaments remonſtrating againſt it, and appealing to a General Council. However, as it was ſupported by the Royal as well as the Pontifical Authority, it was at laſt regiſtered and publiſhed by the Parliament of *Paris* on the 22d of *March* 1527, and is obſerved, with ſome ſmall Alterations, to this Day [o].

Year of Chriſt 1515

In the Interview at *Bologna* the King, to gratify the Pope and court his Favour, not only conſented to the Abolition of the Pragmatic, ſo odious to *Rome*, but, to his great Diſhonour, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to give up *Francis-Maria della Rovere*, Duke of *Urbino*, who had put himſelf under his Protection. The Pope alleged ſeveral Accuſations againſt the Duke, ſummoned him to appear and clear himſelf from them, and, upon his refuſing to comply with the Summons, declared him a Rebel to the Church, and ordered his Nephew *Lawrence de Medicis* to ſeize his Dominions. *Lawrence*, purſuant to that Order, entered the Territories of *Urbino* at the Head of the whole

The Duke of Urbino *driven out, and the Pope's Nephew made Duke in his Room.*

Year of Chriſt 1516.

n Guicciardin. l. 12. Pinſon et Du Puy Hiſt. de la Pragmat. et du Concord.

o Pinſon et Du Puy ibid. et Raynald ad ann. 1515.

Eccleſiaſtical

Year of Christ 1516. Eccleſiaſtical Army, and, meeting no-where with the leaſt Oppoſition, made himſelf Maſter, in a very few Days, of the whole Dutchy. The Duke, finding himſelf unable to withſtand ſo great a Force, had retired at the Approach of the Enemy, firſt to *Peſaro*, and afterwards to *Mantua*, leaving his Subjects, ſince he could not defend them, to conſult their own Safety. *Rovere* being thus driven out, the Dutchy was by his Holineſs beſtowed upon his Nephew *Lawrence*, who, at his Return to *Rome*, received the Inveſtiture, with unuſual Solemnity, at his Uncle's Hands. *Leo* had long coveted that Dutchy for his Nephew, and it was only to make Room for him, that he drove out the Duke, all the Crimes that he was charged with, having been committed in the Pontificate of his Uncle, *Julius* II. and by that Pope forgiven [p]. In this his Holineſs was guilty of the utmoſt Ingratitude as well as Injuſtice, the Duke having, for many Years, generouſly entertained and ſupported his Brother *Julian*, during the Time of their Exile from *Florence*, and uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to get them reſtored [q].

Plot againſt the Pope's Life. Year of Christ 1517. *Leo*, rot ſatisfied with the Acquiſition of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, formed a Deſign of adding to it the free State of *Siena*, lying between the Territories of the Church and thoſe of the Republic of *Florence*. In order to that he cauſed Cardinal *Alfonſo Petrucci*, commonly called the Cardinal of *Siena*, and his Brother *Borgheſi*, who governed that State, and would, he well knew, oppoſe any Attempts upon the public Liberty, to be ſent into Exile. As their Father *Pandolfo Petrucci* had eſpouſed, with great Zeal, the Cauſe of the Family *de Medicis*, when baniſhed from *Florence*, and ſpared no Fatigue nor Expence to oblige the *Florentines* to recall them; and beſides, the Cardinal had uſed

The Cardinal of Siena *Author of the Plot.*

[p] Guicciard. l. 12. Cimarelli Hiſt. de Urbin.
[q] Idem ibid.

his

his utmoſt Efforts in the Conclave in behalf of *Leo*; ſo ungrateful a Return for ſuch Benefits provoked him to a Degree of Madneſs, and he reſolved to make the Pope atone, with his Life, for his Ingratitude. He determined at firſt, in the Height of his Rage, to ſtab the Pope with his own Hand. But apprehending, when ſomewhat cooler, the Danger, to which ſo deſperate an Attempt would expoſe him, he thought of employing Poiſon inſtead of a Dagger, ſince he might by that Means compaſs his End as effectually, and with much greater Safety. This his Deſign he communicated to one *Baptiſta da Vercelli*, a famous Surgeon, and his intimate Friend; and it was agreed between them, that *Baptiſta* ſhould be recommended to the Pope, who had been long afflicted with a Fiſtula, as the ableſt Man of his Profeſſion, and that, upon his being employed by his Holineſs, he ſhould inject Poiſon into the Ulcer. But, in the mean time, the Cardinal loudly complaining in all Companies, of the Pope's Ingratitude, nay, and mixing Menaces with his Complaints, he began to be ſuſpected of machinating ſome Miſchief againſt him; inſomuch that thinking himſelf no longer ſafe at *Rome*, he privately withdrew from that City; but having left his Secretary behind him, it manifeſtly appeared from ſome of his Letters to him, which were intercepted, that a Plot was carrying on againſt the Pope's Life. This *Leo* diſſembled, and, in order to get the Cardinal into his Power, invited him with mighty Promiſes to *Rome*, and for his greater Security even ſent him a Safe-conduct, and gave his Word of Honour to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, that he ſhould meet with no ill Treatment. But he no ſooner arrived than he was arreſted by the Pope's Order, as was likewiſe Cardinal *Bandinello*, a *Genoeſe*, *Leo* concluding from his great Intimacy with the Cardinal of *Siena*, that he was privy to the whole Affair. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſador

Year of Chriſt 1517.

How diſcovered.

Year of Christ 1517.

baſſador complained loudly to the Pope of ſo notorious a Breach of his Word, given to him, which, he ſaid, was the ſame Thing as if it had been given to the King of *Spain* his Maſter. The Pope anſwered, that no Safe-conduct whatever, no Word of Honour, how ſolemnly ſoever given, could be binding in Caſes of High-Treaſon, unleſs that Crime was ſpecified. The Embaſſador urged in vain, that when a Safe-conduct is granted, and Impunity is promiſed to a Perſon without any Limitations or Reſtrictions whatever, ſuch a Perſon cannot be puniſhed, be his Crime what it will, without a manifeſt Violation of the Safe-conduct, and a Breach of Faith. Both Cardinals were committed to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and it appearing from their Confeſſion upon the Rack, that the Plot was deviſed by the Cardinal of *Siena* with the Privity of Cardinal *Bandinello*, they were both by a Sentence, pronounced in a public Conſiſtory, deprived of their Dignity, and delivered up to the Secular Power. The Cardinal of *Siena* was ſecretly ſtrangled the next Night. The other Cardinal was condemned, as being leſs guilty, to perpetual Impriſonment, from which the Pope not only redeemed him ſoon afterwards, but, upon his paying a certain Sum of Money, reinſtated him in his Dignity. But he died, in a ſhort Time, of a lingering Diſtemper, which ſome aſcribed to a ſlow Poiſon, adminiſtered to him; by the Pope's Order, before he recovered his Liberty [r]. Three other Cardinals were condemned to pay large Sums of Money for not acquainting the Pope with the Menaces, which they had heard the Cardinal of *Siena* throw out againſt him. As by this Severity he greatly diſobliged all the other Cardinals, and eſtranged them from him, in order to procure new Friends in the Sacred College, he created no fewer

The Cardinal put to Death.

r Guicciard. l. 13. Jovius vit. Leon. X. ad ann. 1517.

than

than Thirty-one Cardinals at one Promotion; ſome for their Learning, many for their Money, and others at the Recommendation of different Princes, being Men of all Nations [s].

Year of Chriſt 1517. *Promotion of Cardinals.*

The preſent Year 1517 will ever be memorable in the Eccleſiaſtical Annals for the Foundation and Commencement it gave to the Revolution in the Church, commonly known by the Name of *The Reformation.* But as a Detail of all the Particulars of that great Event would carry me too far from the Deſign of this Work, I ſhall confine myſelf to the Part the Popes acted in it, which alone is my Province, and refer the Reader to *The Hiſtory of the Reformation, in* Germany, *by* Sleidan, and in theſe our Kingdoms, by the Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, whoſe inimitable Performances contain ſo full an Account of the Riſe and Progreſs of the *Reformation*, and are ſo univerſally known, that all I could ſay on that Subject would be but an unneceſſary Repetition of what every curious Reader muſt have learned from them. It is well known, that Pope *Leo*'s famous Bull of Indulgences, publiſhed this Year in all Chriſtian Kingdoms, firſt gave Occaſion to that Change in Religion, of which ſo many Nations enjoy the Bleſſings to this Day. For *Leo*, wanting to continue the magnificent Structure of *St. Peter*'s Church, begun by his Predeceſſor *Julius*, but finding his Coffers drained, chiefly by his own Extravagance, in order to repleniſh them granted, by his Bull, a *plenary Indulgence*, or Remiſſion of all Sins, to ſuch as ſhould charitably contribute to that Work. *Albert*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz* and *Magdeburg*, was commiſſioned by the Pope to proclaim that Bull in *Germany*, and by the Archbiſhop was employed a *Dominican* Friar, named *John Tetzel*, to preach up the Indulgences, and collect the Money ariſing from them. Some ſay, that the In-

The Firſt Riſe of the Reformation.

Occaſion given to it by Pope Leo's *Bull of Indulgences.*

[s] Idem ibid.

dulgences

Year of Christ 1517.

dulgences were by the Pope farmed out to the Archbiſhop, and by him to the Friar, and his Order. However that be, the Friar, to enhance the Value of theſe Indulgences, and procure, by that Means, more Cuſtomers, uſed to extoll their Efficacy in the moſt indecent and ſhocking Terms, telling the deluded Multitude, that, had any one even raviſhed the Mother of God, he had wherewithal to cancel his Guilt; that he had ſaved more Souls from Hell, by theſe Indulgences, than St. *Peter* had converted to Chriſtianity by his Preaching; that their Virtue extended to the Dead as well as the Living; that upon their paying the Price of the Indulgences the Soul of the Perſon, whom they intended to deliver out of Purgatory, flew that Moment up to Heaven, *&c.* [t] Theſe and many ſuch-like impious and abſurd Doctrines gave great Offence to all good Men, and among the reſt to *Martin Luther*, a Friar of the Order of *St. Auſtin's Hermeis*, who, being at this Time Profeſſor of Divinity in the newly erected Univerſity of *Wittenberg* in *Saxony*, thought it incumbent upon him to confute them: And he did ſo accordingly in Ninety-five Propoſitions, which he publicly maintained in that Univerſity, on the 30th of *September* of the preſent Year. He owned the Pope to be veſted with the Power of granting Indulgences, that is, of remitting the Puniſhments due to Sin, but that Power he confined to *canonical* Puniſhments, or Puniſhments inflicted by the Canons, by the Church, or its viſible Head the Pope. As for *divine* Puniſhments, or ſuch as are by divine Juſtice denounced againſt Offenders in this Life, or the Life to come, he would not allow the Power of the Pope to extend to them, affirming, that they could only be remitted by the Merits of Chriſt, good Works, and a ſincere Repentance. As by

Abſurdities advanced by the Publiſhers of theſe Indulgences confuted by Luther.

His Doctrine concerning Indulgences.

[t] See Moſheim Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. Vol. II. p. 16. Note [O].

this

this Doctrine the Living reaped very little Benefit from the Indulgences, and the Dead none at all, the Venders of them, enraged beyond meaſure at the viſible Decay of their Trade, fell upon *Luther* with the utmoſt Fury. He anſwered their Reaſonings, confuted their Objections, and challenged them to anſwer the following Queſtion, *if the Pope has a Power of delivering Souls out of Purgatory, why does he deliver only ſome, and thoſe for Money, and not all out of Charity?* His Adverſaries, not able to confute his Arguments, nor ſupport their own, had Recourſe to a more compendious Way of compaſſing his Ruin. They repreſented him to the Pope as an *obſtinate* and *incorrigible* Heretic, who were he not reſtrained by the Authority of the Apoſtolic See, would ſoon infect all *Germany* with his peſtiferous Errors. On the other Hand, *Luther*, to prevent their prejudicing the Pope againſt him, wrote a moſt ſubmiſſive Letter to his Holineſs, ſent him his Ninety-five Propoſitions with their Proofs, and, to clear himſelf from the Imputation of *Obſtinacy*, which alone makes a Heretic, declared himſelf ready to change his Sentiments the Moment they were proved to be erroneous. Year of Chriſt 1517.

Before I proceed on this Subject, I cannot help obſerving, that the Charge brought againſt *Luther* by ſome Proteſtants, and moſt *Roman* Catholic Writers, of oppoſing the Indulgences out of Jealouſy or Envy, *viz.* becauſe the Commiſſion of publiſhing them, uſually granted to the *Auſtin* Friars in *Saxony*, had been taken from them and given to the *Dominicans*, has been, in my Opinion, unanſwerably confuted by the Rev. Mr. *Maclaine*, the Tranſlator of Doctor *Moſheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, in his learned Notes upon that admirable Performance [u]. I ſhall only add, that *Guicciardin*, in ſpeaking of that Oppoſition, ſays, that *it was*, *Not excited by Jealouſy or Reſentment to oppoſe them.*

[u] Moſheim's Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. p. 17, 18. Note [P].

perhaps,

Year of Christ 1517. *perhaps, honeſt, or, at leaſt, from the juſt Occaſion that was given to it, in ſome Degree excuſable* w. From theſe Words it is manifeſt, that *Guicciardin*, a Contemporary, and moſt accurate Hiſtorian, knew nothing of the ſelfiſh and ignoble Motives, which *Luther*'s Oppoſition to the Doctrine of Indulgences is aſcribed to by the more modern Writers. For had it been owing to any ſuch Motives, it would have been evidently *diſhoneſt*, and *in no Degree excuſable*.

Is ſummoned by the Pope to Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1518. At firſt *Leo*, wholly taken up with the Pleaſures of his Court, made a Jeſt among his Poets and Buffoons, of the bold Attempt of the Friar of *Wittemberg*. But being informed by the Emperor of the rapid Progreſs the new Doctrine made, and the Diviſions it was likely to produce both in the Church and the Empire, he became ſerious, and ſummoned *Luther* to appear before him at *Rome* in the Term of Sixty Days, in order to maintain there the Doctrine which he was ſaid to propagate in *Germany*. But *Frederic*, Elector of *Saxony*, who had taken *Luther*, as his Subject, into his Protection, urging againſt that Summons the Eccleſiaſtical Laws of the Empire, by which its Subjects, he ſaid, were, in all Cauſes, to be tried upon the Spot, the Pope yielded, and ordered *Luther* to plead his Cauſe before Cardinal *Cajetan*, then Apoſtolic Legate at the Diet of *Augſburg*. As *Cajetan* was a *Dominican*, *Luther* thought it ſomewhat ſtrange, that he ſhould have been appointed Judge and Arbitrator in a Controverſy between him and *Tetzel*, a Man of the ſame Order. However, in Compliance with the Pope's Command, he repaired to *Augſburg*, in the Month of *October* of the preſent Year, and had there Three different Conferences with the Cardinal. But as the Cardinal imperiouſly inſiſted upon his

Appears before Cardinal Cajetan *at* Augſburg.

w Guicciard. l. 13.

retracting

retracting his Opinions, without ever attempting to prove them erroneous, he ſuddenly withdrew from *Augſburg*, after appealing from the Pope ill informed to the Pope better informed. *Luther* had yet advanced nothing contrary to the Catholic Faith. He only maintained, that the Puniſhments, inflicted upon Offenders by divine Juſtice, in the preſent, or in a future State, came not within the Reach of the Pope's abſolving Power; a Point, that had been frequently diſputed, but had never yet been authoritatively determined. Year of Chriſt 1518.

His Doctrine concerning Indulgences condemned by the Pope.

But *Leo*, by a Brief, dated the 9th of *November* of the preſent Year, declared, that the Sovereign Pontiff, as Succeſſor of St. *Peter*, and Chriſt's Vicar upon Earth, was veſted with a Power of remitting all Sins, and all Puniſhments due to them; all Sins by the Sacrament of Penance, and all Puniſhments by Means of Indulgences; ordered all to hold, and to teach, that Doctrine, under Pain of Excommunication, and enjoined Cardinal *Cajetan*, to whom the Brief was addreſſed, to notify it to all the Biſhops and Archbiſhops of *Germany*, and cauſe it to be every-where received and executed. *Luther*, finding his Doctrine thus condemned, though ſupported by Arguments, which his Adverſaries had not been able to confute, repaired to *Wittemberg*, and there, on the 28th of *November*, appealed from the Pope, who had made himſelf a Party, to a General Council [x].

Miltitz ſent into Saxony. Year of Chriſt 1519.

Leo, finding that *Luther*, in Defiance of his Brief and the Penalties denounced in it, ſtill continued to preach the ſame Doctrine, and deſpairing of being able to prevail upon him to ſubmit, ſo long as he was protected by the Elector of *Saxony*, in order to gain that Prince ſent him, the following Year 1519, the Golden Roſe, which

x Paul Sarpi Hiſt. of the Council of Trent, l. 1. c. 22. Frid. Borner. Diſſ. de Colloquio Luth. cum Cajetan. Ern. Loſch. Acta Reform. tom. 2. c. 11.

Year of Chriſt 1519

the Popes uſed to bleſs every Year, and preſent to ſeveral Princes, as a particular Mark of Friendſhip and Eſteem. With this Preſent was diſpatched a *Saxon* Knight, named *Charles Miltitz*, who belonged to *Leo*'s Court. As he was known to be a Man of great Prudence, Penetration, and Addreſs, he was ordered to inſinuate himſelf by all Means into the Favour of the Elector, and demand of him, that he would either oblige *Luther* to renounce his Doctrines, or withdraw from him his Protection. But ſo cold was the Reception *Miltitz* met with from the Elector on his Arrival in *Saxony*, and ſo little did that Prince ſeem to value the Pope's Preſent, that the prudent Nuncio thought it adviſeable to propoſe nothing to him againſt *Luther*, but rather to treat with *Luther* himſelf. Accordingly he had ſeveral Conferences with him at different Places; and by his gentle and inſinuating Manner, ſo very different from that, which *Luther* had hitherto met with from the other Friends of *Rome*, he obtained Two Things of him, to the great Surprize of all who had taken part in the preſent Controverſy. He promiſed to obſerve a profound Silence for the future with Reſpect to Indulgences, provided it was in like Manner obſerved by his Adverſaries, and to write a ſubmiſſive Letter to the Pope: And ſuch a Letter he wrote, owning, that he had carried his Animoſity too far, and ſolemnly proteſting that he never intended to attack the Power of the *Roman* Church or the Pope. This Letter is dated the 13th of *March* 1519. He even wrote a circulatory Letter to all his Followers, exhorting them to reverence the *Roman* Church as ſuperior to all other Churches [y].

The Succeſs of his Negotiations with Luther.

Leo condemns the

The gentle Methods purſued by *Miltitz*, though attended with ſuch Succeſs, were not at all plea-

[y] Seckendorf. Comment. Hiſt. Apoleget. de Lutheraniſmo

ſing

ſing to ſome furious Bigots; and one of theſe, named *Eckius*, Doctor of Divinity, and a ſworn Enemy to *Luther*, flying to *Rome*, and there repreſenting to the Pope the Moderation of his Nuncio as Indifference concerning the Succeſs of his Commiſſion, prevailed upon his Holineſs to remove him, and oblige *Luther* by more forcible Meaſures to ſubmit to his Deciſions. He was ſeconded therein by Cardinal *Cajetan*, and the Reſt of the *Dominicans* at the Pope's Court, deſirous of revenging upon *Luther* the Treatment, which their Brother *Tetzel* had met with at his Hands. To them the Pope hearkened, as they were in high Credit, and bore a great Sway at his Court, and, contrary to the Advice of many ſober and thinking Perſons, iſſued a Bull, by which were condemned Ninety-one Propoſitions, extracted out of *Luther*'s Writings; all were forbidden to hold, teach, or defend any of them, upon Pain of Excommunication to be incurred *ipſo facto*, and *Luther* was required to retract them, in the Term of Sixty Days, on Pain of incurring all the Cenſures and Puniſhments denounced againſt Hereticks. This Bull is dated the 15th of *June* 1520 [z]. On the other hand *Luther*, upon the firſt Notice he had of this raſh and inconſiderate Step in the Pope, renewed his Appeal to a General Council, declared himſelf ready to appear when and where he could with any Safety, and begged the Emperor, the Electors, and the other Princes of the Empire to ſuſpend the Execution of the Pope's Bull, till he was heard, and convinced, before equitable Judges, of holding or propagating any heretical or erroneous Opinions. As all, who had any of his Writings in their Cuſtody, were ordered, by the Pope's Bull, to burn them, he, in his Turn, had a Pile of Wood erected without the

Year of Chriſt 1519. *Doctrine of* Luther. Year of Chriſt 1520.

Who renews his Appeal to a General Council. And has the Pope's Bull publickly burnt.

[z] Cherubin. Bullar.

Year of Christ 1520

Walls of *Wittemberg*, and there, in the Presence of an immense Multitude, committed to the Flames *Leo*'s Bull, and with it the Decretals of the Popes. This happened on the 10th of *December* of the present Year, and *Luther*, to justify it, published soon afterwards a Writing containing Thirty Propositions, extracted out of the Decretals, which he maintained to be heretical, and worthy of being consigned to the Flames.

As *Luther* paid no Regard to the Pope's Menaces or Thunders, but, acquiring daily new Followers and Protectors, bid him openly Defiance, *Leo*, to check the Progress his Doctrine daily made in *Germany*, had Recourse to the new Emperor, *Charles* V. King of *Spain*, who, in 1519, had succeeded his Grand-father *Maximilian* in the Empire, and representing to him, that, as the Defender and Protector of the Church, he was bound to restrain and punish all, who rebelled against her sacred Laws, earnestly entreated him to exert his Authority against *Martin Luther*, a Disturber of her Peace, and a notorious Heretic.

Diet assembled at Worms. Year of Christ 1521.

As *Luther* complained of his being condemned by the Pope without being heard, and a Diet of the Empire was soon to meet at *Worms*, the Emperor, at the Request of the Elector of *Saxony*, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the Empire, consented that the Pope's Bull against the supposed Heretic should not take place till he had pleaded his Cause before that Assembly. He was accordingly summoned to it, and a Safe-conduct, in due Form, being sent to him by the Emperor, he repaired to *Worms*, and there on the 17th of *April* and the next Day pleaded his Cause with the greatest Intrepidity. Being asked, whether the Books, out of which the Propositions, condemned by the Pope, had been extracted, were really his, he answered in the Affirmative. But when they required him

Luther pleads his Cause before them.

to

to retract them, he returned Anſwer, that he was ready to renounce and retract them, provided they were proved by the Scriptures, or by ſound Reaſon, to be erroneous, but could not, till they were ſhown to be ſo, depart from them without betraying the Cauſe of God, and wounding his own Conſcience. As he could neither be intimidated by Menaces, nor allured by Promiſes to yield, he was diſmiſſed with a Safe-conduct from the Emperor, ſecuring him againſt any Violence for the Space of Thirty Days. He therefore left *Worms* on the 26th of *April*, on his Return to *Wittemberg*; but he was met, on the 3d of *May*, by Four Men, diſguiſed with Maſks, who, attacking him with great Violence, threw him down, ſeized him, and carried him off full Speed. This Violence was by the Friends of *Luther* generally charged upon the Emiſſaries of *Rome*; and it greatly increaſed the Odium of the Public againſt them. But it was a Contrivance of the Elector of *Saxony*, who hearing that the pretended Heretic had been condemned, in the Diet, by the Emperor and all the Princes, he himſelf being abſent, had cauſed him to be ſeized in the Manner we have ſeen, and conveyed, with the utmoſt Secreſy, to one of his Caſtles, the Caſtle of *Wartenberg*. His Deſign in this was to ſcreen him from the furious Perſecution, which he foreſaw would be ſoon raiſed againſt him. How ſeaſonable this Precaution was appeared in a few Days. For on the 8th of *May* a moſt ſevere Edict was publiſhed againſt *Luther*, declaring him a Member cut off from the Church, a Schiſmatic, a notorious and obſtinate Heretic; forbidding all, on Pain of being declared guilty of High Treaſon, and forfeiting their Eſtates and Dignities, to receive, entertain, or countenance him, and empowering Perſons of all Ranks to ſeize him, at the Expiration of the Twenty-one Days of the Safe-conduct, and

Year of Chriſt 1521.

But is condemned.

Edict iſſued againſt him.

Year of Christ 1521.

treat him as One under the Ban of the Empire, and protected by no Law. However this Edict, ſevere as it was, did not ſtop the Progreſs of the Reformation. For the Emperor being obliged, by the State of his Affairs, to leave *Germany* ſoon after it was publiſhed, the Civil Magiſtrates and the Princes took no Care to have it carried into Execution, ſo that the Followers of *Luther* were ſuffered to hold, nay, and to propagate their Doctrines unmoleſted [a].

While theſe religious Diſputes were carried on with great Warmth in *Germany*, the States of *Italy* enjoyed a profound Peace. But that Peace was interrupted in the preſent Year by the Pope, who, being deſirous of driving the Emperor *Charles* out of *Italy*, entered into a private Alliance with *Francis* I. King of *France* to attack, with their joint Forces, the Kingdom of *Naples*. But the Emperor offering him better Conditions, he ſecretly concluded a Treaty with him againſt the King; and thus was *Italy*, after a Three Years Peace, involved in a moſt deſtructive War. The *French* loſt by it the Dutchy of *Milan*, and the Pope gained the Cities of *Parma* and *Piacenza*. It was chiefly to recover theſe Cities to the Church that *Leo* kindled this War. For when the Cardinal *de Medicis* endeavoured to divert him from it, he told him, that he was determined, at all events, to put the Church again in Poſſeſſion of Two ſuch important Places, and whenever that happened he ſhould die content; and he died on the 1ſt of *December* of the preſent Year, having received, a few Days before, the News of the Acquiſition of *Piacenza*, and of the

War kindled in Italy *by* Leo.

[a] Paul Sarpi Hiſt. Concil. di Trento, l. 1. Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trid. l. 2. Ulemberg. vit. Luth. c. 6. Cochlæus ad ann. 1521. Sleidan de Statu Relig. et Reip. l. 2. Lutheri Opera, tom. 2.

Surrender

Surrender of *Parma* on the very Day he died. He was ſeized with a ſlow Fever in his Villa at *Magliano*, and being carried the next Day to *Rome*, he died of it in a very few Days, not without ſtrong Suſpicion of Poiſon having been adminiſtered to him by his Chamberlain *Barnabo Malaſpina*, at the Inſtigation, as was conjectured, of the King of *France* [b]. He died in the Forty-ſixth Year of his Age, having held the See Eight Years, Eight Months and Twenty Days.. Year of Chriſt 1521. *His Death.*

He was a Prince, ſays *Guicciardin*, worthy, on many Accounts, to be praiſed as well as blamed. He diſappointed the Expectations conceived of him at his Promotion to the Pontificate, ſhewing himſelf endowed with much greater Prudence, but with much leſs Goodneſs than all had imagined. He was by Nature addicted to Idleneſs and Pleaſure, and averſe, beyond Meaſure, to all Buſineſs, ſpending his Time with Muſicians, Jeſters, and Buffoons, and inclined, beyond the Bounds of Decency, to ſenſual Gratifications. His Mind was filled with the moſt exalted Notions of Splendor and Mignificence; in his Appearance and Donations he knew no Meaſure, nor Diſtinction, and thus not only diſſipated, in a very ſhort Time, the immenſe Treaſure accumulated by his Predeceſſor *Julius*, but infinite Sums beſides, accruing from Bulls, Briefs, *&c.* and the Sale of new Offices, and was daily contriving new Methods of exacting Money to ſupport his Extravagance [c]. *Jovius*, who has writ his Life, or rather his Panegyric, owns that he was naturally averſe to all Buſineſs; that they were the moſt careſſed by him, who were the moſt capable of entertaining him; that he took great Delight in the Company of Poets, Jeſters, Muſicians, and Buffoons, and ſhewed himſelf highly pleaſed with their Jeſt, however inconſiſtent with *And Character.*

[b] Guicciard. l. 14. [c] Idem ibid.

Year of Chriſt 1521.

Modeſty, nay, and with common Decency. The ſame Writer, after deſcribing the Magnificence of his Table, which far exceeded that of the greateſt Kings, adds, that *Quernus*, his Poet *Laureat*, who had been crowned Arch-poet, with great Solemnity, was preſent at all his Entertainments, but ſat at a ſeparate Table; that the Pope, after plying him with Cup after Cup of his beſt Wine, uſed, for the Diverſion of his Gueſts, to command him to make extemporary Verſes upon the Subject which he propoſed; and that having once ordered him to make ſome Verſes upon the Arch-Poet himſelf, he began thus;

Archipoeta facit verſus pro mille poetis:

But being at a Loſs how to proceed, the Pope immediately ſubjoined,

Et pro mille aliis Archipoeta bibit [d].

A Poet having One Day preſented to him ſome *Latin* Verſes in Rhime, he returned the like Number of Verſes, all in the ſame Rhime; but as he gave him nothing elſe, the Poet, in departing, addreſſed him with the following Diſtich:

Si tibi pro numeris numeros fortuna dediſſet,
Non eſſet capiti tanta corona tua;

Which he was ſo well pleaſed with, that he ordered a conſiderable Sum of Money to be paid him upon the Spot [e]. *Janus Nicius Erythræus* tells us of a Perſon, who, wanting to aſk ſome Favour of the Pope, but finding he could not get Acceſs to him, bethought himſelf of pretending to be a Poet, and

[d] Paulo Grovio in Elog. et vit. Leon. [e] Anton. Spelte Saggæ Follie.

to

to have ſome of the fineſt Verſes, that were ever made, to ſhew to his Holineſs; that he was thereupon immediately introduced to him, when he ingenuouſly owned the Artifice he had make uſe of to get Admittance, and obtained the Favour, which he came to ſue for [f]. Many Inſtances are alledged by Authors of this Pope's trifling and nugatory Genius. But all allow him to have been a great Encourager of Learning, and a moſt generous Patron of the Learned, being himſelf as well acquainted with the liberal Sciences, and as elegant a *Latin* Writer as any of his Time. Poets were his chief Favourites; they had free Acceſs to him, and if they brought any Thing with them worthy of his peruſal, they never departed unrewarded: He is even ſaid to have publiſhed a Bull in Favour of *Arioſto's Orlando Furioſo*, threatening with Excommunication all, who ſhould find Fault with that Performance [g]; which was expoſing himſelf and his thus abuſed Authority to Contempt and Deriſion. *Orlando*, however mad and furious, acted not more mad a Part. *Leo* had but a very ſuperficial Knowledge in Divinity, as is owned by Cardinal *Pallavicino* himſelf; and the Indifference he betrayed, with reſpect to the Intereſts of Religion, gave Occaſion to ſome to charge him with Impiety, nay, and with Atheiſm. However, he did not neglect the grand Object, which moſt of his Predeceſſors had chiefly in their View, *viz.* the extending of the temporal as well as the ſpiritual Power of their See, and raiſing their Families; and theſe were the Motives that induced *Leo* to make War upon the Duke of *Urbino*, to diſturb the Tranquillity of *Italy*, and more than once to betray his Allies.------By this Pope the Title of *Defender of the Faith* was conferred upon *Henry* VIII. for the Book he wrote againſt Year of Chriſt 1521.

[f] Janus Niſius Eryth. Pinacoth. 2. c. 33.

[g] Blondel. Examen de la Bulle de Leon X.

Luther,

Year of Christ 1521.

Luther, a Title, which his Succeſſors wear this Day, and have a much better Right to than he had, being the chief Supporters and Defenders, not of a ſuperſtitious, but of a rational Faith and Religion.

Charles V. *Emperor.*

HADRIAN VI.

The Two Hundred and Sixteenth Bishop *of* Rome.

Hadrian *elected.*

Year of Chriſt 1522.

LEO dying, as has been ſaid, on the 1ſt of *December*, the Cardinals having performed his Exequies, according to Cuſtom, and waited ſome Time for the Arrival of their abſent Brethren, ſhut themſelves up in the Conclave on the 27th of the ſame Month, and on the 9th of the following *January* choſe with One Voice Cardinal *Hadrian*, Biſhop of *Tortoſa*, who did not change his Name, but ſtiled himſelf *Hadrian* VI. As the Cardinals, in all Thirty-nine, could not agree among themſelves, ſome of them propoſed Cardinal *Hadrian*, not with a Deſign, ſays *Guicciardin*, to conſent to his Election, but only to waſte away the Morning. But as ſome voted for him, the Cardinal of *St. Sixtus* took Occaſion from thence to make an Harangue in his Praiſe, extolling his Learning, and the many excellent Qualities, with which he was endowed. He gained by that Means the Suffrages of ſome, and the Reſt, One after another, more by Impulſe than Deliberation, followed their Example. Thus was *Hadrian* elected by the unanimous Conſent of the whole Conclave, none of thoſe very Perſons, who had elected him, being able to account for their having choſen, at ſo critical a Juncture, a Barbarian, that is a Stranger, abſent in ſo diſtant a Country, One, who had never ſeen *Italy*, who was utterly unacquainted with the Cuſtoms of the Court of *Rome*, had never had an Opportunity of ingratiating himſelf with any of the Cardinals, nay, and

How his Election brought about.

was

was ſcarce known to them by Name. The Cardinals, to excuſe ſo extraordinary a Step, alledged the Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, often moving them to elect One, whom they had never once thought of before. Such is the Account *Guicciardin* gives us of the Election of *Hadrian* [h]. But from other Authors it appears, that the greater Part of the Cardinals had privately engaged their Suffrages to the Emperor *Charles* in Favour of his beloved Preceptor *Hadrian*, and could have eaſily accounted, had they pleaſed, for ſo *extraordinary a Step*, without recurring to any Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt [i]. Year of Chriſt 1522.

Hadrian was a Native of *Utrecht*, of a plebeian and obſcure Family. His Father, *Florentius Boyens*, according to ſome a Weaver, according to others a Brewer's Servant, not being able to give his Son a learned Education, though from his Childhood he ſhewed an uncommon Inclination to learn, procured him a Place in the Pope's College at *Louvain*, where poor Children were taught and brought up upon Charity. He ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all his Fellow-Students; and ſuch was his Thirſt after Knowledge, that when the Reſt were all in Bed, he uſed to ſpend great Part of the Night in Reading by the Light of the Lamp, that was kept conſtantly burning in the Church. Thus he became, in the Courſe of a few Years, a great Proficient in Philoſophy and Divinity; but he was no Admirer of polite Literature. His firſt Preferment was a Rectory in *Holland*, conferred upon him by *Margaret*, Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian*, Governeſs of the *Low Countries*. In 1491 he took the Degree of Doctor in Divinity, the ſame Princeſs bearing all the Charges incident to that Ceremony. He was afterwards made Profeſſor of Divinity at *Louvain*, Dean of the Cathedral, and Vice-Chancel- *His Birth, Education, Employments, &c.*

[h] Guicciard. l. 14. [i] Jovio vit. Hadrian. Ciacon, tom. 3. Spond, ad ann. 1322.]

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Year of Christ 1522.

lor of the Univerſity; and in the Diſcharge of theſe Employments he not only anſwered, but far ſurpaſſed the Expectation, that all had conceived of him. Being now become no leſs famous for his Learning and Abilities, than his Virtues, and his moſt exemplary Life, he was choſen by the Emperor *Maximilian* for Preceptor to his Grand-ſon *Charles*, then Seven Years of Age, as of all the beſt qualified for ſo important a Truſt. As the young Prince ſhewed a great Inclination to Arms, and none to Letters, the Emperor, who entertained the higheſt Opinion of *Hadrian*'s Parts, and placed an entire Confidence in him, thought he could employ him better than in teaching his Grand Son what he cared not to learn. He therefore ſent him, with the Character of his Embaſſador, to *Ferdinand* the Catholic, King of *Spain*, in order to efface the Prejudices that had been artfully inſtilled into him by the Enemies of the *Auſtrian* Family, againſt *Charles*, his Grand-Son by the Mother. That Commiſſion he executed with equal Fidelity and Succeſs; and ſo pleaſing was his whole Conduct to the Catholic King, that he conferred upon him the Biſhopric of *Tortoſa*, as a Teſtimony of the entire Satisfaction he had given him. *Ferdinand* died, in *January* 1516, at *Madrid*, then an obſcure Village, and upon his Death, *Spain* and all the Dominions, of which that vaſt Monarchy was compoſed, fell to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. *Charles*, whom *Ferdinand* left his Heir, and who was then at *Bruſſels*, appointed Cardinal *Ximenes*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, to govern the Kingdom till his Arrival, and nominated *Hadrian* for Preſident of his Council. The Emperor *Maximilian*, to reward the eminent Services of ſo faithful a Miniſter, ſtrongly recommended him to Pope *Leo*, and he was, upon his Recommendation, preferred to the Dignity of Cardinal on the 1ſt of *July* 1517, in the numerous Promotion made then by *Leo* of Thirty-four Cardinals. In the mean Time

Time the Emperor died at *Lintz* in the very Beginning of the Year 1519, and *Charles*, who was elected in his Room, being obliged to repair to *Germany*, to receive, according to Cuſtom, the Imperial Crown at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he appointed *Hadrian* his Lieutenant, or Viceroy over all his *Spaniſh* Dominions; and in that high Station he received the quite unexpected News of his being preferred to a much higher, the ſovereign Pontificate. Year of Chriſt 1522.

That News *Hadrian* received at *Victoria*, a Town of *Biſcay*, with the Acts of the Conclave, and a Letter from the Cardinals, earneſtly entreating him to repair, with all Speed, to *Rome*, where the melancholy Situation of the Affairs of *Italy* made his Preſence abſolutely neceſſary. In Compliance with their Requeſt, he embarked at *Tarrogona* on the 2d of *Auguſt*, having firſt ſettled the Affairs of *Spain* in the beſt Manner he could, and, arriving at *Leghorn*, was there received by Cardinal *de Medicis*, Couſin to the late Pope, by the Embaſſadors of moſt of the *Italian* Princes, and by *Francis Gonzago*, Commander in Chief of the Eccleſiaſtical Army. They all attended him to *Oſtia*, whence he was carried up the River to the Monaſtery of *St. Paul*, where he reſted that Night. The next Day, the 29th of *Auguſt*, he made his public Entry into *Rome*, being attended by the College of Cardinals, by the Clergy in a Body, by the Magiſtrates, the Nobility, and immenſe Crouds of People, and was crowned the following Day in the Church of *St. Peter*, with the uſual Solemnity. At his Arrival a Plague broke out at *Rome*, which greatly damped the public Joy, and was interpreted by many as a very bad Omen of the Pontificate of one, who *His Departure from* Spain, *Arrival at* Rome, *and Coronation.*

k Jovio in vit. Hadrian. Ciacon. et Spond. ubi ſupra. Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. l. 2. Bayle Dict. Art. Hadrian.

was

Year of Christ 1522.

was alike unacquainted with the Affairs of *Italy* and thoſe of the Court [l].

Recovers Rimini *to the Church.*

The firſt Thing the new Pope undertook was to recover the City of *Rimini*, which *Sigiſmund* and *Pandolfo Malateſta*, the ancient Lords of that Place, had ſeized during the Vacancy of the See. In order to that he ſent a Body of 2500 *Spaniſh* Infantry, which he had brought with him out of *Spain* to drive out the *Malateſtas*. But they, not able to withſtand ſo great a Force, opened their Gates to them, and put them in Poſſeſſion both of the City and the Caſtle. *Hadrian*'s next Care was to adjuſt the Differences, that had ſubſiſted between his Two immediate Predeceſſors and the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Urbino*; and to both he granted a new Inveſtiture of their Dutchies, upon their obliging themſelves to aſſiſt the Church with a certain Number of Troops, when wanted for the Defence of the Eccleſiaſtical State. *Francis Maria della Rovere*, Nephew to Pope *Julius* II. was at this Time Duke of *Urbino*. He had been deprived of that Dutchy, as has been ſaid, by Pope *Leo*, to make Room for his Nephew *Lawrence de Medicis*, but had recovered it, upon the Death of *Lawrence*, by Force of Arms. *Hadrian* not only re-inveſted the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, with that Dutchy, but, to his great Diſgrace, ſays *Guicciardin*, or to that of his Miniſters, who impoſed upon his Ignorance, left him in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtles of *San Felice* and *Finale*, which he had taken in the Time of the late Vacancy [m].

Endeavours to ſtop the Progreſs of the Reformation.

But what, above all Things *Hadrian* had at Heart was to put a Stop to the rapid and aſtoniſhing Progreſs the Reformation made in moſt Parts of *Germany*. With that View he ſent *Francis Cherepato*, with the Character of his Nuncio, to the Diet, that met, in the latter End of the preſent Year, at *Nu-*

l Guicciard. l. 15. m Idem ibid.

remberg.

remberg. The Nuncio was ordered to demand a vigorous Execution of the Imperial Edict, iſſued againſt *Luther* and his Followers at the Diet of *Worms*, and at the ſame Time to declare, that his Holineſs was ready to remove the many unwarrantable Practices, which he ingenuouſly confeſſed to have long prevailed in the Court of *Rome*. As the Emperor was not preſent, but reſided at this Time in *Spain*, the Princes of the Empire, encouraged by that ſincere Avowal, propoſed the aſſembling of a general Council in *Germany*, in order to deliberate about the moſt effectual Means of bringing about a general Reformation of the Church. At the ſame time they drew up a Memorial, containing an Hundred Grievances, which, they ſaid, gave the *German* Nation juſt Occaſion to complain of the Court of *Rome*, and which they deſired his Holineſs would take Care to redreſs, ſince they could not, nor any longer would tamely ſubmit to ſuch unconſcionable Extortions. That Memorial they ſent to the Pope, and, before they parted, prohibited, by a public Law, all Innovations in religious Matters till the aſſembling of a General Council [n]. *Hadrian* frankly owned the Neceſſity of a Reformation, and looking upon the Complaints of the *German* Nation as juſt and reaſonable, he immediately ſet about redreſſing them. But the Oppoſition he met with from the Courtiers and moſt of the Cardinals, obliged him to proceed ſlowly in ſo neceſſary a Work.

Year of Chriſt 1522.

Proceedings of the Diet at Nuremberg.

As in the latter End of the preſent Year the *Turks* had made themſelves Maſters of the City and Iſland of *Rhodes*, and threatened *Hungary* with an Invaſion, the Pope, deſirous of putting an End to the War in *Italy* between the Emperor and the King of

Hadrian enters into an Alliance with the Emperor againſt the King of France.

n Frid. Georgii. Gravomino German. l. 11. Father Paul. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. l. 1. Onuph. in vit. Hadriani. Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. l. 3.

France,

Year of Christ 1523. *France*, which his Predeceſſor had kindled, and to unite them and all the other Chriſtian Princes in a League againſt the common Enemy, ſent Nuncios to the different Courts, entreating the Princes to come to an Agreement among themſelves, and to ſend for that Purpoſe their reſpective Embaſſadors with full Powers to *Rome*. With that requeſt they all readily complied. But nothing was concluded, many unſurmountable Difficulties occurring againſt a Peace, and the Emperor refuſing to conſent to a ſhort Truce, while the King of *France* would not agree to a long one. But though the Continuation of the War was equally owing to both, *Hadrian*, led by his Partiality for the Emperor, laid the whole Blame upon the King, and, his Penetration not being equal to his good Intentions, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced into an Alliance with the Emperor and the King of *England* againſt *France*. This League or Alliance was ſigned by the Pope on the Third Day of *Auguſt* of the preſent Year, his Holineſs expatiating, on that Occaſion, upon the imminent Danger, to which all Chriſtendom was expoſed from the *Turk*, on Account, he ſaid, of the *French* King's Obſtinacy in refuſing to conclude a Peace, or even to conſent to a Truce with the Emperor. This Confederacy was to laſt during the Life of the Confederates, and a Year after the Death of any One of them; and each was to contribute the ſtipulated Quota both in Men and in Money.

He dies. *Hadrian* did not long ſurvive the ſigning of this Confederacy. He was ſeized with a ſlow Fever the very Day on which he ſigned it, the Third of *Auguſt*, and his Illneſs increaſing daily, with a total Loſs of Appetite, he died on the 14th of the following *September*, when he had lived Sixty-four Years, Six Months and Thirteen Days, and held

o Guicciard. l. 15.

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the See One Year, Eight Months and Six Days. His Death was a great Loſs to the Confederates, who were thereby not only deprived of the Pontifical Authority, but at the ſame Time of the Subſidies, which by the Articles of the Treaty he was engaged to furniſh [p]. Year of Chriſt 1523.

He left behind him, ſays *Guicciardin*, no great Opinion of his Abilities, either on Account of the Shortneſs of his Pontificate, or of the little Experience he had in Affairs [q]. He was, according to *Giovio*, who has writ his Life, a Man of great Candor, Integrity, and Simplicity of Manners, an Enemy of all Guile and Deceit, and utterly averſe to all Pomp, Grandeur, and Magnificence, which his immediate Predeceſſor had ſo much affected; but, in all other Reſpects, far better qualified to govern a College in the Univerſity of *Louvain*, or a Pariſh, than the whole Church [r]. His Parſimony, his baniſhing all Delicacies from his Table, and admitting none to it but ſome few of his moſt intimate Friends, gave Occaſion to the Author of his Life to compare the Apoſtolic Palace, in his Time, to a haunted Houſe.------He was well ſkilled in Scholaſtic Divinity, and encouraged that Study in others; but was no Friend to the Muſes, nor to the Lovers of polite Literature, calling them, by way of Contempt, *Terentians*. They had their Revenge, eſpecially the Poets, *Genus irritabile*, in the many cutting and ingenious Satires, which they daily publiſhed againſt him, reflecting on his Birth, and miſconſtruing the beſt of his Actions.---- ------ *Hadrian* had many poor Relations; but left them all as poor at his Death, as they were at the Time of his Promotion. Some of them having travelled on Foot from *Flanders* to *Rome*, in expectation of ſome conſiderable Preferment, he received them *His Character.*

[p] Idem ibid. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Giovio in vit. Hadrian VI.

Year of Christ 1523.

coldly, exhorted them to content themſelves with the Station, in which Providence had placed them; and, at their Departure, preſented each of them with a plain Suit of Clothes, and as much Money as would bear their Charges in returning to their own Country [s].--------*Hadrian* created only one Cardinal, *William Eickenwort*, a *Fleming*, whom he had preferred before to the Biſhopric of *Tortoſa*, vacant by his own Promotion to the Pontificate. A little before his Death he canonized *Renno*, formerly Biſhop of *Miſnia*, and a great Stickler for the Papal Supremacy. Againſt that Canonization *Luther* publiſhed a Writing under the following Title; *Againſt the new Idol, and the new Devil, that is to be ſet up at Miſnia.*-------- *Hadrian* was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*, between *Pius* II. and *Pius* III. with the following ſhort Epitaph. *Hadrianus VI. hic ſitus eſt, qui nihil ſibi infelicius in vita, quam quod imperaret, duxit.* But Cardinal *Eickenwort* afterwards erected, in the Church of *St. Mary* of the *Germans*, a moſt magnificent Monument to the Memory of his Benefactor, with an Inſcription, rehearſing the chief Honours, or Employments, with which he had been diſtinguiſhed. To that Inſcription he added the following Diſtich;

Quo Romanorum Sextus Pater atque Sacerdos,

Hoc etiam Pietas conditur in tumulo.

To ſay, that Piety was buried in the ſame Tomb with *Hadrian* was, in Truth, to ſay, that he left no Piety upon Earth behind him, though the Author cannot be ſuppoſed to have meant it.--------*Hadrian*, while Profeſſor of Divinity at *Louvain*, wrote and publiſhed the following Pieces, which

[s] Moringus vit. Hadrian. La Mothe, Le Vayer. tom. II. p. 438.

have

have reached our Time; A Comment upon the Fourth Book of Sentences, Twelve Quodlibetic Queſtions, an Account of a Man at the Point of Death, and a Sermon upon Pride. We have ſome Letters, written by him after his Promotion to the Pontificate, and among them One to the Elector of *Saxony*, exhorting him, in a very friendly Manner, to abandon the Protection of *Luther*, and adhere to the antient Doctrine of the Church. Year of Chriſt 1523.

Emperor, CHARLES V.

CLEMENT VII.

The Two Hundred and Seventeenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

HADRIAN dying on the 14th of *September*, the Cardinals, in all Thirty-nine, after performing the Funeral Obſequies of the deceaſed Pontiff, ſhut themſelves up in the Conclave on the 23d of the ſame Month, in order to proceed without Delay to a new Election. But the Conclave being divided into Two pretty equal Parties, the One headed by Cardinal *de Medicis*, the other by Cardinal *Colonna*, and neither caring to yield to the other, the Election was protracted to the 19th of *November*, when Cardinal *Colonna* went, of his own Accord, to Cardinal *de Medicis*, and offered him his Intereſt. *Colonna* was a ſworn Enemy to *de Medicis*, but being diſſatisfied with the Cardinals of his own Party, obſtinately refuſing to chuſe Cardinal *Jucovaccio*, a *Roman*, who entirely depended upon him, he took that unexpected Step to be revenged upon them, and at the ſame time to ingratiate himſelf with his Enemy and Competitor. *De Medicis*, overjoyed at ſo ſudden a Change in One, who alone ſtood between him and the Pontificate, gave him inſtantly a Bond under his Hand, Clement VII. *elected*.

Year of Christ 1523.

engaging to confer upon him the Dignity of Chancellor, then held by himself, and to make a Present of the most magnificent Palace, which *Raphael Riarias*, Cardinal of *St. George*, had built, and *Leo* had given to him upon that Cardinal's Death. This Coalition of the Two Parties, in favour of *de Medicis*, was no sooner known, than all the rest strove to be the foremost in offering their Service to him: And thus was he that very Night adored as Pontiff, and the next Morning, the 19th of *November*, unanimously elected in due Form, being then in the 45th Year of his Age. He was crowned the next Day, and on that Occasion took the Name of *Clement* VII [a].

Some Account of him before his Promotion.

He was the posthumous and natural Son of *Julian de Medicis*, who was murdered in the Conspiracy spoken of above [b]. As his Illegitimacy was, by the Canons, an Obstacle to his Preferment in the Church, he betook himself to the Profession of Arms in the Military Order of the Knights of *Rhodes*, and being Grand Prior of *Capua* when *Leo*, his Cousin German, was elected Pope, he carried the Standard of the Order, armed Cap-a-pe, at his Coronation, and was that very Day, while yet in Armour, preferred by him to the Archiepiscopal See of *Florence*. As to his Illegitimacy, Witnesses were produced, who preferring the Favour of Men, says *Guicciardin*, to Truth, deposed that his Mother had obtained of his Father a Promise of Marriage before she admitted him to her Embraces; and that Promise was by *Leo* declared sufficient to legitimate his Birth [c]. As if a Promise of Marriage had been equivalent to Marriage itself. He was soon afterwards promoted by the same Pope to the Dignity of Cardinal, and raised to the high Post of Chancellor of the holy *Roman* Church. In that Employment he exercised

a Guicciard. l. 15. b See above, p. 308. c Guicciardin. l. 12.

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the whole Power of the Pontificate, *Leo* himſelf being utterly averſe to all Buſineſs, and wholly addicted to his Diverſions and Pleaſures. Year of Chriſt 1523.

Clement was ſcarce warm in his Chair when Embaſſadors were ſent to him both by the Emperor and the King of *France*, then at War in the *Milaneſe*, to engage him in their Intereſt. But his Holineſs, hearkening to neither, returned to both the ſame Anſwer, that it was incumbent upon him, as the common Father of all Chriſtian Princes, not to join the one againſt the other, but to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to diſpoſe them all to Peace. Accordingly, he ſent ſoon afterwards Nuncios to the Courts of the Emperor, and the Kings of *France* and *England*, to perſuade them to lay down their Arms, and enter into a Treaty of Peace, or at leaſt to agree to a Truce. But the King of *France* being averſe to a Peace, and the Emperor to a Truce, the Negociations proved all unſucceſsful, and the War was purſued with more Vigour than ever in the *Milaneſe*, till the *French* were everywhere driven out of that Dutchy, and forced to repaſs the Mountains. But the King having obliged the Imperialiſts, who had invaded *Provence* and beſieged *Marſeilles* both by Sea and Land, to abandon that Enterprize and quit his Dominions, croſſed the *Alps* again this very Year, and, getting into the Dutchy of *Milan* before the Enemy, made himſelf Maſter of that Capital, and laid Siege to *Pavia*. The Pope no ſooner heard that the King had got Poſſeſſion of *Milan*, than, being deſirous of ſecuring his own Affairs, he diſpatched to him the Biſhop of *Verona*, his Datary, one in whom he placed an intire Confidence, to exhort him, as was pretended, to a Peace, but his real Buſineſs was to conclude an Agreement with the King, and it was ſoon brought to a Concluſion, his Holineſs engaging, that neither he nor the *Florentines* ſhould

Reſolves to ſtand neuter between the Emperor and the King of France. Year of Chriſt 1524.

Concludes a Treaty with the King of France.

Year of Christ 1524.

lend any Aſſiſtance to his Enemies; and the King, on his Side, taking them both into his Protection. In the mean time the Siege of *Pavia* was carried on but ſlowly, the *French* were repulſed, with great Loſs, in all their Attacks, and the Imperial Army being ſeaſonably reinforced by a Body of 500 *Burgundian* Horſe, and 6000 *German* Foot, under the Command of the famous Duke of *Bourbon*, who had raiſed them in *Germany*, they attacked the *French*, defeated them with great Slaughter, and took the King himſelf Priſoner. This memorable Battle was fought on the 25th of *February* of the preſent Year 1525, and the *French* are ſaid to have loſt above 80,000 Men, and about Twenty of the firſt Rank of the *French* Nobility. The King of *Navarre* was taken Priſoner, and with him almoſt all the General Officers, who were not killed. With this Calamity the King immediately acquainted the Queen by a Letter, that contained nothing but the following Words; *Madam, all is loſt but Honour* [d].

Whoſe Army is defeated, and he himſelf made Priſoner.

Year of Christ 1525.

League formed againſt the Emperor.

Year of Christ 1526

The Pope no ſooner heard of the King's Captivity than he ſent the Biſhop of *Piſtoia* to comfort him in his Name; and, being not a little alarmed at an Event ſo favourable to the Emperor, he began privately to treat of an Alliance with the *Venetians*, and the other *Italian* States and Princes againſt him, repreſenting to them, that as *Charles* was already Maſter of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and certainly would, after ſo ſignal a Victory, get Poſſeſſion of the Dutchy of *Milan*, he would have it in his Power to bring all *Italy* under the Yoke, unleſs they all joined to oppoſe him. They were all alike ſenſible of the Danger they were threat-

[d] Guicciardin. l. 15. Memoires du Bellay. l. 3. De Vera. hiſt. du Charles V.

ened

ened with, and an Alliance was ſoon concluded between the Pope, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, for the Security and Liberty of *Italy*. This Alliance was called the *Holy League*, becauſe the Pope was at the Head of it. The King of *France*, having recovered his Liberty, but upon very hard Conditions, acceded to it, and ſo did the King of *England*, *Henry* VIII. being, on many Accounts, diſſatisfied with the late Conduct of the Emperor towards him; and he was declared the Protector of the *Holy League*. Thus was the War, to which it was thought that the Captivity of the King would have put an End, revived and carried on with the utmoſt Fury [e]. Year of Chriſt 1526.

The Confederacy, entered into by the Pope, was no ſooner known at *Rome*, than the *Colonnas*, zealous Partizans of the Emperor, began Hoſtilities, ravaging all the neighbouring Country, and threatening *Rome* itſelf. As the Pope had ſent moſt of his Forces into *Lombardy*, he was glad to come to an Accommodation with that powerful Family. Accordingly an Agreement was concluded on the 22d of *Auguſt* between his Holineſs and *Veſpaſian Colonna*, in the Name of the whole Family. But they only intended to amuſe the Pope; and he had no ſooner diſbanded the Troops he had levied to oppoſe them, than aſſembling their Forces, to the Number of 800 Horſe and 3000 Foot, they marched to *Rome* with ſuch Speed as to prevent all Notice of their coming, arrived at the Gates in the Night preceding the 20th of *September*, and entering through the Gate of *St. John Lateran*, advanced towards *St. Peter*'s, and the Pontifical Palace. The Pope hearing they had ſurpriſed the City, and were proceeding ſtrait to his Palace, reſolved, after the Example of *Boniface* VIII. when inſulted by One of Rome *ſurpriſed by the* Colonnas.

e Guicciardin. l. 17. Memoires du Bellay. l. 3. ibid.

Year of Christ 1526.

the ſame Family, *Sciarra Colonna* [f], to place himſelf in his Pontifical Ornaments in the Pontifical Chair and die there. But by the preſſing Inſtances of the Cardinals he was, with much Difficulty, prevailed upon to take Refuge in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, with ſome of the Cardinals his particular Friends. He was ſcarce gone when the *Colonnas*, entering the Palace, plundered it of all its rich Furniture, nay, and the Church of *St. Peter* of all its ſacred Ornaments, without any Regard to Religion, or to the Sacredneſs of the Place. As no One offered to ſtir in the Pope's Defence, he ſent for Don *Hugh di Moncada*, the Emperor's Embaſſador, in order to treat with him about an Accommodation. Don *Hugh*, having received the Two Cardinals *Cibo* and *Ridolfi*, the Pope's Grand Nephews, as Hoſtages for his Security, went into the Caſtle to confer with his Holineſs; and the next Day, the 21ſt of *September*, an Agreement was concluded between them upon the following Terms: That for the Space of Four Months all Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe between the Pope and the Emperor; that the Pope ſhould withdraw his Troops from the Army of the Confederates, and ſhould pardon the *Colonnas*, and all who were concerned in the late Attempt, or had any way offended his Holineſs. On the other Side, the *Colonnas* and the Imperialiſts were to withdraw from *Rome* and the whole State of the Church, and retire to *Naples*. They were no ſooner gone than the Pope, not thinking himſelf bound to obſerve an Agreement extorted from him by Violence, pronounced the Sentence of Depoſition againſt Cardinal *Pompey Colonna*, and at the ſame time ſent all the Troops he had then in *Rome* and the neighbouring Caſtles into the Territories of the *Colonnas*, with Orders to deſtroy all before them with Fire and Sword.

The Pope flies to the Caſtle of St. Angelo.

Is obliged to conclude a Four Months Truce with the Emperor.

Takes Revenge upon the Colonnas.

[f] Vol. VI. of this Hiſt. p. 369.

They

They took ſeveral of their Towns, diſmantling ſome, burning others, and committing every-where ſuch Devaſtations, as reduced great Part of the Country to a Deſert g. Year of Chriſt 1526.

The *Colonnas* and the other Friends of the Emperor ſoon had their Revenge. For the Duke of *Bourbon*, who commanded the Imperial Army againſt the Confederates in the *Milaneſe*, wanting Money to pay them, and purchaſe the neceſſary Proviſions for their Subſiſtence, reſolved to force his Way into the State of the Church, and let his Army live upon Plunder. Accordingly he took the Field in the latter End of the preſent Year, with an Intention to lead them to *Rome*; which he carefully concealed, leſt the Pope ſhould have Time to prepare for the Defence of the City, and the Army of the Confederates, then before *Milan* ſhould abandon that Enterprize, and follow him. It was a bold, not to ſay, a deſperate Attempt. But *Bourbon* had no other Means, for Want of Money, of keeping his Troops together; and he well knew that ſhould the attempt be attended with Succeſs, ſhould he make himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, and take the Pope himſelf Priſoner, the powerful Confederacy of ſo many Princes againſt the Emperor would be broken, and he be put in a Condition of obliging the Confederates to agree to his own Terms. He allowed his Men to plunder ſeveral Towns, through which he paſſed promiſing them, without naming any Place, much better Booty. When they had got beyond *Arezzo*, they plainly ſaw that he was conducting them to *Rome*, and, forgetting all paſt Fatigues, they marched with great Alacrity and ſuch Speed, that, notwithſtanding their Want of Proviſions, and the heavy Rains that fell for ſome Days, they arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, when the Pope

The Duke of Bourbon *reſolves to march to* Rome.

Arrives in the Neighbourhood of that City. Year of Chriſt 1527.

g Guiccard. l. 18. Giornale del Roſſo, p. 4.

had

Year of Christ 1527.

had hardly received any certain Advice of their coming. His Holineſs had a little before, concluded a new Truce with *Charles di Lanoja*, Viceroy of *Naples*, and engaged him to ſtop *Bourbon*'s March. But the Soldiery were ſo bent upon the Sacking of *Rome*, and enriching themſelves with the Plunder of ſo opulent a City, that the Perſon, whom the Viceroy ſent to acquaint *Bourbon* with the Truce, and require him to halt and forbear all Hoſtilities, would have been murdered by them, had he not ſaved himſelf by Flight. The Duke being therefore obliged, agreeably to his own Inclination, to purſue his March, encamped, on the 5th of *May*, with his whole Army in the Meadows about *Rome*, and, without any Regard to the Pontifical Dignity, ſent a Trumpet to the Pope to demand a Paſſage for himſelf and the Army through *Rome* in their Way to the Kingdom of *Naples*. His Demand being rejected, he attacked the Suburb next Morning by brake of Day on the Side of the *Mount of the Holy Ghoſt*. But fancying, that the *German* Foot ſhowed themſelves ſomewhat backward in the Attack, he put himſelf at their Head, and received that Inſtant a Shot, from an Arquebuſs, which killed him upon the Spot. Upon his Death *Philibert* of *Chalons*, Prince of *Orange*, took the Command, and the Aſſault was carried on by the Soldiery, enraged at the Loſs of their General, with a Valour next to Fury. At laſt they made themſelves Maſters of the Quarter beyond the *Tiber*, and the ſame Evening, an Hour before Night, they entered the City by the Bridge of *Sixtus*.----

Attacks it and is killed in the Attack.

Rome *is taken and ſacked.*

No Inſtances occur in Hiſtory of Cruelty, Luſt, Avarice, and contempt of every Thing that is ſacred, which were not practiſed, on this Occaſion, by the bigotted *Spaniards* as well as by the *Germans* who were for the moſt Part *Lutherans*, and Enemies to *Rome*. They, who relate the Particulars, agree all in this, that though *Rome* had been frequently

frequently taken, and plundered by the Barbarians, it had never ſeen, ſince its Foundation, ſo diſmal a Day [g]. Year of Chriſt 1527.

The Pope, inſtead of leaving *Rome*, and retiring, as many adviſed him, to ſome Fortreſs of the Eccleſiaſtical State, fled to the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, which was immediately inveſted by the Prince of *Orange*. In the mean time the Army of the Confederates advanced to the Relief of the Pope, and even came within Sight of *Rome*, But the Duke of *Urbino*, General of the Confederate Army, urging many Difficulties againſt their attempting to raiſe the Siege of the Caſtle, they marched back. And now the Pope, deſtitute of all Hopes of Relief, found himſelf obliged to come to an Agreement with the Imperialiſts; and accordingly an Agreement was concluded, on the 6th of *June*, upon the following Terms: That the Pope ſhould pay to the imperial Army Four hundred thouſand Ducates, One hundred thouſand immediately, Fifty thouſand within Twenty Days, and Two hundred and Fifty thouſand within Two Months; that he ſhould deliver up the Caſtle of *St Angelo*, and ſome Cities, to the Emperor, who ſhould keep Poſſeſſion of them ſo long as he thought fit; that he ſhould continue Priſoner in the Caſtle with all the Cardinals, who were with him, being Thirteen in Number, till the firſt One hundred and Fifty thouſand Ducats were paid; that he ſhould give Hoſtages to the Army for the Payment of the reſt; and, laſtly, that he ſhould abſolve the *Colonnas* from the the Cenſures they had incurred. As ſoon as this Convention was ſigned, one *Alercan*, a *Spaniſh* Officer, entered the Caſtle with Three Companies of *Spaniſh* and Three of *German* Foot, being charged with the Guard of the Pope: And by him he was moſt ſtrictly guarded, was confined to a very

The Pope retires to the Caſtle of St. Angelo.

How treated during his Confinement.

[g] Guicciard. 18. Memoires du bellay. l. 7. Giornale del Roſſo. Summont. tom. 4. Raynald. ad ann. 1527.

ſmall

Year of Christ 1527.

small Apartment, and allowed but very little Liberty [h].

Pretended concern for the Emperor at his Imprisonment.

When News was brought to the Emperor of the Sacking of *Rome*, and the Imprisonment of the Pope, he expressed the deepest Sorrow and Concern for his Holiness's Misfortune, stopt the Rejoicings, that were then making all over *Spain* for the Birth of Prince *Philip*, his eldest Son, put himself and all his Court into Mourning, ordered public Processions to be made, and Prayers to be put up in all the Churches for the Deliverance of their common Father, and Christ's Vicar upon Earth; as if he had been in the Hands of the *Grand Turk*, when his Deliverance depended wholly and solely upon himself. The Pope's Nuncio having presented himself before the Emperor with Ten Bishops, all in deep Mourning, and demanded the Pope's Liberty, in the most submissive Terms, he returned no other Answer to them than, that he *desired it more than they*. In a Grand Council that was held, on this Occasion, the Duke of *Alba* declared, that if the Pope were not a Temporal Prince, if he had not made War upon his Imperial Majesty, and by his Authority united so many Princes in a League against him, he would advise his Majesty to restore him, without Delay, to his Liberty; but as he had forfeited, by his hostile Conduct as a Temporal Prince, the Venaration that was due to him in his Spiritual Capacity, he was of Opinion, that he should be detained in his Prison, till he learned, at his own Expence, to be wiser [i].

Kings of France and England employ their good Offices in behalf of the Pope.

The Grief, expressed by the Emperor for the Sacking of *Rome* and the Captivity of the Pope, was mere Dissimulation, and the grossest Hypocrisy. But that of the Kings of *France* and *England* was more sincere. For upon the first In-

h Guicciard. l. 18. i Giornale del Rosso. Bellegarde Hist. General d' Espagne, tom. 7.

telligence

telligence they received of that great Event, they sent jointly Embaſſadors to the Emperor to demand the Pope's Liberty, as a Matter, that concerned all Chriſtian Princes. The Emperor, being unwilling to diſoblige Two ſuch powerful Princes, immediately diſpatched into *Italy* the General of the *Franciſcans*, and one *Veri di Mighan*, with an Order for *Charles di Lanoja*, Viceroy of *Naples*, to agree with the Pope, and ſet him at Liberty. But *Lanoja* dying, the Affair was negotiated with *Hugh di Moncada*, whom the Viceroy had ſubſtituted in his Room, and, on the laſt Day of *October*, an Agreement was concluded upon the following Conditions: I. That the Pope ſhould take no Part in the War, that was then carrying on by the *French*, in the *Milaneſe*, under the Command of the brave *Oden de Foix*, Marſhal of *Lautrech*, nor in that which the Kingdom of *Naples* was threatened with. II. That his Holineſs ſhould grant to the Emperor a Tenth of the Eccleſiaſtic Revenues in all his Kingdoms. III. That he ſhould deliver up to the Imperialiſts the Cities of *Oſtia*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Civita Caſtellana*, and the Citadel of *Forli*, as cautionary Places, and his Two Nephews, *Hippolytus* and *Alexander*, for Hoſtages. He was, beſides, to pay immediately to the *Germans* Seventy-ſeven thouſand Ducats, and Thirty-five thouſand to the *Spaniards*, upon their leaving him at Liberty to come out of the Caſtle,, and go out of *Rome*. Another like Sum he was to pay to the *Germans* a Fortnight after his Departure from *Rome*, and the Reſt, to the Amount of Three hundred and Fifty thouſand Ducats and upwards, within Three Months more. To raiſe theſe Sums the Pope was obliged to recur to extraordinary Ways and Means, which he had been utterly averſe to before. He created ſome Cardinals for Money, Perſons altogether unworthy of that Dignity, granted a Power to alienate

Year of Chriſt 1527.

Is reſtored to his Liberty, and upon what Conditions.

Year of Chriſt 1527.

lienate ſome Church Lands, and mortgaged the Tythes in the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Payments being thus ſettled and ſecured at the fixed Times, the 9th Day of *December* was appointed for his Deliverance, when the *Spaniards* were to guard and conduct him to ſome Place of Safety. But his Holineſs apprehending, that *Hugh di Moncada*, who was now Viceroy of *Naples*, and had been always againſt his Releaſement, might ſtart new Difficulties, and play him ſome Trick, he went the Night before out of the Caſtle, in the Diſguiſe of a Merchant, and retired to *Orvieto*, which City he entered before Day-break, not One of the Cardinals accompanying him. Thus did *Clement* recover his Liberty on the 8th of *December*, when he had been kept cloſely confined ever ſince the 6th of *May*, and treated by his Guards with all the *Spaniſh* Pride and Inſolence [k].

Progreſs of the Reformation in Germany.

While theſe Things paſſed in *Italy*, the Reformation was carried on, with wonderful Succeſs, in *Germany*, ſeveral of the *German* Princes, and moſt of the Imperial Towns having embraced the new Doctrine, and allowed it to be freely preached within the Limits of their reſpective Juriſdictions.

Diet of Nuremberg.

As a Diet was to be held at *Nuremberg* in the Beginning of the Year 1524, *Clement* diſpatched, ſoon after his Election, Cardinal *Campegius*, a Man of great Addreſs and Abilities, to aſſiſt at that Aſſembly with the Character of his Legate. His Inſtructions were to repreſent to the Princes the fatal Conſequences, that would inevitably attend their ſuffering new Doctrines, or rather old Hereſies to take Root in their Dominions, and from thence he was to take Occaſion of exhorting them to cauſe the Edict of *Worms* to be executed as it had been approved, and enacted

k Guicciard. l. 18. Jovius, l. 25, Cicaon. vit. Clement. VII.

by

by themſelves [1]. But the Legate found, to his great Mortification, moſt of the Members of the Diet to be rather Friends than Enemies to the Reformation. For, taking no Notice of the Edict of *Worms*, they inſiſted on the Pope's redreſſing, before all other Things, the many Grievances, which the *German* Nation had ſo long and ſo juſtly complained of, renewed their Demands of a General Council, and left all other Matters in Diſpute to be decided at the Diet, that was to meet, in a ſhort Time, at *Spire*. On the other Hand, the Legate, returning to *Ratiſbon*, with the Biſhops, and ſuch of the Princes as favoured the Cauſe of *Rome*, prevailed upon them to promiſe a ſtrict Compliance with the Edict of *Worms*, and to agree to ſeveral Regulations, calculated to prevent the Reformation from taking place in their Dominions. At the ſame time the Pope procured a Letter from the Emperor to all the Members of the Empire, commanding them, in virtue of their Alegiance, to cauſe the Edict of *Worms*, and every Article of that Edict to be ſtrictly obſerved in their reſpective Dominions, on Pain of being deemed guilty of High Treaſon, of being put under the Ban of the Empire, and forfeiting their Eſtates and all the Privileges granted to them by his Predeceſſors. This Letter is dated at *Burgos* the 15th of *July* 1524. But the Emperor being wholly taken up in ſettling the diſtracted State of his Dominions in *Spain* and *Italy*, and not at Leiſure to attend to the Affairs of *Germany*, his Commands were by very few complied with; nay, in the Diet, that met at *Spire* in 1526, it was carried by a great Majority, that the Execution of the Edict of *Worms* ſhould be ſuſpended till the Doctrines, which had given Occaſion to it, were examined, and either

Year of Chriſt 1527.

Aſſembly of Ratiſbon.

Letter from the Emperor.

Diet of Spire.

[1] See Above, p. 415.

condemned,

Year of Chriſt 1527.

condemned or approved by a General Council. At the ſame time it was agreed, that a ſolemn Addreſs ſhould be preſented to the Emperor, entreating him to aſſemble One without Delay, and that, in the mean while, every Prince ſhould be at Liberty to regulate Eccleſiaſtical Matters, in his own Dominions, as he ſhould think expedient. And now the *German* States and Princes, who were Friends to the Reformation, being thus delivered from all Reſtraint, made it their Buſineſs to baniſh the Superſtitions of Popery out of their Dominions, and introduce genuine Chriſtianity in their Room. This Liberty they enjoyed for the Space of three whole Years, and, improving it to the Advantage of their Cauſe, they introduced, during that Time, the Reformation among their Subjects quite unmoleſted. But the Reſolutions of this Diet of *Spire* were revoked, at the End of Three Years, by another held in the ſame Place, and every Change in Religion was declared unlawful till authorized by the General Council, that was ſoon to meet. Againſt that Declaration Four Princes of the Empire and Thirteen Imperial Cities entered a ſolemn *Proteſt*; and hence aroſe the Denomination of *Proteſtants*, that has thenceforth been given to all who renounce the Errors of *Rome*.

Favourable to the Reformation.

The Pope declines entering into a Confederacy with the Kings of France *and* England.

And now to reſume the Thread of our Hiſtory with reſpect to the Conduct of the Pope after his Deliverance; he had been but a few Days at *Orvieto*, when he was earneſtly preſſed by the Embaſſadors of the Kings of *France* and *England* to enter into the Confederacy, and declare for them againſt the Emperor. But to both he returned the ſame Anſwer, *viz.* that having neither Men, nor Money, nor Authority, his Declaration could be of no Service to them, and would be of great Prejudice to himſelf. But at his Family, exerciſing a Kind of ſovereign Power in the

the free State of *Florence*, had been driven out of that City upon the News of his Captivity, and the popular Government had been reſtored, his Holineſs, thinking the Emperor better able to reinſtate them in their former Grandeur, than either of the Kings, entered privately into a Treaty with the Imperial Miniſters; and the following Year an Agreement was concluded at *Barcelona* upon Terms very advantageous to the Pope. Of theſe Terms the moſt material were: That the Emperor ſhould give in Marriage his natural Daughter *Margaret* to *Alexander de Medicis*, the Pope's Nephew, with a Dowry of Twenty thouſand Ducats yearly Revenue, and ſhould reinſtate the ſaid *Alexander* in the ſame Grandeur, that the Family had enjoyed before their Expulſion: That the Emperor ſhould take Care, as ſoon as poſſible, by Arms, or by ſome other more convenient Means, to put the Pope in Poſſeſſion of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio* and *Rubiera*, without Prejudice to the Right of the Empire: That the Pope ſhould grant to the Emperor the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, reducing the Tribute to a white Horſe, and ſhould allow him the ancient Nomination to twenty-four Cathedrals in that Kingdom, concerning which there had been ſome Diſpute: That the Pope, and the Emperor ſhould have a perſonal Conference, when his Imperial Majeſty paſſed into *Italy*: That neither the Pope, nor the Emperor, ſhould make new Leagues with reſpect to the Affairs of *Italy* to the Prejudice of this Confederacy, nor obſerve thoſe contrary to it, which they might have already made: And laſtly, That both the Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, now King of *Hungary*, ſhould uſe all poſſible Endeavours to reduce the Heretics to the true Way, and, if they perſiſted in their Obſtinacy, ſhould employ their Arms againſt them. This Agreement was ſigned at *Barcelona* on the 29th of *June* 1529, and ſolemnly ſworn to by the

Year of Chriſt 1528.

But concludes an Agreement with the Emperor.

Year of Chriſt 1529.

Year of Christ 1527.

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Year of Chriſt 1528.

But concludes an Agreement with the Emperor.

Year of Chriſt 1529.

Year of Chriſt 1529

Embaſſadors of the Two contracting Powers, before the High Altar of the Cathedral of that City [m].

The Emperor comes into Italy.

The Emperor, ſoon after the Concluſion of this Treaty, ſet out for *Italy*, in order to have a perſonal Conference with his Holineſs, and, at the ſame time, to receive the Imperial Crown at his Hands. He embarked at *Barcelona*, being attended by a very numerous Fleet, and in a Fortnight arrived at *Genoa*, the Place where his Holineſs and he had propoſed to meet. But *Bologna* appearing to both far more convenient, they repaired thither in the latter End of the preſent Year. The Pope, who came the firſt, received the Emperor with all the Marks of the moſt ſincere Friendſhip. They lodged in the ſame Palace, had Rooms contiguous to each other, and from the Familiarity that appeared between them, one would have thought that they had ever lived in perfect Harmony. The chief Subject of their Conferences was the reſtoring of the Family *De Medicis* to their former Power and Dignity in *Florence*; and it was agreed that the Imperial Army, which had already entered that State, ſhould purſue the War with the utmoſt Vigour, and the Pope ſhould pay monthly Sixty thouſand Ducats to the Prince of *Orange*, Commander in Chief of the Imperial Forces, the Emperor being, as he declared, in no Condition to ſupport ſo great an Expence. Theſe and ſome other Articles being agreed to, the Pope had prevailed upon the Emperor to repair with him to *Siena*, in order to be near at Hand to favour the Enterprize againſt *Florence*, which his Holineſs had above all Things at Heart. But while they were upon the Point of ſetting out, the Emperor received Letters from the Electors and other *German* Princes, preſſing him to haſten into *Germany*, in order to aſſiſt at

Has a Conference with the Pope at Bologna. Year of Chriſt 1530.

[m] Guicciard. l. 18.

the

the Diet, that was ſoon to be held at *Augſburg*. Giving therefore over all Thoughts of proceeding further he received the Imperial Crown at *Bologna*, on the 24th of *February* 1530, the Feſtival of St. *Matthias*, the Day on which he was born, and had taken the King of *France* Priſoner. From *Bologna* the Emperor ſet out for *Germany* on the 22d of *March*, and the Pope for *Rome* on the laſt Day of the ſame Month [n].

Year of Chriſt 1530. *Where he receives the Imperial Crown.*

In the mean time the City of *Florence*, after a Siege of Eleven Months, was obliged to ſubmit, being reduced to the greateſt Straits for Want of Proviſions. At this Siege the Prince of *Orange* was killed, while he rather performed the Duty of a private Man than of a General. He had often expreſſed his Deteſtation and Abhorrence of the Pope's Ambition and Injuſtice, in enſlaving his own Country, in cauſing ſo much Blood to be ſhed, and ſo famous a City to be deſtroyed, in order to raiſe his Nephew to the Rank of a Prince. The Surrender of the City put an End to the Liberty of that famous Republic. For the Emperor ordered, that *Alexander de Medicis*, his own Son-in-Law, and the Pope's Nephew, ſhould be at the Head of the Government, with a Right of tranſmitting it to his Deſcendants, and, if he had no Iſſue, to his collateral Relations, and the neareſt of Kin to his Family. Thus was the Family *De Medicis* raiſed to that State of Grandeur and Power, which the Grand Dukes of *Tuſcany* have enjoyed to our Days. One of the Articles, upon which the City ſurrendered, was, that all, who had injured the Pope, or his Friends, ſhould be forgiven. But his Holineſs, to weaken the oppoſite Party, and prevent their raiſing any new Diſturbances, cauſed, by an open Breach of that Article, Six of the leading Men among them to be beheaded, and ſent all,

Florence *reduced by the* Imperialiſts, *and delivered up to the Family* De Medicis. Year of Chriſt 1531.

n Idem, l. 19, 20.

Year of Christ 1531.

whom he ſuſpected of Diſaffection to his Family, into Exile [o].

Diet of Augſburg.

The Emperor ſet out from *Bologna* on the 22d of *March*, with a Deſign, as has been ſaid above, to aſſiſt at the Diet, which had been appointed to meet at *Augſburg* on the 20th of *June*. Accordingly the Firſt Seſſion was held on that Day, being preceded by a Maſs, celebrated with extraordinary Solemnity. The Emperor aſſiſted at it with all his Court, and ordered the Elector of *Saxony*, as Sword-bearer of the Empire, to attend him, and carry the Sword of State before him. That the Elector declined at firſt, but the Divines, whom he conſulted, declaring that on the preſent Occaſion he might aſſiſt at Maſs, being called to it, not as to a religious Ceremony, but as to a Function of his Office, he complied. As no regular Syſtem was yet compoſed of the Doctrines, embraced by *Luther* and his Followers, on the 25th of *June* was preſented to the Diet a very diſtinct and particular Account of their religious Principles and Tenets. It was drawn up by *Melancthon*, and contains Twenty-eight Chapters, of which Twenty-one are employed in declaring the Opinions of the Reformers, and the remaining Seven in pointing out the Errors and Abuſes, that gave Occaſion to their Separation from the Church of *Rome*: And this is what has been ſince diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *The Confeſſion of Augſburg*. Some Copies of this Confeſſion were delivered to the Emperor, ſigned, by Way of Approbation, by the Elector of *Saxony*, by Four Princes of the Empire, and ſome Imperial Towns. It was immediately anſwered by the *Roman* Catholic Divines, and their Anſwer being publicly read in the Diet, the Reformers drew up a Reply to it, and preſented it to the Emperor. But he would not receive it. On the contrary, he for-

Confeſſion of Faith delivered to the Diet by the Reformers.

[o] Guicciardin. l. 20.

bad

bad any new Writings to be publiſhed; which was forbidding any Reply to be made to the Arguments alleged by the *Roman* Catholics to ſupport their own Doctrine, and impugn that of the Reformers. While the Dyet was ſitting ſeveral Conferences were held between the moſt eminent Men for Piety and Learning of both Sides, in order to find out ſome Method of terminating their Diſputes. But all the Methods they could think of proving ineffectual, the whole Blame was laid upon the Friends of the Reformation; and on the 19th of *November* an Edict was iſſued by the Diet, confirming that of *Worms*, condemning all the Changes in Doctrine and Worſhip introduced by the Reformers, and commanding the Princes, States, and Cities, that had withdrawn their Obedience to *Rome*, to return to their Duty, on Pain of incurring the high Diſpleaſure of the Emperor, and the Ban of the Empire.

Year of Chriſt 1531.

Edict of Worms *confirmed in the Diet of* Augſburg.

This Edict alarmed the Princes, who had embraced the Reformation, and in order to put themſelves in a Condition of repelling Force, if any were offered, by Force, they met at *Smalcald* in the Landgraviate of *Heſſe*, and there entered into a Confederacy in Defence of their Religion and Liberties. This Confederacy was highly diſpleaſing to the Emperor; but as *Solyman*, Emperor of the *Turks*, entered at this Time the Kingdom of *Hungary* at the Head of a very numerous Army, and the Confederates refuſed to concur, in the Defence of that Country, either with Men or with Money, unleſs the Emperor revoked the Edicts of *Worms* and of *Augſburg*, or, at leaſt, ſuſpended their Execution, he was obliged to come to an Agreement with them. Accordingly, on the 13th of *July* 1532, a Peace was concluded at *Nuremberg* upon the following Conditions: That the Confederates ſhould furniſh the Emperor with the neceſſary Subſidies for the Defence of the Kingdom

League of Smalcald.

Peace of Nuremberg. Year of Chriſt 1532.

Year of Chriſt 1532.

of *Hungary*; and the Emperor, on his Side, ſhould ſuſpend the Execution of the above-mentioned Edicts, and moleſt no Man on Account of his Religion, till the Points in Diſpute were finally determined in a free General Council, which he ſhould cauſe to be ſummoned within Six Months, and to be opened within a Year. A religious Truce being thus concluded to the inexpreſſible Joy of the Confederates, they ſent, at their own Expence, ſuch powerful Reinforcements to the Imperial Army, commanded by the Emperor in Perſon, that, at his Approach, *Solyman*, though at the Head of Two hundred thouſand Men, thought it adviſeable to retire, and march quietly back to *Conſtantinople*. Upon his Retreat the Emperor returned to *Germany*, and, after a ſhort Stay there, proceeded to *Italy* to confer with the Pope about the Aſſembling of the promiſed General Council P.

A Second Interview at Bologna *between the Pope and the Emperor.*

Year of Chriſt 1533.

The Pope and the Emperor met again at *Bologna*, but the Emperor found his Holineſs extremely averſe to the Aſſembling of a Council; and the Reaſons he alleged againſt it were, That Peace was not yet well eſtabliſhed amongſt the Chriſtian Princes; that it was much to be feared that the *Turk* would invade *Hungary* anew, and it was not fit, that, at ſo critical a Juncture, *Chriſtendom* ſhould be employed in the Diſputes and Contentions of a Council; that they, who demanded a Council, made uſe of that Demand only as a Pretence to profeſs and propagate their Errors undiſturbed till the Council met, and would, as ſoon as their Errors were condemned, which certainly would happen, have Recourſe to ſome other Shift to elude the Sentence. Such were the Reaſons alleged by *Clement* to the Emperor againſt the Aſſem-

P Matheum. p. 50----56. Pallavicino. Father Paul, Concil. Trident. Sleidan. Burnet.

blirg

bling of a General Council. But his Averſion to ſuch an Aſſembly was, in Truth, owing to his being apprehenſive, that, in order to remedy the many enormous Abuſes of the Court, they would curtail the Pontifical Power and Authority; that, as his Birth was certainly illegitimate, though his Predeceſſor *Leo* had impoſed the contrary upon the World, his Illegitimacy might be urged againſt the Validity of his Election, ſince no Baſtard had ever yet been preferred to the Pontifical Dignity; that the Simony, practiſed upon Cardinal *Colonna* in the Conclave [q], might be brought to Light, and his Election be, on that Account, declared null; and laſtly, that he might be called to an Account by the Council for the cruel War, which he had induced the Emperor to make upon the *Florentines*, and carry on with the Loſs of ſo many Lives, merely out of a criminal Ambition of aggrandizing his Family, and making them, contrary to all Juſtice, Sovereigns of a free and independent State. *Clement*, filled with theſe juſt Fears and Apprehenſions, was determined, in his own Mind, never to conſent to the Aſſembling of a Council. However, concealing his real Sentiments from the Emperor, he promiſed to call one upon the following Conditions; that it ſhould be celebrated in *Italy*, in *Bologna*, *Piacenza*, or *Mantua*; that the Emperor ſhould aſſiſt at it in Perſon; that the *Lutherans* and other Heretics ſhould promiſe to ſtand to its Deciſions, and, in the mean time, ſhould return to their Obedience to the Apoſtolic See. The Pope well knew, that the Proteſtants never would agree to ſuch Conditions, and it was only to put off the evil Day that he propoſed them. However, at the preſſing Inſtances of the Emperor, he diſpatched Nuncios to the Courts of the different Princes to invite them to the Council, which,

Year of Chriſt 1533.

The Pope averſe to a General Council, and why.

His deceitful Conduct.

[q] See above, p. 426.

Year of Christ 1533.

he ſaid, he intended to aſſemble, provided they all conſented to it [r].

The Emperor propoſes a Match between the Duke of Milan *and the Pope's Niece.*

At this Interview the Emperor propoſed a Marriage between *Catherine de Medicis*, the Pope's Niece, and *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, in order to engage, by that Means, his Holineſs in the Defence of that State againſt the *French*, ſhould they ever attempt to recover it, and, at the ſame Time, to break off the Treaty of Marriage, that was then negotiating between the ſaid *Catherine de Medicis*, and *Henry*, Duke of *Orleans*, the King of *France*'s Second Son. But the Match, propoſed by the Emperor, was rejected by the Pope, alleging that he was under ſuch Engagements with the King, as would not allow him, in Honour or Decency, to recede. The Emperor was very much diſſatisfied with this Alliance; but not being able to divert the Pope from it, he left *Bologna*, and repairing to *Genoa*, embarked there on his Return to *Spain*. Upon his Departure, the Negotiations between the Pope and the King of *France* were reſumed; and the Treaty of Marriage between the Pope's Niece, and the King's Second Son being concluded, it was agreed that the Pope and the King ſhould have a perſonal Interview at *Nizza*; and that the Marriage ſhould be ſolemnized in that City on the Borders of *France* and *Italy*. But the Duke of *Savoy*, Lord of *Nizza*, ſhewing himſelf unwilling to accommodate his Holineſs with the Caſtle, leſt he ſhould thereby diſoblige the Emperor, the City of *Marſeilles* was, to the great Satisfaction of the King, choſen for the Place of their Meeting. The Pope arrived there, with his Niece, on board the *French* Fleet on the 4th of *October*, and landing under the Diſcharge of Three hundred Pieces of Cannon, lodged that Night in the Palace of the Duke of *Montmorency*. The next Day he made his public

Marriage concluded between her and the King of France's *Second Son.*

The Pope in France.

[r] Guicciard. l. 20. Father Paul. Concil. Trident. l. 1.

Entry

Entry into the City, in all the gaudy Attire of High Pontiff, being carried in his Chair upon Men's Shoulders, while a white Horſe, carrying the Hoſt, was led by Two Men with ſilken Reins before him, then followed the Cardinals in their Habits, mounted upon their Mules richly capariſoned, and after them came the Bride, loaded with Jewels and precious Stones, and attended by the Flower of the *Italian* and *French* Nobility. The next Day the King, who came the firſt, and had paid his Holineſs a Viſit by Night, made his public Entry, and waiting upon his Holineſs was received by him with all poſſible Marks of Eſteem and Affection. The Marriage Ceremony was performed a few Days afterwards by the Pope himſelf with the utmoſt Pomp and Magnificence, the Bride being in the Thirteenth Year of her Age, and the Bridegroom in his Sixteenth [s]. The Pope and the King lodged in the ſame Palace, had daily private Conferences, and the Pope negotiating, with conſummate Art, his Affairs with the King himſelf, entirely gained his Confidence and Affection. He had ſolemnly engaged his Word to the Emperor, at their Interview in *Bologna*, to make no new Confederacy or Agreement with any Prince without his Knowledge and Conſent. But as it was cuſtomary with him to keep his Word no longer than he found his own Account, or that of his Family in keeping it, he ſecretly concluded an Agreement with the King, by virtue of which they were to fall unexpectedly upon the State of *Milan* with their joint Forces, and put his Niece and Nephew-in-Law in Poſſeſſion of that Dutchy [t]. Thus would all *Italy* have been involved in a new War, and all the Calamities attending it. But, fortunately for that Country, the Pope died before his ambitious Deſigns could be carried into Execution.

Year of Chriſt 1533.

How received there.

The Marriage ſolemnized.

Confederacy between the Pope and the King.

[s] Guicciard. l. 10. Memoires de Bellay. [t] Du Bellay Memoir. l. 7. p. 141.

The

Year of Christ 1533.

The Pope returns to Rome.

The Pope, having ſtaid about a Month at *Marſeilles*, departed on board the ſame Gallies, that had brought him thither. But, putting no Truſt in the Skill of the *French* Mariners, on his Arrival at *Savona* he ſent them back, and was conveyed from thence to *Civita Vecchia* on board the Gallies of *Andrew Doria*, the moſt experienced Sea-Officer of that Age. From *Civita Vecchia* he returned to *Rome*, highly pleaſed and elated with his good Fortune in having obtained for his natural Nephew (*Alexander de Medicis*, the natural Son of his Brother *Lawrence*, formerly Duke of *Urbino*) the natural Daughter of the Emperor, and for his legitimate Niece the legitimate Son of the King of *France*, though his Family was of little more than a private Rank. But he did not long enjoy his good Fortune. For a few Months after his Return to *Rome* he was ſeized with a violent Pain in his Stomach, and a ſlow Fever, which put an End to his Life on the 25th of *September* 1534, when he had lived Fifty-ſix Years and Four Months, and governed the Church Ten Years, Ten Months and Seven Days. He died hated by the Court, ſuſpected by the Princes, and generally reputed a Man of no Faith, and naturally averſe from doing any Man a good Office. He was grave, circumſpect in all his Actions, much Maſter of himſelf, a great Diſſembler, endowed with excellent Parts, and uncommon Penetration. But the extreme Timidity, to which he was ſubject ever after his Impriſonment, ſeldom allowed him to make a free Uſe of his own Judgment [u].

His Illneſs and Death, Year of Chriſt 1534.

His Conduct in the Affair of the Divorce of Henry VIII.

He was greatly embarraſſed, during the Seven laſt Years of his Pontificate, with the famous Devorce of our *Henry* VIII. But that whole Affair has been ſo fully related by all our Hiſtorians, with all the Circumſtances and Conſequences attending it, and is ſo well known to all, who know any thing

[u] Guicciard. l 20.

at

at all of the Hiſtory of *England*, that I may well be allowed to wave ſo trite a Subject. However, I cannot help obſerving, that from the whole Conduct of the Pope it evidently appears, that in this Affair, an Affair of Conſcience, his Holineſs was entirely ſwayed by worldly Views, or Motives of Policy, without any the leaſt Regard to the intrinſic Merits of the Cauſe; that he was only reſtrained, by the Awe he ſtood in of the Emperor, from declaring *Henry*'s Marriage with *Catherine* null; and that it was only to gratify, or rather not to provoke ſo powerful a Prince, of whoſe Indignation he had already felt the Effects with a Witneſs, that he delayed coming to any Reſolution, till the King, tired with Delays, Apologies, Pretences, and vain Promiſes, cut the Knot, which his Holineſs would not untie, putting away *Catherine*, and taking *Anne Bullen* to his Royal Bed in her Room. This was openly renouncing the Pope's Juriſdiction and Supremacy, and delivering himſelf and his Kingdom from the Tyranny of *Rome*. But this Renunciation was attended with very little Benefit to the Cauſe or the Friends of the Reformation during the King's Life-time. For *Henry* being, on the 3d of *November* 1534, declared by the Parliament *Supreme Head, on Earth, of the Church of England*, he thought himſelf, by virtue of that Title, Maſter of the Religious Sentiments of his Subjects; and as he ſtill retained moſt of the groſſeſt Errors of Popery, and with them the perſecuting Spirit of that Church, they, who denied any of them, met with no better Treatment from the King, than they did from the Pope. And thus Matters continued in *England* during the whole Reign of *Henry* VIII.---- *Clement* left a great many Jewels in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, but very little Money.-----He created, at different Times, Thirty-one Cardinals, but not one of that Number, except his Nephew *Hyppolitus de Medicis*, of his own ſpontaneous Choice. The Reſt

Year of Chriſt 1534.

Year of Christ 1534.

Reſt he raiſed to that Dignity, againſt his Will, to gratify thoſe, who recommended them, eſpecially the Emperor and the King of *France*.--He was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*; but his Body was ſoon afterwards tranſlated by his Family to the Church of *St. Mary ſuper Minervam*, and being depoſited there, near the Remains of *Leo* X. his Couſin, a ſtately Monument of Marble was erected over it, which is to be ſeen to this Day.

CHARLES V *Emperor.*

PAUL III.

The Two Hundred and Eighteenth BISHOP *of* Rome.

Election of Paul III.

IN the Room of *Clement*, deceaſed on the 25th of *September*, was unanimouſly elected, on the 13th of *October*, by the Thirty-four Cardinals, who compoſed the Conclave, *Alexander Farneſe*, Cardinal Biſhop of *Oſtia*, who took the Name of *Paul* III.

His Birth, Education, and Employments before his Promotion.

He was come of a noble and an ancient *Roman* Family, and is therefore ſaid to have been by Birth a *Roman*, though he was born at a Place in *Tuſcany*, called *Carino*, which his Anceſtors had long poſſeſſed. He ſtudied, in his Youth, at *Florence*, under the moſt famous Profeſſors of that Age invited thither by the *De Medicis*, great Encouragers of Learning, and had early diſtinguiſhed himſelf, above all his Fellow-Students, by his Application and Proficiency in every Branch of polite Literature. Upon his Return to *Rome* he was made Apoſtolic Prothonotary by *Innocent* VIII. and by *Alexander* VI. preferred firſt to the Biſhopric of *Monteſiaſcone*, and ſoon afterwards, that is, in 1493, to the Dignity of Cardinal, being then but Twenty-ſix Years of Age. *Julius* II. tranſlated him to the Biſhopric of *Parma*, and *Leo* X. to that of *Tuſculum*, and he was, by his immediate Predeceſſor *Clement* VII. ſucceſ-

ſucceſſively-appointed Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*, *Sabina*, *Porto* and *Oſtia* [g]. He was recommended to the Cardinals by the ſame Pope, on his Death Bed, as the moſt worthy of the whole College to ſucceed him; and they readily concurred in his Election, as he was in the Sixty-ſeventh Year of his Age, and reputed to be of a bad Conſtitution, which Opinion he promoted with ſome Art [h]. Thus *Guicciardine*, who terminates his excellent Hiſtory of *Italy* with the Death of *Clement*, and the Election of *Paul*. Year of Chriſt 1534.

The new Pope was not, or, at leaſt, pretended not to be, ſo averſe to a General Council as his Predeceſſor. On the contrary, in a general Congregation of the Cardinals, held on the 16th of *October*, but Three Days after his Election, and before his Coronation, he named Commiſſioners to deliberate about the Time, the Place, and the Manner of Proceeding in the Council, with Orders to make their Report to him in the Firſt Conſiſtory after his Coronation. He was crowned on the 3d of *November*, and in the Firſt Conſiſtory, held on the 13th of the ſame Month, he appointed Six Cardinals and Three Biſhops to draw up a Plan for the Reformation of the Church in general, and of the Church of *Rome* in particular. At the ſame time he ſent for *Verger*, his Nuncio in *Germany*, and being informed by him, that nothing but a General Council could put an End to the Diſturbances, that continued to reign in moſt of the Provinces of the Empire, he remanded him with Orders to prevent a National Council from being convened in *Germany*, and propoſe the aſſembling of a General One at *Mantua*, to be opened in that City on the 27th of *May* of the following Year 1537. The Propoſal was agreed to by the Catholic Princes. But the Proteſtants at a Meeting at *Not averſe to a General Council.* *A Plan for the Reformation of Rules.* Mantua *named for the Place of the Council.* Year of Chriſt 1536.

[g] Onuph. in Paulo III. Pallavicin Hiſt. Concil. Trid. l. 3.
[h] Guicciard. l. 20.

Smalcald,

Year of Christ 1536.

Smalcald, conſiſting of Fifteen Princes, and Thirty Deputies of Imperial Cities, declared againſt a Council held any-where without the Borders of the Empire, and much more againſt One held in *Italy*, and in a City ſubject to a Prince, whoſe Brother was a Cardinal. Beſides, the Duke of *Mantua* himſelf was not inclined to receive ſo many Gueſts at once, and ſome of them very turbulent ones, into the Place of his Reſidence, unleſs his Holineſs furniſhed him with a large Sum of Money to maintain a numerous Garriſon. That the Pope would not agree to, either on Account of the Expence, or becauſe he apprehended that the Proteſtants would take Occaſion from thence to pretend that the Council was not free [i].

But objected to by the Proteſtants.

The Council appointed to meet at Vicenza

Year of Christ 1537.

The Deſign of aſſembling the Council at *Mantua* being thus laid aſide, the Pope, by a Bull, dated the 20th of *May* 1537, prorogued it till the Beginning of *November*, without naming the Place where it was to be held. But a Ten Months Truce being, in the mean time, concluded between the Emperor and the King of *France*, then at War for the Dutchy of *Milan*, claimed by both upon the Death of *Francis Sforza* the laſt Duke, the Pope, by a Bull of the 8th of *October* 1537, appointed the Council to meet at *Vicenza* on the 1ſt of *May* of the following Year. At the ſame time, to remove all Obſtacles to the Council, he undertook to negotiate, in Perſon, a Peace between the Emperor and the King, and, with that View, invited them to a perſonal Conference with him at *Nizza*. Both complied with the Invitation, and the Pope, who arrived at the appointed Place the firſt, received both with the greateſt Marks of Friendſhip and Eſteem, but could not prevail upon them to ſee and embrace one another. His Holineſs therefore, taking upon him the Office of Arbitrator, heard the Complaints, De-

Interview between the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France.

Year of Christ 1538.

[i] Father Paul. et Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident.

mands,

mands, and Claims of both. But he found ſo many difficult and knotty Points to be determined, that laying aſide all Thoughts of a Peace, he propoſed a Ten Years Truce, and in the End perſuaded both Princes to agree to it. In the private Conferences, which the Pope had, on this Occaſion, with the Emperor, a Marriage Treaty, that had been ſome time on Foot, was at laſt concluded between *Octavius Farneſe*, the Pope's Nephew, and *Margaret*, the Emperor's natural Daughter, now a Widow, her Huſband, *Alexander de Medicis*, having been lately murdered by One of his own Family. The Pope, wholly intent upon aggrandizing his Family, propoſed a Match, in his Conferences with the King of *France*, between his Grand-daughter *Vittoria*, and the Duke of *Vendome*, One of the Princes of the Blood. But it was oppoſed by the other Princes, and the *French* Nobility in general. Some Writers tell us, that it was to promote theſe Marriages, and thus raiſe his Family, that the Pope propoſed an Interview with the Two Princes, thinking he ſhould better ſucceed therein by treating with them in Perſon, than by Nuncios, or Legates, and that the procuring of a Peace was but a Blind or mere Pretence. The Pope, on his Return from *Nizza*, was attended by the Emperor to *Genoa*, and from thence he proceeded, partly by Sea, partly by Land, to *Rome*. Soon after his Arrival there, he diſpatched Cardinal *de Medicis* with a grand Retinue to *Florence*, to attend Princeſs *Margaret* from thence to *Rome*. She made her public Entry into that City in the latter End of *October*, was received by the Pope, the Cardinals, and the *Roman* Nobility of both Sexes, with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence, and the Nuptials were celebrated on the 3d of *November* [k].

Year of Chriſt 1538.

[k] Jovius Hiſt. l. 37. Onuph. ex Paulo III. Ciaconius, tom. 3. Valer. Paul Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident.

In

Year of Christ 1538. Henry VIII. *excommunicated.*

In the preſent Year 1538 was at laſt publiſhed the Bull of Excommunication againſt *Henry* VIII. It had been drawn up in 1535, on Occaſion of the Execution of Cardinal *Fiſher*, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, had been ſubmitted to the Judgment of the Cardinals, and approved by moſt of them in a full Conſiſtory. However the Pope, flattering himſelf that an Accommodation with *England* might ſtill be brought about, delayed the Publication of it till the preſent Year, when finding an Agreement with the King quite deſperate, he publiſhed it with the uſual Solemnity, and cauſed it to be ſet up on the Doors of all the chief Churches of *Rome*. By that Bull the King was deprived of his Kingdom, his Subjects were not only abſolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, but commanded to take Arms againſt him, and drive him from the Throne, the whole Kingdom was laid under an Interdict, all Treaties of Friendſhip or Commerce with him or his Subjects were declared null, his Kingdom was granted to any who ſhould invade it, and all were allowed to ſeize the Effects of ſuch of his Subjects as adhered to him, and enſlave their Perſons, *&c.* But theſe were all *Bruta Fulmina*; and the King, provoked beyond Meaſure at the Inſolence of the Pope, continued to perſecute, with more Severity than ever, all without Diſtinction, who refuſed to renounce the Papal Supremacy, and acknowledge his own [1].

Diets held in Germany *for reconciling the Religious Differences.*

In the mean time ſeveral Diets were held in *Germany* to terminate the religious Diſputes, and the Diviſions ariſing from them among the Members of the Empire, at a Time when they ought all to unite againſt their common Enemy, who had again invaded *Hungary* with a formidable Army, and even reduced the ſtrong City of *Buda*. But in

1 Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform. l. 3. Pallavicin. l. 4. Sanders de Schiſ. l. 1.

thoſe

thoſe Diets nothing could be concluded on Account of the Oppoſition they met with from the Pope's Legates, pretending that all religious Diſputes ought to be determined by his Holineſs alone, or by his Holineſs and a General Council. In a Diet, held at *Ratiſbon* in *March* 1541, at which the Emperor aſſiſted in Perſon, and all the Princes of the Empire either in Perſon, or by Proxy, great Advances were made towards an Union of the Two Parties. But the Pope's Legate, Cardinal *Contarini*, objecting to ſome of the Articles, that both Parties were inclined to agree to, the Diet was divided; and upon that Diviſion the Emperor concluded, that the final Deciſion of their Debates ought to be referred to a General Council, or if a General Council could not be ſo ſoon obtained, to a National One, or to the next Diet of the Empire. He added, that he ſhould, in a very ſhort Time, go into *Italy*, ſhould preſs the Pope to convoke, without Delay, the ſo often promiſed Council, and if its Meeting ſhould be prevented by any unforeſeen Obſtacles, he ſhould, within the Space of Eighteen Months, aſſemble a General Diet for finally determining all Diſputes. He forbad the Proteſtant Princes to ſolicit any, in the mean time, who were not their Subjects, to embrace their Religion. But as he ſtood in great Need of their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Turk*, he gave them Leave to receive all, who ſhould unſolicited, and of their own Accord, chuſe their Religion, and ſuſpended all Proſecutions in the Imperial Chamber againſt thoſe of their Perſuaſion [m].

Year of Chriſt 1538.

The Diet broke up on the 28th of *July*, and the Emperor ſoon afterwards ſet out for *Italy*, in order to proceed from thence upon his intended Expedition againſt *Algiers*. The Pope met him at *Lucca*, as it had been agreed before-hand between

Interview of the Pope and the Emperor at Lucca.

[m] Father Paul et Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident. l. 1.

Year of Christ 1541. them. They had ſeveral Conferences and Conſultations concerning the ſo much wanted General Council, and the War againſt the *Turks*, threatening *Germany* itſelf with an Invaſion. On this Occaſion the Pope informed the Emperor, that the *Venetians* would not ſuffer the Council, which he had appointed to meet at *Vicenza*, to be held in that City, or in any other of their Dominions, alleging, that a Peace having been lately concluded between them and *Solyman*, they apprehended, that the Meeting of a Council in One of their Towns for uniting the Chriſtian Princes in a Confederacy againſt him, would be looked upon by that Prince as a Breach of the Peace, and bring on a new War, which they were in no Condition to ſupport. The Pope, after complaining to the Emperor of this Diſappointment, which obliged him to put off the Meeting of the Council to a farther Day, aſſured his Imperial Majeſty, that upon his Return to *Rome* he ſhould, before all Things, ſettle, with the Advice of the Cardinals, the Time when, and the Place where, it ſhould aſſemble, and ſend immediately Notice thereof to his Majeſty, as well as to the other Chriſtian Princes [n].

The Council appointed to meet at Trent. Year of Chriſt 1542. In the Beginning of the following Years 1542, a Diet was held at *Spire*, *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, preſiding at it in the Abſence of the Emperor. To this Aſſembly was ſent by the Pope *John Morone*, Biſhop of *Modena*, with Orders to declare, that his Holineſs, mindful of the Promiſe he had made to the Emperor and the *German* Nation, was determined to aſſemble a General Council, and that *Trent*, upon the Borders of *Germany* and *Italy*, ſhould be the Place of its Meeting, if the Diet had no Objection to that City. *Ferdinand*, and the Princes of the Popiſh

[n] Idem.

Party,

Party, agreed to the Propoſal. But the Proteſtant Princes objected both againſt a Council ſummoned by the Pope, who had no Authority of ſummoning One, but what he had uſurped by encroaching upon the Rights of the Emperor, and againſt the Place appointed for its Meeting, as being too near to *Italy*, and rather in *Italy* than in *Germany*. They added, that the Pope, in his Bull of 1536, ſummoning the Council to meet at *Mantua*, had made himſelf a Party, openly profeſſing, that he convoked it, to root out the *Lutheran* Hereſy, and conſequently that they could not, in Juſtice, be required to acknowlege him for a lawful Judge, nor to countenance, with their Preſence, a Council, called on Purpoſe to condemn them. However, the Pope, paying no Regard to their Remonſtrances, by a Bull, dated the 22d of *May*, appointed the Council to meet at *Trent* on the 1ſt Day of the enſuing *November*, commanded all the Biſhops to repair to it, and earneſtly entreated the Emperor, the moſt Chriſtian King, and the other Kings and Princes, to attend it in Perſon, or ſend proper Perſons to repreſent them, and aſſiſt at it in their Room. He ſent ſoon afterwards the Three Cardinals, *Peter Paul Pariſio*, *John Morone*, and *Reginald Pole*, to preſide at the Council, and open it, when they ſhould think proper; but they were to proceed to no publick Act without giving previouſly Notice thereof to his Holineſs. The Emperor immediately diſpatched to *Trent John Mendoza*, *Nicholas Granvelle*, and his Son the Biſhop of *Arras*, with the Character of his Embaſſadors, to repreſent him at the Council, They preſſed the Legates, in the Emperor's Name, to open the Council without Delay. But, as very few Biſhops were yet come, and the War between the Emperor and the King of *France* prevented others from coming, the Legates, after waiting ſome Time, in vain, for a ſufficient Number of Biſhops to compoſe a General

Year of Chriſt 1542.

The Proteſtants object both to the Council and the Place.

Legates ſent to preſide at the Council.

Which is put off to a farther Day.

Year of Christ 1542.

neral Council, retired from *Trent*, and the Pope, by a Bull, dated the 6th of *July* 1543, put off the Meeting of the Council to a farther Day [o].

Interview of the Pope and the Emperor at Buſſeto. Year of Chriſt 1543.

The following Year the Pope being informed, that the Emperor intended to paſs through *Italy* in his Way from *Spain* to *Germany*, his Holineſs reſolved to lay hold of that Opportunity to have a perſonal Conference with him. Accordingly, he ſet out from *Rome* on the 26th of *February* 1543, and having, notwithſtanding his advanced Age and the Severity of the Seaſon, viſited moſt of the Cities of the Eccleſiaſtical State, he repaired to *Bologna*, to wait there till he heard of the Emperor's Arrival. *Charles* landed at *Genoa* on the 26th of *May*, which the Pope no ſooner underſtood, than he diſpatched, in all Haſte, *Octavius Farneſe*, his Grand-Son, who had married the Emperor's Daughter, as has been ſaid above, to congratulate his Imperial Majeſty upon his ſafe Arrival, and at the ſame time to propoſe a Conference between him and his Holineſs upon Affairs of the utmoſt Importance to both. To that Propoſal the Emperor returned Anſwer, that he well knew, that his Holineſs's only Buſineſs was to mediate a Peace between him and the King of *France*, but that he was determined to hearken to no Terms of Accommodation with One, who had made it his Buſineſs to croſs all his Deſigns, partly by open Force, and partly by Treachery, had ſeduced ſeveral of the *German* Princes from the Obedience they owed him, as the Head of the Empire, and had even entered into a Confederacy with the *Grand Turk* againſt him, to the great Diſgrace of the Chriſtian Name. *Charles*, however, was afterwards, with great Difficulty, prevailed upon by Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe*, another of

[o] F. Paul, ubi ſupra. Bulla Pauli in Sleidan, l. 14. Concil. Labbe, tom. 14.

the

the Pope's Grand-Children, to conſent to the propoſed Interview; and it was agreed, that the Pope ſhould meet him at *Buſſeto*, a ſmall Town between *Parma* and *Piacenza*, through which he was to paſs in his Way to *Germany*. At that Place the Pope arrived on the 21ſt of *June*, and the Emperor the Day following; they both lodged in the ſame Caſtle, and ſpent in private Conferences the Three Days the Emperor continued there. The Pope pretended, when he left *Rome*, that it was only to mediate a Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*, and thus remove all Obſtacles to the Council, that he undertook, in the Depth of Winter, ſo long and ſo fatiguing a Journey. That the Emperor himſelf, it ſeems, believed. But it ſoon appeared that his Holineſs had ſomething elſe in View, and much more at Heart, the aggrandizing of his Family. For knowing that the Emperor ſtood in great Want of Money to carry on the War againſt *France*, the Firſt Thing he propoſed to him was his diſpoſing of the Dutchy of *Milan*, which he offered to purchaſe for *Octavius Farneſe*, his own Grand-Son, and the Emperor's Son-in-Law. He engaged to pay him for it 150,000 Ducats, to inter into an Alliance with him againſt *France*, to create a certain Number of cardinals at his Nomination, and to leave him in Poſſeſſion of the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona*. But the Emperor demanding a much larger Sum, and *Coſmus*, Duke of *Florence*, offering, at the ſame time, to ſupply him with 200,000 Ducats, upon Condition that he withdrew all his Garriſons out of the Caſtles and Strong-Holds of that State, he cloſed with him. The Pope, finding his Ambition thus diſappointed, began to treat with the Emperor of a Reconciliation with *France*, leſt it ſhould be thought, that it was only to promote the Grandure of his Family, that he had given himſelf ſo much Trouble, and had undertaken ſo

Year of Chriſt 1543.

The Subject of their Conferences.

Year of Christ 1543. long a Journey. But the Emperor broke off the Conference abruptly, declaring that it was not conſiſtent with his dignity to conclude either a Peace, or a Truce with ſo perfidious an Enemy, till he had fully revenged he many unpardonable Injuries, which he had received at his Hands [p]

Year of Chriſt 1544. The following Year a Diet was held at *Spire*, at which the Emperor, his Brother *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, the Seven Electors, and moſt of the Princes of the Empire aſſiſted in Perſon. It met on the 20th of *February*, and ſat till the 10th of *June*. As the Emperor had called it to procure extraordinary Supplies from the Proteſtant, as well as the *Roman* Catholic Princes, againſt the victorious *Solyman*, he gave his Aſſent, contrary to all Expectation, to the following Reſolutions, highly favourable to the Cauſe of the former: I. That the Proteſtant as well as the Catholic Churches ſhould enjoy their Revenues quite undiſturbed. II. That the Judges of the Imperial Chamber, which is the ſupreme Court in *Germany*, ſhould conſiſt of an equal Number of Catholics and Proteſtants. III. That no man ſhould be moleſted on Account of his Religion, but all Proſecutions, on that Score, be ſuſpended till the Meeting of a General Council; which was granting, in the mean time, to all Liberty of Conſcience. Theſe Reſolutions were, as we may well imagine, highly diſpleaſing to the Pope; and they were no ſooner communicated to him, than he wrote to the Emperor, reproaching him, in very ſharp Terms, with betraying the Cauſe of the Church, and even thteatening to employ againſt him the Arms, that Chriſt had put into his Hands as his Vicar upon Earth. This Brief, or Letter, the Emperor anſwered with great Temper; and

Diet of Spire.

Reſolutions of the Diet favourable to the Proteſtants.

[p] F. Paul. Concil. Trident. l. 2. Pallavicin. l. 3. Onuph. in Paulo III.

having

having concluded a Peace with the King of *France* at *Creſpi* in *Valois* on the 14th of *September* of the preſent Year, he acquainted his Holineſs therewith, begging, in the King's Name, as well as his own, that, as there were now no Wars to prevent the Meeting of the Council, he would aſſemble it without Delay, and begin with reforming the Abuſes, that had given Occaſion to the preſent Diſputes and Diviſions. The Pope, tho' not a little mortified at the Peace being made without his Interpoſition, and even without his Knowlege, expreſſed great Joy at ſo happy an Event, and by a Bull of the 19th of *November* of the preſent Year, appointed anew the Council to meet at *Trent* on the 15th of *March* of the following Year. On the 6th of *February* 1545 he named the Legates, who were to preſide at it in his Name, *viz. John Maria del Monte*, Cardinal Biſhop of *Paleſtrina Marcellus Cervini*, Cardinal Preſbyter of the *Holy Croſs*, and *Reginald Pole*, Cardinal Deacon of *St. Mary in Coſmedin*. They repaired immediately to *Trent*. But the Opening of the Council was, for ſeveral Reaſons, put off from the 15th of *March* to the 6th of *May*, and again from the 6th of *May* to the 13th of *December*. On the 11th of that Month arrived, at laſt, a Meſſenger from *Rome* with a Bull, dated the 4th, ordering the Legates to open the Council at the Time laſt appointed, the 13th of *December*. It was, accordingly, opened on that Day, though no more than Twenty-five Biſhops were yet come, and they either *Spaniards* or *Italians*. However, the Legates, attended by them in their Pontifical Habits, by the Clergy of the Place, by the Religious, and an immenſe Crowd of People, walked in ſolemn Proceſſion from the Church of the Trinity to the Cathedral, where the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt was ſung by the Firſt Legate, and a Ser-

Year of Chriſt 1544.

The Council appointed a new to meet at Trent.

Year of Chriſt 1545.

Is opened in that City.

Year of Chriſt 1545.

a Sermon was preached by *Cornelius Muſſo*, Biſhop of *Bitonto*, One of the moſt celebrated Preachers of his Time, upon the Words of the Epiſtle of the Day, *Rejoice in the Lord alway; and again I ſay rejoice*, (Philip. iv. 4.) adding the following Words to them from the Second Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, Chap. vi. 2. *Behold, now is the accepted Time; behold, now is the Day of Salvation.* When he had done, the Fathers took their Places, and the Council began.---As a Detail of the Tranſactions of this Council would prove a long and a tedious Work too, and they have been related, with great Care and Exactneſs, by ſeveral eminent Writers both Popiſh and Proteſtant, eſpecially by the celebrated Father *Paul Soeve*, in his well known Hiſtory, I ſhall refer the curious Reader to them, and only obſerve here, that all Things were determined in that Aſſembly by the arbitrary Will of the Pope; that the propoſing of all Matters to be treated of was reſerved to his Legates; that they propoſed nothing till they had ſent to *Rome* to know his Holineſs's Pleaſure, and received his Directions, whence Couriers were ſeen flying conſtantly backwards and forwards between *Trent* and *Rome*, which gave Occaſion to the famous Sarcaſm of the Cloak Bag; that in all controverted Points the Pope was ſure of a Majority, the *Italian* Biſhops, who ſurpaſſed in Number thoſe of all other Nations together, being either his Dependents, or Penſioners: In ſhort, from the whole Conduct of the Fathers of *Trent* it manifeſtly appears, that they were but the Tools of the Pope, and conſequently, that the Decrees they iſſued ought no more to be received as an ultimate Rule of Faith, than if they had been iſſued by him alone [m].

Entirely regulated by the Will of the Pope.

[m] F. Paul. l. 2.

While

While the Fathers at *Trent* thundered out their Anathemas againſt all, who received not their Decrees, and, on the other Hand, the Proteſtant Princes, aſſembled in a Diet at *Ratiſbon*, proteſted againſt their Authority, the Pope and the Emperor entered privately into a Confederacy againſt them, in order to cruſh them by a ſudden Blow, and thus put an End, by Dint of Arms, to the Diſputes, that could not be decided by Force of Argument. By virtue of this League or Confederacy, the Pope was to furniſh the Emperor with 12000 *Italian* Foot and 500 Horſe, to pay him, at Two different Payments, 200,000 Ducats, and grant him One half of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues of *Spain*, during the Courſe of the preſent Year 1546. With this Supply of Men and Money the Emperor was enabled to take the Field early next Spring. But the Proteſtants, whom he intended to have ſurprized, having received timely Intelligence of his Deſign, appeared in the Field, as early as he, under the Command of *John Frederic*, Elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*. The Two Armies engaged on the 24th of *April*, when that of the Elector and the Landgrave was entirely defeated, and both were made Priſoners. Had the Pope and the Emperor improved this Advantage, they might have either entirely ruined the Cauſe of the Reformation, or greatly retarded its Progreſs [n]. But the Pope, jealous of the growing Power of the Emperor, and apprehending that, ſhould he get the better of the Proteſtants, his Ambition would attempt him to carry his victorious Arms into *Italy*, not only recalled the Eccleſiaſtical Troops, under various Pretences, from his Army, and with-held the ſtipulated Subſidies, but entered into a Confederacy with the new King of *France*, *Henry* II. againſt him. *Charles*, provoked beyond Meaſure at the Perfidi-

Year of Chriſt 1545. *Confederacy form'd by the Pope and the Emperor againſt the Proteſtants.* Year of Chriſt 1546.

The Proteſtants entirely defeated. Year of Chriſt 1547.

The Pope enters into a Confederacy with France *againſt the Emperor.*

[n] Idem ibid. Sleidan. l. 17.

ouſneſs

Year of Chriſt 1547.

ouſneſs of the Pope, as he ſtiled it, at his thus preferring his private Intereſts to thoſe of the Church, and the Indifference he ſhewed with reſpect to the religious Diſputes, that divided the whole Empire, reſolved to compoſe thoſe Differences by his own Authority, quite independent of that of the Pope or his See. Accordingly he appointed a Diet to meet at *Augſburg* on the 1ſt of *September* of the preſent Year, and aſſiſting at it in Perſon with his victorious Army at hand, he propoſed the ſettling of ſome Articles, which all, Proteſtants as well as Catholics, ſhould agree to, and Peace thus be maintained in religious Matters, till all their Differences were, by ſome other Means, finally determined. *Julius Pelagius*, Biſhop of *Naumburg*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *John Agricola*, a *Lutheran*, were charged with the drawing up of thoſe Articles. As the Articles, or Formulary, drawn up by them, was to ſerve, not as a permanent, but only as a temporary Rule of Faith and Worſhip to both Parties, it was called the *Interim*. It contained all the eſſential Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, but artfully ſoftened, and in a Manner diſguiſed; and it was therefore diſapproved and rejected by the Proteſtant Party. However it was, by the Emperor's Command, publiſhed with great Solemnity, and all were enjoined, upon the moſt grievous Penalties, to conform, in Practice, to this Imperial Creed, which produced in *Germany* moſt deplorable Scenes of Violence and Bloodſhed. As by this Formulary all were left at Liberty to uſe the Cup, or abſtain from it, and the Clergy were allowed to embrace a State of Marriage, or a State of Celibacy, as they ſhould think fit, it was no better received by the Popiſh, than it was by the Proteſtant Party. The Pope, highly offended at the Emperor's taking upon him to preſcribe Laws, by his own Authority, concerning the Doctrine or the Diſcipline of the Church, and looking upon ſuch an Attempt as derogatory,

Diet of Augſburg.

The famous INTERIM.

Diſpleaſing both to the Papiſts and Proteſtants.

rogatory, in the higheſt Degree, to the Majeſty of the Pontificate, condemned the *Interim* in the ſtrongeſt Terms, and would have proceeded to Extremities againſt the Emperor himſelf, had not the Cardinals wiſely interpoſed, putting his Holineſs in Mind of the dreadful Conſequences, that had lately attended the too haſty Proceedings of his Predeceſſor againſt the King of *England* [n]. Year of Chriſt 1547.

The Miſunderſtanding between the Pope and the Emperor was greatly heightened the enſuing Year on the following Occaſion. The Pope had ever ſince the Year 1545 inveſted his natural Son, *Pier-Luigi Farneſe*, with the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, though both were unqueſtionably Imperial Fiefs. But the new Duke having, by his unheard-of Debauchery and tyrannical Government, incurred the Deteſtation and Hatred of all his Subjects, he was by them aſſaſſinated in the City of *Piacenza* on the 10th of *September* of the preſent Year. As *Ferdinand Gonzago*, Governor of *Milan* for the Emperor, had advanced with a Body of Troops into the Neighbourhood of *Piacenza* a little before the Conſpiracy was executed, and had ſeized on that City in his Maſter's Name, as ſoon as it took place, the Pope concluded the Emperor to have been privy to the Murder, and, bent on revenging it at all Events, he diſpatched immediately a Nuncio into *France*, to treat with that King of an Alliance againſt him. But being, in the mean Time, ſeized with a violent Fever, occaſioned by his exceſſive Grief and Concern for the Death of his Son, and the Loſs of *Piacenza*, he died of it the fifth Day, the 10th of *November* 1549, in the Eighty-ſecond Year of his Age, when he had held the See Fifteen Years and Twenty-eight Days. His Body was carried from the Palace of *Monte Cavallo*, where

Pier-Luigi *the Pope's natural Son murdered.* Year of Chriſt 1548.

Paul III. *dies.* Year of Chriſt 1549.

[n] F. Paul et Sleidan. ibid. Oſiander. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3.

he

Year of Christ 1549.

he uſually reſided, to the Church of *St. Peter*, and interred with the uſual Solemnity [o].

His Character.

The Character of this Pope has given Occaſion to much Debate, even in our Days, between Cardinal *Quirini*, and *Schelhorn*, *Kieling*, and others. The Cardinal, in a Piece under the Title of *Imago optimi Pontificis expreſſa in geſtis Pauli III.* paints him as a Prince of great Merit and Probity, while the Two learned Authors, juſt mentioned, repreſent him as a perfidious Politican, without either Faith or Conſcience, as one wholly intent upon raiſing his Family, and ever ready to ſacrifice the Good of the Church to the Grandeur and Intereſts of his unnatural Brood [p]; and they advance nothing but what they prove with inconteſtable Facts. *Paul* had an unnatural Son, *Pier-Luigi Farneſe*, whom he created Duke of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, as has been ſaid, and an unnatural Daughter, named *Conſtantia*, who was married into the *Sforza* Family; and their Offspring, *Alexander Farneſe* and *Guido Aſcanius Sforza*, he created Cardinals ſoon after his Election, though they had ſcarce yet attained to the Years of Diſcretion. The numerous Tribe of his other Grand-children, and all, who were, at what Diſtance ſover, related to him, he took Care to prefer and enrich, either at the Expence of the Church or the State.---He created, at different Promotions, no fewer than Seventy-one Cardinals; a far greater Number than had been ever yet preferred to that Dignity by any Pope, and he had Four of them for his immediate Succeſſors, *viz.* *Julius* III. *Marcellus* II. *Paul* IV. and *Pius* IV.------

The Order of Jeſuits *founded in his Time.*

In this Pope's Time was founded the Order of *Jeſuits* by *Innigo* or *Ignatius* of *Loyola*, a Native of the Province of *Guipuſcoa* in *Spain*, who, being a a Soldier, gave it the Military Name of *The Company*

o Onuph. in vit. Pauli III. Ciaconius, Pallavicin. &c.

p See Schelhorn, Ep. 2. et Kieling. Ep. de Geſtis Pauli III.

of

of Jesus, and from thence they are called *Jesuits*. To the Three Vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, common to all religious Orders, they add a Fourth, that of implicit, blind, and unlimited Submission to the Pope; and thus are they at his absolute Disposal, always ready, at a Moment's Warning, to repair to what Part of the World he shall think fit to send them. The present Pope, *Paul* III. confirmed their Order by a Bull, dated the 27th of *September* 1540, but upon condition that it should not exceed the Number of Sixty Persons. This Restraint the same Pope took off by a Second Bull, of the 14th of *March* 1543, leaving them at Liberty to admit as many as they pleased. Thus they became in the Space of 136 Years a very numerous and formidable Body. For in 1543 the whole Order consisted of no more than 80 Persons, and in 1675, when their last Catalogue was printed at *Rome*, they were encreased to the Number of 17,655, and are supposed to be, at this Time, in all about 20,000. It may be said with Truth, that this Order alone has contributed more, than all the other Orders together, to confirm the wavering Nations in the Faith of *Rome*, to support the tottering Authority of the High Pontiff, to check the Progress of the Reformation, and to make amends for the Losses their Holinesses had sustained in *Europe*, by propagating the Gospel, and with it a blind Submission to the Holy See, among the *African*, *American*, and *Indian* Infidels. The *Jesuits* are hated by most other Orders, especially by the *Benedictines* and the *Dominicans*; by the former, because they have been enriched at their Expence; by the latter, for supplanting them, and engrossing to themselves the Favour and Confidence of Sovereign Princes: For till the Institution of this artful and insinuating Order, the *Dominicans* alone directed the Consciences of all the Kings and Princes of *Europe*

Year of Christ 1549.

Some Account of that famous Order.

Year of Chriſt 1549.

Europe.----------In the Pontificate of *Paul* III. and at his Inſtigation, the Emperor attmpted to introduce the Inquiſition, which he had eſtabliſhed in his *Spaniſh* Dominions, into the Kingdom of *Naples*. But the *Neapolitans* of all Ranks and Conditions flying to Arms upon the firſt Steps that were taken towards the Execution of ſuch a Deſign, obliged the Viceroy, Don *Pedro di Toledon* to drive out of *Naples* all, who belonged to that bloody Tribunal. The ſame Attempt was made by the Court of *Rome* during the Reigns of *Philip* III. *Philip* IV. *Charles* II. and *Charles* VI. But it was always oppoſed with the ſame Reſolution and Vigour; and the Kingdom of *Naples* is the only State in *Italy*, where the Inquiſition has not, to this Day, got the leaſt Footing, all Cauſes, relating to Faith, being tried there by the Archbiſhops and Biſhops, agreeably to an Edict of the Emperor *Charles* VI. dated at *Barcelona* the 15th of *September* 1709 [y].----------*Paul* III. is ſaid by *Onuphrius* to have been well verſed in moſt Branches of Literature, and a generous Encourager of Learning. He wrote a Comment upon *Cicero's Epiſtles* to *Atticus* before his Promotion to the Pontificate, and after it ſome Letters, in a polite *Latin* Stile, to his particular Friend.----------In the Firſt Year of his Pontificate he laid the Foundation of the ſumptuous Building in *Rome*, called the *Palazzo Farneſe*, one of the moſt ſtately Edifices in all *Europe*. It was begun by *Antonio Gallo*, a celebrated Architect, and finiſhed by the famous *Michael Angelo Buonarota*.

Paul III *attempts in vain to introduce the Inquiſition into the Kingdom of* Naples.

JULIUS III. *the* 219*th Biſhop of* Rome.

Paul III. died, as has been ſaid, on the 10th of *November*. But the Cardinals, waiting for ſome of their abſent Brethern, did not enter the Conclave till the 28th of that Month. As they were divided into Three Parties or Factions, the Imperial, the

[y] Giannoni Hiſt. Civil di Napoli, lib. 32. c. 5. ſect. 2. et. 3.

French

French, and the *Farneſe*, conſiſting of the Creatures of the late Pope, the Election was prolonged till the 7th of *February* 1550, when at length they united in the Perſon of *John-Maria Giocci*, who took the Name of *JULIUS* III. and was crowned on the 22d of the ſame Month with the uſual Solemnity. He was a Native of *Rome*; but as his Family came originally from *Monte Sanſavino* in *Tuſcany*, he changed the Name of *Giocci* for that of *del Monte*. He was created Cardinal by *Paul* III. in 1536, and having acquired, in ſundry Legations, the Reputation of a Man of great Application and uncommon Abilities, he was choſen by the ſame Pope in 1545 to preſide, as his Firſt Legate, at the Council of *Trent*.---------*Julius* was ſcarce warm in the Papal Chair, when, to the great Aſtoniſhment of all, he preferred a Boy, named *Innocent*, to the Dignity of Cardinal, though he was come of the very Scum of the People, and had no other Employment in his Family but that of his Monkey-keeper. Such a promotion was looked upon by the Cardinals as a groſs Affront offered to them. But when they complained to his Holineſs of his introducing ſo unworthy a Member into the ſacred College, One quite deſtitute of all Virtue, Learning and Merit, he confounded and ſilenced them, aſking *what Virtue or Merit they had found in him that could have induced them to prefer him to the Pontifical Chair?* His extraordinary and unaccountable Kindneſs to ſo mean and ſo deſpicable a Perſon gave juſt Grounds to ſuſpect, that he was kept by the Holy Father for other Uſes, than that to look after his Monkies [a]---- *Paul* III. had removed the Council from *Trent*, where the Plague broke out, or was ſaid to have broken out, to *Bologna*. But *Julius*, at the preſſing Inſtances of the Emperor,

Year of Chriſt 1550.

His Election.

Year of Chriſt 1550.

Creates his Monkey-keeper a Cardinal.

[a] Thuan. l. 6. et 15. Sleidan Hiſt. l. 21. Hottinger Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 5.

ordered

Year of Chriſt 1550. ordered the Fathers to return to *Trent*; and the Council was there opened a Second Time on the 1ſt of *May* 1551. But the War, that was kindled in *Germany* the following Year, between the Emperor and *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, afforded the Pope a plauſible Pretence for ſuſpending it; and he ſuſpended it, accordingly, for the Space of Ten Years. And now *Julius*, delivered, for the preſent, from the Apprehenſions he was under from the Council, abandoned himſelf wholly to his Diverſions and Pleaſures, rioting and feaſting in his Gardens with ſome ſelect Friends, Men of the ſame Stamp with himſelf. This indolent and voluptuous Life he continued to lead till Death put an End to it; which happened on the 23d of *March* 1555, when he had held the See Five Years One Month and Sixteen Days. He left behind him a moſt infamous Character, branded with the moſt flagrant Debauchery, with the Sin againſt Nature, and Blaſphemy.

His Death.

Year of Chriſt 1555.

His Character.

MARCELLUS II. *the* 220*th Biſhop of* Rome. In the Room of *Julius* III. was elected, on the 5th of *April*, and crowned the next Day, *Marcellus Cervini*, Cardinal Preſbyter of the *Holy Croſs in Jeruſalem*, who changed not his Name, but called himſelf *MARCELLUS* II. He was a Native of *Fano*, or *Monte Fano*, in the *March of Ancona*, was created Cardinal by *Paul* III. in 1536, and appointed to preſide at the Council of *Trent* with the Two Cardinals mentioned above. He is ſaid to have been a Man of an irreproachable Character, of invincible Reſolution and Conſtancy, and to have formed great Deſigns with reſpect to the Reformation of the Court and the Clergy. But Death prevented him from carrying them into Execution. He died on the 1ſt Day of *May*, the Twenty-firſt of his Pontificate [b].

His Death and Character.

[b] F. Paul l. 5. Burnet Hiſt. of the Reform. l. 11. Spond. ad an. 1555. Polliodar in vita Marcelli II.

On

On the 23d of *May* was choſen, and crowned on the 26th of the ſame Month, *John-Peter Caraffa*, come of a noble Family of *Naples*, and formerly Archbiſhop of that City, but, at the Time of his Election, Cardinal Biſhop of *Oſtia*. He was created Cardinal by *Paul* III. in 1536, and, to ſhew his Gratitude, aſſumed the Name of his Benefactor, ſtiling himſelf *PAUL* IV.---Nothing could equal the Pride and Arrogance of this haughty and impetuous Pope. In the very Beginning of his Pontificate he quarrelled both with the Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, on Account of the *Religious Peace*, as it is commonly called, concluded on the 25th of *September* of the preſent Year 1555, in the famous Diet of *Augſburg*. For by the Articles of that Peace the Subjects of the Empire were allowed to judge for themſelves in Matters of Religion, and full Liberty was granted to all to conform to that Church which they thought the pureſt, and the moſt agreeable to the true Spirit of Chriſtianity [c]. This Peace, and the Protection granted, by the Duke of *Alva*, Viceroy of *Naples*, to the *Colonna* Family, which this furious Pope had reſolved to extirpate, provoked him to ſuch a Degree, that he invited the *French* to the Conqueſt of *Naples*, and aſſiſted them, in that Undertaking, with all the Forces of the Church. But the Two famous Victories gained over the *French* at *St. Quintin* and *Gravelines*, obliged their King to recall his Troops out of *Italy*, and the Pope to conclude a diſadvantageous and diſhonourable Peace [d]. In 1557 and 1558 *Paul* quarrelled at the ſame time with his Ally *Henry* II. of *France*, and with *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, with the former, for ſomewhat abating the Perſecution

1555. Year of Chriſt 1555. *PAUL* IV. *the* 221*ſt Biſhop of* Rome.

Quarrels with the Emperor and Ferdinand, *and why.*

Invites the French *to the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of* Naples.

c Moſheim, l. 4. c. 4, ſect. 1.

d Thuan. l. 27. Mezerai, tom. 4. Giannon. in Hiſt. Civil di Napoli, l. 33. c. 1.

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Invites the French *to the Conqueſt of the Kingdom of* Naples.

c Moſheim, l. 4. c. 4, ſect. 1.

d Thuan. l. 27. Mezerai, tom. 4. Giannon. in Hiſt. Civil di Napoli, l. 33. c. 1.

Year of Christ 1559

againſt his Proteſtant Subjects, with the latter for accepting with his Conſent the Imperial Crown, reſigned to him, with the Approbation of the Electoral College, by *Charles* his Brother.---This Pope, in the cloſe of his Life, gave a remarkable Inſtance of his Severity in puniſhing Crimes without Diſtinction of Perſons. For being made acquainted with the many Enormities, of which his Nephews, Cardinal *Caraffa*, the Duke of *Pagliano*, and the Marquis of *Montebello* were guilty, he turned them out of their Employments, drove them from *Rome*, with their whole Families, and forbad them, upon Pain of Death, ever again to ſet Foot in that City [e]. He died on the 18th of *Auguſt* 1559, when he had lived Eighty-three Years, and governed the Church Four Years Two Months and Twenty-ſeven Days. I find nothing laid to the Charge of this Pope but an exceſſive Severity, and a Zeal, at this Time very unſeaſonable, to aſſert the uſurped Prerogatives and Claims of his See. He was univerſally hated by the People of *Rome*; and they no ſooner heard, that his Recovery was deſpaired of, than they roſe in a tumultuous Manner, and flying to the Capitol, ſtruck off the Head of a Statue erected to him there but Three Months before, dragged it with a thouſand Inſults through all the public Streets of the City, and even applauded with loud Acclamations a *Jew*, who had the Boldneſs to put upon the Head of the Statue the yellow Hat, which this Pope had ordered all of that Nation to wear, and they wear it to this Day throughout the whole State of the Church. The Populace having thus vented their Rage upon the Statue, crowded to the Priſon of the Inquiſition, broke open the Doors, releaſed 1700 Priſoners only requiring them to ſwear that they were good Catholics, and then ſet fire to the

His Severity towards his Nephews.

His Death.

Year of Christ 1559.

His Character.

Hated by the Roman People, and inſulted after his Death.

e Magius, et Caraccius in vit. Paul. IV. F. Paul et Pallavicin. Hiſt. Concil. Trident.

Building,

Building, which ſoon reduced it to Aſhes with all the Proceſſes, Papers, and Records of that Court. They did not ſtop here, but ſpreading themſelves all over the City, broke or defaced every Monument bearing the Name of *Caraffa*, or the Arms of that Family [f]. The mutilated Statue being accidentally found, and dug up in 1708, *Clement* XI. then Pope, cauſed it to be reſtored, and placed again in the Capitol with the following Inſcription on the Pedeſtal. Year of Chriſt 1559.

Paulo IV. Pont. Max.
Scelerum. Vindici integerrimo
Catholicæ Fidei acerrimo Propugnatori.
Statuam olim a S. P. R. in Capitolio erectam
Ac diu obſcuro loco jacentem
Clemens XI. Pont. Max.
Reſtitui juſſit
Ann. Salut. MDCCVIII.

The Death of *Paul* IV. was followed by a Vacancy of Four Months and Seven Days, occaſioned by the Intrigues of the different Parties. But on the 28th of *December* they all unanimouſly concurred in the Election of *John Angelo de Medicis*, Cardinal Preſbyter of *St. Priſca*, who was crowned on the 6th of the following *January* 1560, and called himſelf *PIUS* IV. He was a Native of *Milan*, come of a Family remotely, if at all, related to the illuſtrious Family reigning at *Florence*, was created Cardinal by *Paul* III. in 1549, and had acquired under that Pope and his Succeſſor the Reputation of a Man of great Parts, and no leſs Integrity. He began his Pontificate with granting a general Pardon to all, who had been concerned in the late Riot. But ſo many and ſo enormous were the Crimes laid to the Charge of the deceaſed

PIUS IV. *the* 222*d Biſhop of* Rome. *His Election.* Year of Chriſt 1560.

[f] Thuanus, l. 23. F. Paul. Hiſt. l. 5. Mezerai, tom. 5.

Year of Christ 1560.

Pope's Nephews, that he could not help calling them to an Account. They were accordingly tried, and, being found guilty, condemned to forfeit their Lives as well as their ill-acquired Wealth. The Cardinal was ſtrangled, and his Two Brothers, the Duke of *Pagliano* and the Marquis of *Monte-bello*, were beheaded, with ſeveral other Perſons of Rank, their Accomplices [g].-----In the Conclave the Cardinals had laid an Obligation on the future Pope to reſtore the Council, which had been ſuſpended, as has been ſaid above. With this Oligation the Pope was no ways inclined to comply; but not being able to withſtand the preſſing Inſtances of the new Emperor *Ferdinand*, of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and moſt other Catholic States, he took off the Suſpenſion, and the Council was opened, or rather began to be continued, on the 18th of *January* 1562, and ſat from that Time till the 3d of *December* 1563, when the 25th or laſt Seſſion was held. The Pope by a Bull, dated the 26th of *January* 1564, confirmed all the Definitions and Decrees, without Exception, that had paſſed in that Aſſembly, during the Pontificate of his Two Predeceſſors, and his own; and well he might, as they had been all previouſly communicated to him, and approved by his Privy Council at *Rome* [h]. The Decrees of this Council were received in ſome Catholic Countries without any Limitation whatever, but in *Spain* and all the *Spaniſh* Dominions with the Clauſe, *Saving the Rights of the Crown, and the Privileges of the Subjects*, but in *France* the Decrees, relating to Diſcipline and the Government of the Church, have been ſtrenuouſly oppoſed and rejected to this Day, as derogatory to the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, and the Rights of the Crown.---In 1564 Pope *Pius* publiſhed a thundering Monitory againſt *Joan d'Albret*, Queen of *Navarre*, accuſed

The late Pope's Nephews tried, condemned, and executed.

The Council of Trent *opened again*

Year of Chriſt 1562.

How received by the Catholic Princes.

Pius's *Monitory againſt* Joan *Queen of* Navarre.

[g] Onuph. in vit. Pii IV. [h] F. Paul. Hiſt. l. 8.

of

of *Calviniſm*, ſummoning her to appear, in Perſon, within Six Months, before the Tribunal of the Holy Inquiſition at *Rome*, on Pain of forfeiting her Crown, her Kingdom, and all her Dominions. But the *French* King, *Charles* IX. highly provoked at the Preſumption of the Pope in ſummoning to *Rome* the Widow, and Mother of the Two firſt Princes of the Blood Royal of *France*, obliged him to ſuppreſs the Monitory, and drop the Proſecution [i]. By this Pope was granted, at the preſſing Inſtances of the Emperor *Maximilian* II. the Uſe of the Cup to the Laity of *Auſtria* and *Bohemia*. But his Holineſs could, by no Means, be prevailed upon to conſent to the Marriage of the Prieſts, though no leſs earneſtly requeſted by the Emperor, and the other Catholic Princes of *Germany*, declaring, that they could no longer bear with the impure Celibacy of the Clergy [k]. The Bull, granting the Uſe of the Cup as above, is dated at *Rome* the 16th of *April* 1564.------*Pius* died on the 9th of *December* of the following Year, having preſided in the See Six Years, wanting Seventeen Days. *Onuphrius*, who was intimately acquainted with him, and had the Honour of being frequently admitted to his Table, gives him the following Character, that he was, while Cardinal, or ſeemed to be, poſſeſſed of every Virtue, that could render him worthy of the high Station, to which he was raiſed, but that he was no ſooner raiſed to it, than he abandoned himſelf, without Reſtraint, to all the oppoſite Vices, ſticking at nothing to accumulate Wealth, wherewithal to enrich and aggrandize his Relations and Nephews [l].

Year of Chriſt 1562.

Grants the Uſe of the Cup to the Laity of Auſtria *and* Bohemia.

Year of Chriſt 1564.

His Death.

Year of Chriſt 1565.

His Character.

Upon the Demiſe of *Pius* IV. *Michael Ghiſlieri*, Cardinal of *St. Mary ſuper Minervam*, was choſen

PIUS V. *the* 223*d Biſhop of* Rome.

i. Varillas Hiſt. de Charles IX. tom 2. laudibus, Pii IV. p. 73. Thuan. Hiſt. l. 36. in vit. Pii IV.

k Leonardi de

l Onuph.

Year of Christ 1566. on the 8th of *January* 1566, and crowned on the 17th of the same Month, when he took the Name of *PIUS* V. He was a Native of *Boschi*, a small Town in the Territory of *Alessandria della Paglia*, was come of an obscure Family, and had, from his early Years, embraced a religious Life in the Order of *St. Dominic*. In 1557 he was created Cardinal by *Paul* IV. and appointed Commissary General of the Court of Inquisition at *Rome*. That Office he exercised with the utmost Barbarity, and being actuated by the same persecuting Spirit when raised to the Popedom, he spared none, who were but suspected of approving the new Doctrine.

A furious Persecutor of pretended Heretics. *Peter Carnesecchi*, a Man of Distinction in *Florence*, was, by his Order, condemned to the Flames, being convicted of corresponding with some of the Reformed Religion in *Germany*, and in *Italy* with *Victoria Colonna*, and *Julia Gonzaga*, who were both suspected of Heresy. *Antonius Palearius*, One of the best Writers of his Age, underwent the same Fate, for saying, that in some Things the *Lutherans* were excusable, and that the Inquisition was the Bane of all Learning [m].--*Pius*, not satisfied with thus clearing *Italy* of all Persons, whose Faith was suspected, encouraged *Charles* the IX. of *France* to make War upon his Protestant Subjects, and, in order to put him in a Condition of utterly extirpating them, he sent the Ecclesiastical Army to join the King's, and by a Bull, dated at *Rome* the 24th of *November* 1568, allowed the Estates of the *Gallican* Church to be alienated, to the Amount of 150,000 Crowns of yearly Revenue, for carrying on this holy War. [n]------- This Pope exerted no less Zeal against the common Enemy of the Christian Name, and with much better Success, than against the pretended Heretics. For by his Means was concluded an Alliance between himself, the *Venetians*, and *Philip* of *Spain*;

Signal Victory gained by the Christian Fleet over that of the Turks.

Erects the Dutchy of Florence *into a Grand Dutchy.*

Year of Christ 1569.

m Thuan. l. 39. Hieron. Catena in vit. Pii. V. n Thuan. l. 40. Varillas vie de Charles IX. tom. 2.

and

and One of the moſt ſignal Victories, that we read of in Hiſtory, was gained by the Chriſtian Fleet over that of the Infidels [o].---------In 1569 *Pius* beſtowed the Title of *Grand Duke of Tuſcany* upon *Coſimus de Medicis*, Duke of *Florence*, who went to *Rome* to receive the Crown at his Holineſs's Hands. But, as *Tuſcany* was a Fief of the Empire, *Maximilian* highly reſented the Preſumption of the Pope in granting that Title, and would never acknowlege it [p]. ---On the 25th of *February* of the ſame Year, *Pius* thundered out a Bull of Excommunication againſt our excellent Queen *Elizabeth*, abſolved her Subjects from all Subjection to her, and damned all, who ſhould thenceforth acknowledge or obey her. This Bull was privately put up at the Gate of the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace. But the Commotions it raiſed were ſoon quell'd, and they, who raiſed them, made to undergo the Puniſhment their Treaſon deſerved, as is related at length by all our Hiſtorians. ------*Pius* died on the 1ſt Day of *May* 1572, when he had ſat in the See Six Years Three Months and Twenty-three Days. He was by Principle, a Principle which he had imbibed in the horrid School of the Inquiſition, as bloody a Perſecutor as a *Nero* or a *Dioclesian*, and a moſt zealous Aſſertor of the pretended Privileges of his See. But in all other Reſpects he led a moſt irreproachable Life, and was therefore beatified by *Clement* VIII. and canonized in 1712 by *Clement* XI. By *Pius* V. was iſſued, in 1567, the famous Bull *In Cœna Domini*, which is every Year publiſhed on *Maunday-Thurſday* at *Rome*. It is calculated to aſcertain the extravagant Claims of the Pope, to deprive the Princes of the Sovereignty of their Dominions, and make them and their Subjects entirely dependent on the Will of his Holineſs. But that Bull has been no-where received to this Day except in

Year of Chriſt 1569.

Excommunicates Queen Elizabeth. He dies.

Year of Chriſt 1572.

He dies.

His Character.

Author of the famous Bull In Cœna Domini.

[o] See Du Verdier Abrege de l'Hiſt. de Turos, tom. 3.

[p] Thuanus, ibid. et Maffei in vit. Pii V.

Year of Christ 1572.

Italy. The Popes dare no longer exert again Sovereign Princes the Power, of which they made ſo unhallowed an Uſe in the dark Ages. But their publiſhing yearly that Bull, excommunicating Princes in ſundry Caſes, plainly ſhews, that they ſtill claim the ſame Power.

GREGORY XIII. the 224th Biſhop of Rome His Election

The Cardinals had ſcarce been ſhut up Five Hours in the Conclave, when, by the Intrigues and the Intereſt of Cardinal *Granville*, then Viceroy of *Naples*, *Hugh Buoncompagno*, Cardinal of *St. Sixtus*, was unanimouſly elected. His Election fell on the 13th of *May*, and he was crowned on the 25th of the ſame Month 1572, taking, on that Occaſion, the Name of *GREGORY* XIII. He had acquitted himſelf with great Integrity, and general Satisfaction, in different Employments under *Paul* III. *Julius* III. *Paul* IV. and *Pius* IV. and was, in 1565, preferred by the latter to the Dignity of Cardinal.

An Enemy to all Strife and Contention.

---*Gregory*'s firſt Care after his Exaltation, was to purſue the War againſt the common Enemy. But after ſome fruitleſs Attempts, the *Venetians*, departing from the Alliance, concluded a Truce with the Infidels. This good Pope was an Enemy to all Strife and Contention, as appears from the Two following Facts.

Two Inſtances of his pacific Diſpoſition.

A Criminal who had robbed a Church in *Naples*, was apprehended by the Officers of the Archbiſhop, pretending that it belonged to him to take Cognizance of the Crime of Sacrilege. But, as the Criminal was a Layman, the Viceroy Cardinal *Granville*, inſiſted upon his being tried and puniſhed by him, and upon the Archbiſhop's refuſing to deliver him up, he cauſed his Priſon to be broke open, the Criminal to be taken from thence, and, as ſoon as found guilty to be publickly hanged. The Archbiſhop ordered his Vicar to excommunicate all, who were any-ways concerned in executing the Viceroy's Orders; which was done accordingly, and the Sentence was poſted up in all public Places of the City. But the Cardinal ordered all

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the Copies of it to be daubed over with Ink, ordered the Vicar to quit the City of *Naples* within Twenty-four Hours, and the Kingdom as ſoon as he poſſibly could, impriſoned all the Archbiſhop's Officers, and ſequeſtered all his Revenues, even his Patrimonial. The good-natured Pope, inſtead of eſpouſing the Cauſe of the Archbiſhop, privately agreed with the Cardinal, that the Affair ſhould be dropt, and all Things reſtored to the Condition they were in, before the Quarrel broke out [q]. We have another remarkable Inſtance of *Gregory*'s pacific Diſpoſition in an Affair of much greater Importance, that of the Succeſſion to the Kingdom of *Portugal*. For *Sebaſtian*, King of that Country, being cut off, with the Flower of his Nobility, in his unhappy Expedition into *Africa*, many Pretenders to that Crown ſtarted up, as *Sebaſtian* died without Iſſue, and, among the Reſt, *Philip* of *Spain* and the Pope. *Philip* maintained, that he was the ſole lawful Heir to the deceaſed King, and the Pope that the Kingdom was a Fief of the Church, that as ſuch it was devolved to the Apoſtolic See, and conſequently that he was at Liberty to keep it, or diſpoſe of it to whom he pleaſed. But *Philip*, paying no Regard to the Claims and Remonſtrances of the Pope, ordered the famous Duke of *Alba* to enter the Kingdom of *Portugal* at the Head of 30,000 Men, who ſoon reduced the whole Country. Of this *Gregory* was no ſooner informed, than apprehending, that to quarrel at this Time with ſo powerful a Prince might prove highly prejudicial to the Catholic Cauſe, he ordered Cardinal *Riario*, whom he had ſent to divert the King from that Undertaking, to congratulate him, in his Name, upon the Succeſs

Year of Chriſt 1572.

[q] Giannoni Hiſt. di Nepoli. l. 34. c. 1

that

Year of Chriſt 1582.

The Reformation of the Calender in 1582 *owing to* Gregory.

that had attended his Arms in carrying it on [r].—We are indebted to this Pope for the new Calender: For it was in his Pontificate, and by his Order, that the Calender was rectified, and the *New-Stile*, as they call it, introduced. It firſt took Place in the Month of *October* 1582, and was immediately received in all Catholick Countries, but rejected by the Proteſtants, chuſing rather to continue in their Error, than to be ſet right by the Pope. It has been adopted, within theſe few Years, hy the *Britiſh* Parliament, and now, if I miſtake not, it univerſally prevails.—*Gregory* is charged by ſome with having approved the Maſſacre at *Paris*; and indeed it is true, that great Rejoicings were made, on that Occaſion, at *Rome*; but it does not appear that they were made by his Order, or with his Conſent.

He receives a ſolemn Embaſſy from Japan.

Year of Chriſt 1585.

—This Pope received, a little before his Death, a ſolemn Embaſſy from Three Princes, or Kings, of the Iſlands of *Japan*, where the Labours of the *Roman* Miſſionaries, eſpecially the Jeſuits, were crowned with amazing Succeſs. The Embaſſadors, Four in Number, and all young Men of the Firſt Rank, were ſent by their reſpective Sovereigns, who had embraced the Chriſtian Religion, to pay their Obeiſance to the Pope. They embarked at *Nangaſagui* in the Iſland of *Bungo* on the 20th of *February* 1582, being attended by Father *Valignani*, a Jeſuit, but they did not reach *Rome* till the 22d of *March* 1585. They were received at the Gate by the Senate, the Magiſtrates, and all the Nobility, and conducted, amidſt the loud Acclamations of People of all Ranks, to the Houſe of the profeſſed Jeſuits, where they lodged during their Stay at *Rome*, and were moſt magnificently entertained at the Expence of the Pope. The next Day they went with the ſame Attendance to wait on the Pope, who received them, in a full

[r] Bellegarde Hiſt. General d'Eſpagne, tom. 7. Amelot du la Houſſaye Mem. Polit. tom. 2.

Conſiſtory,

Conſiſtory, with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect and Eſteem. They kiſſed his Holineſs's Foot with the greateſt Submiſſion and Modeſty, and delivered to him, on their Knees, the Letters, which they were charged with by the Princes, who ſent them. *Gregory* ordered the *Te Deum*, &c. to be ſung in all the Churches of *Rome*, and Rejoicings to be made throughout the City for ſeveral Days together [s]. Year of Chriſt 1585

But their Joy was ſoon damped and turned into Grief by the unexpected Death of the Pope, who died of a Quinſey on the 10th of *April* of the preſent Year 1585, after a Pontificate of Thirteen Years and One Month, wanting Three Days [t]. He was of a pacifick Diſpoſition, utterly averſe to all violent Meaſures, and as much beloved for the Mildneſs of his Government, as his Two immediate Predeceſſors were hated for the Severity of theirs. Gregory's *Death and Character.*

He was a great Friend to the Jeſuits, granted them a great many Privileges, built for their Uſe and richly endowed the *Roman* College, One of the moſt ſtately Edifices this Day in all *Rome*, founded and endowed no fewer than Twenty-ſeven Seminaries in different Parts of the World, Four even in *Japan*, for the Inſtruction of Youth in the *Roman* Catholic Religion; and all under the Direction of the Jeſuits. I find nothing laid to the Charge of this Pope, but his having had a natural Son before he was Cardinal, *John Buoncompagno*, whom he created Cardinal as ſoon as he was preferred to the Popedom, and his raiſing him, as well as the Reſt of his Relations, to the Firſt Honours both in the State and the Church [u]. *The Founder of ſeveral Colleges, all under the Direction of the* Jeſuits. *Not free from Nepotiſm.*

In the Room of *Gregory* was elected on the 24th of *April*, and crowned on the 1ſt of *May* of the preſent Year 1585, *Felix Peretti*, Cardinal of *St.* *SIXTUS V. the 225th Biſhop of* Rome.

[s] Vareni. Deſcript. Japan. l. 3. Cicarella in vit. Greg. XIII. Bartoli Hiſt. di. Japan. l. 4. [t] Cicaaell. in vit.

[u] See Ciappi et Maffei vit. Greg. XIII.

Jerome,

Year of Christ 1585.

His Birth, Education, Preferment, &c.

Jerome, who took the Name of *SIXTUS* V. He was a Native of *Le Grotte*, a Village in the *March of Ancona*, and brought up at *Montalto*, another Village in the ſame Province. His Father was by Profeſſion a Vine-dreſſer, his Mother of as mean a Condition, and both ſo poor, that not being able to maintain him, they placed him, when Nine Years old, with a Farmer of the ſame Village to look after his Swine. As he was thus employed One Day in the Fields, a *Franciſcan* Friar, who was going to *Aſcoli*, and had miſſed his Way, called him to him to know which was the right Road to that City. *Peretti* offered to go along with him, and his Offer being accepted, the Friar was ſo charmed with his civil and obliging Behaviour, far above that of a Swine-herd, that he took him with him to the Convent, as he expreſſed, on the Road, a great Deſire of embracing a religious Life, and recommended him to the Guardian. His Anſwers to the Queſtions, put to him by the Guardian, were ſo ſatisfactory, that he was admitted into the Convent, in the Quality of a Servant, or a Lay-brother, till he had learnt the Rudiments of the *Latin* Tongue, which One of the Friars was appointed to teach him. Having acquired, in Two Years Time, a ſufficient Knowledge of that Language, he was received into the Order, and there purſued his other Studies, eſpecially the Study of Divinity, with ſuch Succeſs, that in a few Years he was preferred to the Degree of Doctor in that Faculty. In Proceſs of Time he was raiſed to the Firſt Employments of the Order; and having artfully inſinuated himſelf into the Favour of *Pius* V. he was by him firſt created Biſhop of *St. Agatha*, and afterwards Cardinal of *St. Jerome*; but he is commonly called Cardinal *Montalto* from the Place of his Education. He was no ſooner veſted with that Dignity, than, depending upon the good Fortune that had hitherto attended

attended him, he began to aſpire at the Popedom. As for the various Artifices, which *Sixtus* is ſaid to have made uſe of to cloak his Ambition, and diſguiſe his real Temper, in order to attain to that Dignity, I ſhall refer the Reader to the well-known *Hiſtory of Pope* Sixtus V. by *Gregorio Leti*, and confine myſelf to a brief Account of the moſt remarkable Tranſactions of his Pontificate.---*Sixtus* found the whole Eccleſiaſtical State over-run with Robbers, Aſſaſſins, and Banditti; which was chiefly owing to the Mildneſs of the late Pope's Government. But the new Pope, by the exceſſive Rigor he exerted againſt them, as well as againſt thoſe who employed or protected them, ſoon obliged them to quit his Dominions, and fly for Shelter to the neighbouring States. It was cuſtomary at the Election of a new Pope to throw open the public Priſons, and ſet all the Priſoners at Liberty. But *Sixtus*, inſtead of complying with that Cuſtom, ordered, as ſoon as he was crowned, Four Perſons, upon whom prohibited Arms had been found a few Days before his Election, to be hanged. There is not One ſingle Inſtance of his pardoning a Criminal; but many Inſtances occur of his depoſing, and other ways puniſhing ſuch of the Judges, as had ſhewn any Mercy; nay, he declared it criminal to intercede for a Criminal, and ordered all, who interpoſed in Behalf of a Convict, to be treated as his Accomplices. Thus was an entire Stop put to the Murders and Robberies, that were become ſo frequent in the late Pontificate, and were either connived at, or but ſlightly puniſhed [w].----*Sixtus* found, at his Acceſſion to the Chair, the Kingdom of *France* involved in the utmoſt Confuſion on Account of the League, formed there by the Catholic Party, with the Duke of

Year of Chriſt 1585.

Clears the State of Robbers, Aſſaſſins, and Banditti.

His Severity againſt Criminals.

[w] Leli, l. 5. Maffei Hiſt. ab exceſſu Greg. XIII. l. 1. Cicarella in vit. Sixti V.

Guiſe

Year of Christ 1585.

Guiſe at their Head, chiefly to exclude *Henry*, King of *Navarre*,, from that Crown. Their Agents at *Rome* ſpared no Pains to gain over the Pope to their Party. But *Sixtus*, looking upon the League as a dangerous Conſpiracy, calculated to extirpate the Royal Family, as well as the Proteſtant Religion, could by no Means be prevailed upon to countenance it, or be concerned any-ways in it. However, he thought it incumbent upon him to purſue ſuch Meaſures, as he ſhould judge proper or neceſſary to prevent the eſtabliſhing of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*, and its becoming the reigning Religion by the Promotion of an heretical Prince to the Throne. He therefore publiſhed a Bull againſt *Henry heretofore* King of *Navarre*, and his Brother, *ſtiled* Prince of *Conde*, excommunicating both theſe Princes, depriving them and their Heirs of all their Eſtates, and particularly of the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *France*, and not only abſolving their Subjects from the Oath of Allegiance, but involving in the ſame Sentence all, who acknowledged or obeyed them. This Bull is dated the 10th of *September* 1585, and was ſigned by Twenty-five Cardinals. The King of *Navarre* wanted not Friends at *Rome*; and to be revenged on the Pope, he got a Paper ſet up, by their Means, on the very Gates of the *Vatican* Palace, wherein he ſhewed the Injuſtice and Nullity of the Sentence, appealed from the Pope to a General Council, and to the Parliament, and implored the Aſſiſtance of all ſovereign Princes, as in a Cauſe common to them all. We are told that *Sixtus*, inſtead of reſenting this Inſult, commended the King for his Reſolution and Intrepidity, and that he was frequently heard to ſay, that he had no great Eſteem for any of the Chriſtian Princes, except *Henry* of *Navarre*, and *Elizabeth* of *England*, whoſe Prudence, Courage, and Steadineſs he could

Would grant no Aſſiſtance to the Catholic League in France.

Excommunicates Henry *King of* Navarre.

The King's Conduct on that Occaſion.

[x] Cayet Dialogue, tom. 2.

not

not but admire.——*Sixtus* did not approve, as has been ſaid, of the Catholic League in *France*, but, on the contrary, looked upon it as a dangerous Conſpiracy; and therefore took no Notice of the Death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, when ſlain, as it is well known, by the King's Order. But what provoked his Holineſs beyond all Meaſure againſt the King, *Henry* III. was his cauſing the Cardinal of *Guiſe* to be killed the very next Day, and the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the Archbiſhop of *Lions*, to be arreſted and cloſely confined. This *Sixtus* no ſooner underſtood, than, fired at ſo open a Violation of the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity, he ſent for the *French* Embaſſador, the Marquis *Piſani*, and deſired him, in great Wrath, to let his Maſter know, that he was no longer a poor Friar, but ſovereign Pontiff, ready to defend, coſt what Blood and Treaſure it would, the Honour and Rights of the Church. The *French* Embaſſador, and the King's other Friends at *Rome*, did all in their Power to appeaſe the Pope, and excuſe the King's Conduct. But *Sixtus*, deaf to all they could offer, iſſued, on the 5th of *May* 1589, a Monitory, requiring and commanding the King to ſet the Cardinal and the Archbiſhop at Liberty within Ten Days after the Monitory was notified to him, and declaring him excommunicated, if he did not comply within the prefixed Term. The King was determined to aſſert his Right of puniſhing his Rebel Subjects, of what Condition ſoever, as he ſhould think fit. But he was, in the mean time, barbarouſly murdered, and by his Death the fatal Conſequences were prevented, that would, at ſo critical a Juncture, have attended a Rupture between him, and ſo aſſuming and reſolute a Pope y. In *Henry* III. ended the Race of *Valois*, and Room was made for the Family of *Bourbon* in the Perſon

Year of Chriſt 1585.

Monitory iſſued by Sixtus *againſt* Henry III. *for the Murder of the Cardinal of* Guiſe, *&c.*

Year of Chriſt 1589.

Upon the Death of Henry III. Sixtus *refuſes to confirm the Sentence againſt the King of* Navarre.

y Mezerai Abrege Chron. tom. 5. Thuan. Hiſt. l. 96.

of

Year of Christ 1589. of *Henry*, King of *Navarre*, deſcended from *Robert*, Lord of *Bourbon*, the Fifth and Laſt Son of *Lewis* IX. or, as he is commonly called, *St. Lewis*. *Sixtus* had excommunicated that Prince, and deprived him of the Right of Succeſſion to the Crown, as has been ſaid. But being preſſed by the Agents of the League to renew that Sentence upon the Death of the King, he declined it, ſaying, that no Prince was more worthy of a Crown, and that he would order public Prayers to be put up for his Converſion.----*Sixtus* entertained no ſmall Jealouſy of the overgrown Power of *Philip* of *Spain*, and was therefore glad to keep on good Terms with Queen *Elizabeth*, declining, under various Pretences, to lend any Aſſiſtance to *Philip* againſt her, beſides his uſeleſs Anathemas, which he could not well refuſe, and which he knew would do the Queen very little Hurt.----*Sixtus* had, from the very Beginning of his Pontificate, formed a Deſign of conquering the Kingdom of *Naples*, and uniting it to the Dominions of the Church. This Deſign he reſolved to carry into Execution upon the Firſt News he received of the total Defeat of the *Spaniſh* Armada in 1588, and ordered with that View 25,000 Men to be raiſed with all poſſible Expedition. But in the mean time Death put an End to all his Deſigns on the 27th of *Auguſt* 1590, when he had governed the Church Five Years Four Months and Three Days. His Death at this Juncture gave Occaſion to ſuſpect, that it was not natural.- --*Sixtus* V. is repreſented by all, who ſpeak of him, as a Man of the greateſt Abilities, that ever was raiſed to the Chair, as One, who in Magnificence, Intrepidity, and Strength of Mind, ſurpaſſed by far all his Predeceſſors. He had a thorough Knowledge of the Intereſts of his See, and choſe the moſt effectual Means to promote them. He was a moſt zealous Aſſertor of the Pontifical Authority, and, on ſeveral Occaſions, ſhewed

Declines aſſiſting King Philip *againſt Queen* Elizabeth.

Sixtus *dies.* Year of Christ 1590.

His Character.

ſhewed himſelf ready to maintain it even at the Expence of Religion itſelf.----The City of *Rome* owes more to *Sixtus* alone than to all his Predeceſſors together, for the many ſtately Edifices, new Streets, Aqueducts, and other Ornaments, with which he improved and beautified it above all the Cities of the known World. The Four famous Obeliſks, that had lain many Ages buried under Ground, were, by his Order, and at his Expence, dug up and erected in the Places where they ſtill ſtand, *viz.* in the great Squares before the Churches of *St. Peter*, of *St. Mary the Greater*, of *St. John Lateran*, and *St. Mary del Popolo*. A great Number of Hands were employed for a whole Twelvemonth, under the Direction of the celebrated Architect *Dominico Fontana*, in digging up the firſt of theſe Obeliſks, in tranſporting it from the Place, where it lay buried, and erecting it anew. It was dedicated by *Auguſtus*, in whoſe Time it was brought out of *Egypt*, to the *Sun*, but by *Sixtus*, to the *Croſs*. The reſtoring of theſe Four Obeliſks coſt an immenſe Sum of Money. But *Sixtus* grudged no Expences to tranſmit his Name to Poſterity. There is ſcarce a Street in all *Rome* that cannot ſhew ſome noble Monuments of this Pope's Munificence. By him were raiſed from the Foundations, and brought to the State, they are ſtill to be ſeen, in the *Lateran* Palace, ſpacious enough to lodge conveniently the Pope himſelf, and the whole College of Cardinals, the preſent *Vatican* Library with all the Buildings annexed to it, the Hoſpital near *Ponte Siſto*, capable of receiving, and ſufficiently endowed to maintain 2000 Perſons, whom old Age or Infirmities had rendered incapable of earning their Bread, and many other moſt ſumptuous Edifices ſtill to be ſeen in every Quarter of *Rome*. But the moſt ſtupendous of all *Sixtus*'s Works was his collecting a great Number of ſmall Springs into One Stream, at the Diſtance of Thir-

Year of Chriſt 1590.

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His many publick Works to improve the Splendor of Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1590.

teen Miles from *Rome*, and building an Aqueduct to convey them to Mount *Quirinal*, now *Monte Cavallo*, that ſtood in great Want of that neceſſary Commodity. This great Work *Sixtus* undertook in Spite of the many Difficulties that were urged, as quite unſurmountable, againſt it; and employing conſtantly Two Thouſand Workmen, and often Three and Four Thouſand, he completed it in the Space of Eighteen Months, to the inexpreſſible Joy of all the Inhabitants of that Quarter of the City. The magnificent Temple of the Virgin *Mary* at *Loreto* was likewiſe the Work of this extraordinary Pope; and he had begun another, no leſs magnificent, at *Montalto*, the Place where he was educated, but the Foundations, that are ſtill to be ſeen, were ſcarce laid, when the Death of the Founder put a Stop to that Undertaking [z]. In theſe public Works *Sixtus* is ſaid to have expended ſome Millions; and at his Death he left Five Millions of Crowns in the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, requiring his Succeſſors, by a ſpecial Bull, to make uſe of them only for the Service of the Church againſt the *Turks* and Heretics, or to relieve the People in the Time of a Famine or Plague.---*Sixtus* was not more free from Nepotiſm than any of his Predeceſſors. His Siſter *Camilla* he raiſed to the Rank of a Princeſs. She had by her Daughter Two Grand-Sons, and as many Grand-Daughters. One of her Grand-Sons he preferred, though yet very young, to the Dignity of Cardinal, under the Name of Cardinal *Montalto*, and allowed him the yearly Income of One Hundred Thouſand Crowns. The other he raiſed to the firſt and moſt lucrative Employments of the State, and left him ſeveral Lordſhips at his Death, obliging him to take the Name of *Peretti*. His Two Grand-Nieces he married, with great Fortunes, into the *Orſini* and *Co-*

Leaves Five Millions at his Death.

His Nepotiſm.

[z] See Bocca de Sixti Ædificiis.

lonna

Ionna Families, the Two First Families in *Rome*. ---He fixed the Number of Cardinals at Seventy, and ordered, by a special Bull, that Four of that Number, at least, should be Doctors of Divinity, chosen out of the Religious Orders.---He was no Friend to the *Jesuits*, could not bear that they should be called by that Name, as if their Order had been founded by *Jesus* himself, was for having them stiled *Ignatians*, from the Name of their Founder *Ignatius* [a].---I shall conclude with observing that the Life of this extraordinary Pope has been written, with great Exactness, by *Casimir Teinpesti*, and published at *Rome* 1755, in Two Volumes, *Quarto*. As for his Life by *Gregorio Leti*, it has more of the Romance than of the true History, and I have therefore advanced nothing upon his Authority alone.

Year of Christ 1590.

Fixes the Number of Cardinals at Seventy.

Was no Friend to the Jesuits.

In the Room of *Sixtus* was chosen, on the 27th of *September*, *John Baptist Castagna*, Cardinal of *St. Marcellus*, a *Roman* by Birth, but of a *Genoese* Family. He took the Name of *URBAN* VII. and died on the Twelfth Day of his Pontificate, the 15th of *September* of the present Year [b].

URBIN VII. *the 226th Bishop of* Rome.

Urban was succeeded by *Nicholas Sfondrati*, Cardinal of *St. Cecilia*, under the Name of *GREGORY* XIV. He was elected on the 5th of *December*, and crowned on the 18th of the same Month. As he was by Birth a *Milanese*, and consequently a Subject of *Philip* of *Spain*, to gratify that Prince he declared for the Catholic League in *France*, excommunicated King *Henry*, under the Name of *Henry of Bourbon*, and assisted his Enemies, to the utmost of his Power, both with Men and with Money. But in *France* his Bull was declared scandalous, seditios, contrary to the Canons and the Rights of

GREGORY the 227th Bishop of Rome.

Declares for the League, excommunicates Henry IV. *and dies.*

Year of Christ 1591.

[a] See Robardi Gesta Quinquenalia Sixti V. et Teinpesti Storia della Vita e Geste di Sisto Quinto. [b] Arrighi vit. Urbani VII.

Year of Christ 1591

the *Gallican* Church, and ordered to be torn and publicly burnt by the Hands of the common Executioner [c]. But his Time was ſhort; for he died on the 15th of *October* 1591, after a Pontificate of Ten Months aud Ten Days [d].

INNOCENT IX. *the 228th Biſhop of* Rome.

Upon the Death of *Gregory*, *John Antony Facchinetti*, a Native of *Bologna*, was raiſed to the Chair, on the 29th of *October*, by the Name of *INNOCENT* IX. was crowned on the 12th of *November*, and died on the 30th of *December*.

CLEMENT VIII. *the 229th Biſhop of* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1592.

Hypolitus Aldobrandini, Cardinal of *St. Pancras*, a *Florentine*, ſucceeded under the Name of *CLEMENT* VIII. He was choſen on the 30th of *January* 1592, and crowned on the 2d of *February*.

Three remarkable Events of his Pontificate.

The Pontificate of *Clement* is remarkable chiefly for the Three following Events; the Converſion, Abſolution, and Reconciliation of *Henry* IV. of *France* in 1595 [e]; the Reverſion of the Dutchy of *Ferrara* to the Apoſtolic See upon the Death of the Duke *Alphonſus* II. in 1597, he being the laſt lawful Prince of the Family of *Eſte*; and the Peace, concluded at *Vervins* in 1598, between *France* and *Spain*, by the Mediation of *Clement* [f].

An Account of the famous Controverſy between the Dominicans *and* Jeſuits *concerning Grace, Free Will*, &c.

——The famous Controverſy between the *Jeſuits* and the *Dominicans*, concerning *Grace*, *Free Will*, and *Predeſtination*, aroſe in the Time of this Pope, and was likely to produce fatal Diviſions in the Church. *Lewis Molina*, a *Spaniſh Jeſuit*, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Ebora*, firſt gave Occaſion to it, by a Book, publiſhed in 1588, to ſhew, that the Operations of *Divine Grace* are entirely conſiſtent with the Freedom of *human Will*. In order to that he maintained, that the Decrees of God, relating to the Salvation or Reprobation of Men, are founded

[c] Perefix, Hiſt. Henry IV. Mezerai. tom. 6. Thuan. l. 100.
[d] Arrighi in vit. [e] Oſſat. ep. 32. Thuan, l. 110. Mezerai. tom. 7. [f] Thuan. l. 129. Mezerai. tom. 6. Bellegarde Hiſt. Gener. d'Eſpagne, tom. 7.

upon

upon that Divine and unlimited Knowlege, by which God foreſaw the Merits and Demerits of every Individual. Thus, according to *Molina*, the Divine Decree of the Election or Reprobation, with reſpect to each particular Perſon, is poſterior to and depending upon his foreſeen co-operating or not co-operating with the *ſufficient* Grace afforded to all Men to work out their Salvation. On the other hand, the *Dominicans* aſſerted the *eternal Decrees* of God to be abſolute, arbitrary, and quite independent of any foreſeen Merits or Demerits whatever. This the *Dominicans* pretended to be the true Doctrine of *St. Auſtin*, and of their Leader and Oracle *Thomas Aquinas*; and laying hold of this Opportunity to vent their Rage againſt the *Jeſuits* for the Aſcendant they had gained over them in the Courts of all the Chriſtian Princes of *Europe*, they charged them (for they all embraced the Doctrine of their Brother *Molina*) with renewing the condemned Errors of the *Semipelagians*, and the Alarm of Hereſy was everywhere ſounded againſt them. This theological War was carried on with true theological Fury and Rage till the Year 1594, when *Clement* impoſed Silence on the contending Parties, promiſing to examine himſelf the Points in diſpute. He accordingly appointed a particular Congregation, conſiſting of Three Biſhops and Seven Divines of different Religious Orders, with Cardinal *Madrucci*, Biſhop of *Trent*, at their Head, to hear and weigh the Arguments offered by the oppoſite Parties in favour of their reſpective Opinions. This Congregation was called *De Auxiliis*, or of Aids, on Account of the principal Point in Debate, the Efficacy of the Aids of Divine Grace. As nothing had yet been determined by the Congregation in 1602, the Pope reſolved to preſide at it in Perſon, and accordingly heard both Parties with the greateſt Attention and Patience. But both defended their Cauſe with ſo much Zeal and Dexterity, that *Clement*, wiſely a- Year of Chriſt 1592.

Year of Christ 1592. voiding to make use of his Infallibility, lest he should thereby disoblige either of the Two most learned Orders of the Church, left the final Decision of the Points in dispute to his Successor. He

Clement's *Death.* Year of Christ 1605. died on the 3d of *March* 1605, having presided in the See Thirteen Years One Month and Three Days. *Clement* VIII. is represented by the contemporary Writers as a Man of uncommon Abilities: of great Discretion and Prudence. It was at the pressing Instance of this Pope that the Restoration of the *Jesuits*, who had been banished *France* upon the Murder of *Henry* III. was brought about in 1603 by his Successor *Henry* IV [g].----In *Clement*'s Time a solemn Embassy appeared at *Rome*, with Professions of Obedience from *Gabriel*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*. But that Embassy is looked upon, even by several *Roman* Catholic Writers, as a mere Imposture, or Stratagem of the *Jesuits* to persuade the *Abyssinians* to follow the Example of their Brethren of *Alexandria*, and to submit to the Pope [h].

LEO XI. *the 230th Bishop of* Rome. The See being vacant by the Death of *Clement*, the Cardinals, after some Disagreement between the *Spanish* and the *French* Factions, unanimously concurred in the Election of *Alexander de Medicis*, of the illustrious Family reigning at *Florence*, who took the Name of *LEO* XI. He was elected on the 1st of *April*, was crowned on the 10th, and died on the 26th of the same Month. The famous Cardinal *Baronius* had a strong Party in the Conclave. But the *Spaniards*, exerting all their Interest against him, on Account of some of his Writings, procured his Exclusion [i].

PAUL V. *the 231st Bishop of* Rome. *Leo* was succeeded, on the 16th of *May*, by Cardinal *Camillo Borghese*, who took the Name of *PAUL* V. and was crowned on the 29th of the

g See d'Ossat's Letters. h See Geddes Church History of Alexandria. i Wadding in vit. Leon. XI.

same

ſame Month. His Anceſtors were Perſons of ſome Diſtinction in *Siena*, but he himſelf was a Native of *Rome*. He entertained ſo high an Opinion of the Papal Power and Authority, that he ſuffered himſelf to be publicly ſtiled, *Vice-god upon Earth, the Monarch of Chriſtendom*, and *the Supporter of Papal Omnipotence*. Of his furious Zeal in aſſerting the pretended Privileges and Rights of his See he gave, when ſcarce warm in his Chair, a remarkable Inſtance in his Conteſt with the Republic of *Venice*. This Conteſt aroſe partly from Two Decrees of the Republic, calculated to prevent the immoderate Increaſe of Religious Houſes in their Dominions, and to ſet ſome Bounds to the new Acquiſitions of Wealth made daily by the Religious and Clergy, and partly from their refuſing to deliver up to the Eccleſiaſtical Court Two Eccleſiaſtics, guilty of capital Crimes. *Paul*, highly provoked at ſuch Proceedings, as manifeſt Encroachments upon his Authority, laid all the Dominions of the Republic under an Interdict, by a Bull dated at *Rome* the 17th of *April* 1606. On the other Hand, the *Venetians*, declaring the Bull to be void and null, obliged the Clergy to perform Divine Service as uſual, and baniſhed from all their Dominions the *Capuchins* and *Jeſuits*, the only Religious Orders that complied with the Bull. Preparations for War were making on both Sides, when an Accommodation, not very honourable to the Pope, was brought about by the Mediation of *Henry* IV. King of *France*. The *Capuchins* were reſtored without Difficulty; but the Senate could by no Means be prevailed upon to conſent to the Reſtoration of the *Jeſuits*, and the Pope was forced to acquieſce, though the *Jeſuits* had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above all the reſt by their Zeal in his Cauſe. The Two Priſoners were delivered up to the *French* Embaſſador by One of the Secretaries of the Republic, with this Proteſt, That he conſigned them to him

Year of Chriſt 1606.

His Conteſt with the Republic of Venice.

The Republic put under an Interdict.

The Jeſuits *and* Capuchins *baniſhed out of the Dominions of the Republic.*

This Difference adjuſted.

Year of Christ 1606.

merely to gratify his most Christian Majesty, without any Prejudice to the Right which the Republic had to pass Judgment upon Ecclesiastical Persons, and summon them before their Secular Tribunals of Justice[m]. The History of this Interdict takes up the fourth Volume of F. *Paul*'s Works.-----By this Pope was approved the impious Doctrine of the famous Jesuit *Suarez*, concerning the Murder of Kings, and the Power vested in the Pope of deposing them. But in *France Suarez*'s Book was condemned by the Parliament of *Paris*, and ordered to be burnt by the Hands of the common Executioner. This the Pope highly resented, but he could never obtain the Revocation of the Sentence, condemning the Book and the Doctrine it contained[n]. We are told, that *Suarez* upon hearing of the Fate of his Book, repeated the Two following Verses out of *Ovid* with the Alteration of One Word:

The Book of Suarez *concerning the Murder of Kings.*

Parve, nec invideo, sine me, Liber, ibis in IGNEM
Hei mihi, quid domino non licet ire tuo.

An Embassy to Paul *from the King of* Congo.

A little before the Pope's Death an Embassador arrived at *Rome* from the King of *Congo*, to beg his Holiness would send Missionaries with the Embassador, on his Return, to preach the Gospel to his Subjects. But the Embassador died a few Days after his Arrival, and the Pope did not long survive him. He died on the 22d of *January* 1621, after a Pontificate of Fifteen Years Eight Months and Thirteen Days. He was a Man of very good Parts, and of no small Learning, and would have made a much better Figure in History, had he not suffered his impetuous Zeal for the Authority of his See to get the better of his Judgment, and lead him into Measures,

The Pope. dies.

Year of Christ 1621.

His Character.

[m] See F. Paul Istoria dell Interditto, et Bzovius in vit. Pauli IV. [n] Vasser Hist. de Louis XIII. tom.

which

which he could not ſupport. In beautifying the City of *Rome* he even rivalled *Sixtus* himſelf, and had the Honour of completing, at laſt, the ſtupendious Fabric of the Church of *St. Peter*.----- Under this Pope Eighteen Seſſions were held of the Congregation *De Auxiliis*, and Sixty had been held under his Predeceſſor. But the Points in Diſpute were ſo very obſcure and intricate, that the Cardinals, Prelates, and Divines, who compoſed that Aſſembly, were at a Loſs what to determine. At the ſame Time they apprehended, that a final Deciſion would only ſerve to inflame the Animoſities already ſubſiſting between the Two Orders; and they therefore reſolved to come to no Deciſion. Thus, after ſo many Conſultations, the contending Parties were left in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their reſpective Opinions, with a ſtrict Prohibition to caſt any reproachful Reflections upon each other; and the ſame Doctrines are held to this Day by the Two rival Orders, and publicly taught in their Schools.------The great Eſtates, the ſumptuous Palaces, and the magnificent Villas, ſtill poſſeſſed by the *Borgheſe* Family, are laſting Monuments of this Pope's ſcandalous Nepotiſm.

Year of Chriſt 1621.

Concluſion of the Congregation De Auxiliis.

Paul's Nepotiſm.

The new Pope was *GREGORY* XV. called before his Election *Alexander Ludoviſi*. He was a Native of *Bologna*, and, when elected, Archbiſhop of that City. He is repreſented in Hiſtory as a Man of a mild Diſpoſition; yet he ſuggeſted and promoted the moſt violent Meaſures againſt all who profeſſed the Reformed Religion. The War made by *Lewis* XIII. King of *France*, upon his Proteſtant Subjects, was, in a great Meaſure, owing to his Exhortations and his Influence over that Prince. He aſſiſted, to the utmoſt of his Power, the Emperor *Ferdinand* II. and *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*, againſt the Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, Son-in-Law to our King *James* I. and was, upon

GREGORY XV. *the* 232*d Biſhop of* Rome.

Inſtances of his Zeal againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion.

Year of Christ 1621.

upon that Account, presented by the Duke, upon his taking the City of *Heidelburg*, with the most valuable Part of the invaluable Library of the Counts *Palatine*, which *Gregory* caused to be removed to *Rome*, and placed in the *Vatican* Library [o].-------By this Pope was founded at *Rome* in 1622, and richly endowed, the famous College *De Propaganda Fide*. By the same Pope the City of *Paris*, which till the present Year 1622 had been subject to the See of *Sens*, was, at the Request of *Lewis* XIII. erected into an Archiepiscopal See p. *Gregory* was a great Friend to the *Jesuits*, and by him were canonized *Ignatius* their Founder, and the famous *Xavier*, stiled the *Apostle of the Indies*. He died on the 8th of *July* 1623, having held the See Two Years Five Months and Twenty Days. He was buried in *St. Peter*'s, but his Remains were afterwards translated from thence to the Church of the *Roman* College, where his stately Tomb is still to be seen with a most pompous Epitaph.

Founds the College De Propaganda Fide.

Erects the City of Paris *into an Archbishoppric.*

Dies.

Year of Christ 1623.

URBAN VIII. *the 233d Bishop of* Rome.

The next Election was carried, on the 6th of *August*, in favour of Cardinal *Maffei Barberini*, a Native of *Florence*, who took the Name of *URBAN* VIII. He began his Pontificate with raising Two of his Nephews to the Dignity of Cardinals, and bestowing the Title of *Eminence* upon all of that Order, upon the Three Ecclesiastical Electors, and the Grand Master of *Malta*. But Kings and the Republic of *Venice* where dispensed from giving them that Title.-----*Urban* was more inclined to *France* than to the House of *Austria*, but nevertheless could not be prevailed upon by *Lewis* XIII. to enter into an Alliance with him against the Emperor, but answered, when pressed to it by that Prince, that it was in

Gives the Title Eminence to Cardinals.

Observes a Neutrality in the Differences between Princes.

o Spanheim Memories de le Electrice Palatine Louyse. Julianne p Continuation of Mezerai Hist. de Louis XIII.

cumbent

cumbent upon him, as the common Father of all Chriſtian Princes, to ajuſt their Differences, and obſerve, in order to render his Mediation more effectual, a perfect Neutrality. Accordingly he interpoſed his good Offices; and at his Interpoſition were concluded the Treaties of *Rivalte*, *Ratiſbon*, and *Querasque* p.---------In 1632 died *Franciſco Mario della Rovere*, Duke of *Urbino*, and by his Death, as he left no Male Iſſue behind him, that Dutchy, a Fief of the Church, devolved to the Apoſtolic See.------In 1641 the Pope, at the Inſtigation of his Nephews, and upon the moſt frivolous Pretences, ſent an Army to ſeize on the City of *Caſtro*, belonging to *Odoard Farneſe*, Duke of *Parma*. But the Duke being ſupported by the Republic of *Venice*, by the Grand Duke of *Tuſcany*, and the Duke of *Modena*, the *Barberini* were obliged, after an unſucceſsful War, that is ſaid to coſt them Twenty Millions of Crowns, to reſtore *Caſtro*, and conclude a diſhonourable Peace q. ----As the Book of *Cornelius Janſenius*, Biſhop of *Ypres*, intitled *Auguſtinus*, was firſt condemned by this Pope, it will be expected, that I ſhould give here ſome Account of that Book, and the Principles it contains; Principles, that divided, and ſtill continue to divide the Church of *Rome*, notwithſtanding her boaſted Unity, into Two, almoſt, as oppoſite Parties or Sects, as any Two of the Reformed Religion. *Janſenius* was, as is agreed on all hands, a Prelate of great Learning, of an exemplary Life, and an Enemy to all Strife and Contention. But diſliking the Doctrine of the *Jeſuits* concerning Grace and Free Will, ſpoken of above, he undertook to unfold the Sentiments of St. *Auſtin*, commonly called the *Doctor of Grace*, with reſpect to thoſe intricate Points; a difficult

Year of Chriſt 1632.

The Dutchy of Urbino reverts to the Church.

Year of Chriſt 1642.

The Book of Janſenius intitled Auguſtinus.

p Hiſt. qes de Traities de Paix, Tom 1. p. 933. q Eſtat du Siege di Rome, tom. 1.

Undertaking,

Year of Christ 1632.

Undertaking, as that good Father is not always consistent with himself, nor intelligible to others. We are told, that *Jansenius*, to attain to his true Meaning, read Ten Times over all his voluminous Books, and Thirty Times those upon Grace and Free Will. The End *Jansenius* proposed therein to himself was, not to give his own Sentiments concerning those important Points, but to shew how they had been understood and explained by St. *Austin*, whom the Church revered as her Oracle; and he therefore stiled his Book *Augustine*. It was not published till after his Death, which happened on the 6th of *May* 1638. The Sentiments it contained were diametrically opposite to those of the *Jesuits*. For the following Principles were there adopted as St. *Austin*'s, that *there are no Remains of Purity or Goodness in Human Nature since its Fall*, that *the Impulse of Grace is irresistible*, that *in the Work of Conversion and Sanctification all is to be ascribed to Grace, and nothing to Human Nature*, and several others connected with these, which I shall have Occasion to mention in the Sequel. On the contrary, the *Jesuits* maintained, as they still do, that *Human Nature is far from being deprived of all Power of doing good; that Man, before he receives Grace, is capable of Faith and holy Desires*; that *the Operations of Grace offer no Violence to Human Nature, and consequently* that MAN BORN FREE, MAY RESIST THEM. The Book of *Jansenius* no sooner appeared, than the *Jesuits*, looking upon it as an Attack upon their System, took the Alarm; and a Paper War was commenced, and carried on, with the utmost Fury, between them and the Friends of the deceased Bishop, till the Year 1641, when the *Jesuits*, adding to their Arguments the Interest they had at the Court of *Rome*, got the Book *Augustinus* prohibited by the Inquisition, and the following Year solemnly condemned by the Pope, as *reviving*

The Doctrine it contained.

The Book condemned by the Pope.

ing the Errors that his Predeceſſors had baniſhed from the Church. This Subject I ſhall occaſionally reſume more than once in the Sequel.----*Urban* died on the 29th of *July*, having held the See Twenty-one Years wanting Eight Days. In Nepotiſm he vied even with his Predeceſſor *Paul* V. beſtowing upon his Nephews and other Relations all the moſt honourable and lucrative Employments both in the Church and the State. Two of his Nephews he created Cardinals, and purchaſed for the Third the Principality of *Paleſtrina*, which the Family enjoys to this Day with the ſtately Palace, built by him near *Monte Cavallo*, One of the moſt ſtately in all *Rome*. *Urban* is repreſented by the contemporary Writers as One endowed with as good Talents as any of his Predeceſſors, and charge upon his Nephews, in whom he blindly confided, all that was blame-worthy in his Pontificate. He was a generous Friend to the Learned, eſpecially to the Poets, being no mean Poet himſelf. We have a Collection of his *Latin* Poems, which have undergone ſeveral Editions. He wrote moſt of them when he was a Cardinal, and had no Occaſion to be aſhamed of them when he was Pope[r]. His deſtroying ſome *Roman* Antiquities (which the *Barbarous* Nations had ſpared when Maſters of *Rome*) in order to employ the Materials for other Uſes, gave Occaſion to the famous Paſquinade, *Quod non fecerunt Barbari fecerunt Barberini.* *Urban*'s ſtately Tomb in *St. Peter*'s was erected by himſelf under the Direction of the famous Cavalier *Bernini.*

Year of Chriſt 1632.

Urban *dies.*

Year of Chriſt 1644.

His Character.

His Poems.

To *Urban* was ſubſtituted, on the 15th of *September*, *John Baptiſt Pamfili*, a *Roman*, who took the Name of *INNOCENT* X. The new Pope had, before his Promotion, an unlawful Commerce with his Brother's Widow, the famous *Donna Olym-*

INNOCENT X. *the 234th Biſhop of* Rome.

His illicit Commerce with his Brother's Widow.

r Janus Nicias Erythræus in Pinacotheca, p. 152, &c.

pia

Year of Christ 1644.

pia Maldachini, a Woman of insatiable Avarice and boundless Ambition; and that Commerce he not only continued after his Elevation, but suffered her to govern the Church, the State, the Court, and himself with an absolute Sway. All Benefices and Bishopricks, all Employments, whether Ecclesiastic, Civil, or Military, were disposed of by her, and, without any Regard to Friendship or Merit, bestowed only upon those, who came up to her Price. As the *Barberini* were possessed of immense Wealth, some say to the Amount of 260,000 Crowns of yearly Revenue, the Pope at the Instigation of *Donna Olympia*, who wanted to enrich her own Family at their Expence, began his Pontificate with a furious Persecution against them, But *France* interposed, and, espousing their Cause, obliged the Pope, much against his Will, to come to Terms with them [s].------The most remarkable Transaction of *Innocent*'s Pontificate was his condemning by a Bull, dated the 31st of *May* 1653, the Five following Propositions, selected by the *Jesuits* out of *Jansenius's Augustinus*, as the most apt to discredit that Work. The Propositions were: I. *There are divine Precepts, which good Men, notwithstanding their Desire to observe them, are absolutely unable to obey, nor has God given them that Measure of Grace, which is absolutely necessary to render them capable of such Obedience.* II. *No Person in this corrupt State of Nature can resist the Influence of Divine Grace.* III. *In order to render human Actions meritorious, or otherwise, it is not requisite that they be exempt from Necessity, but only that they be free from Constraint.* IV. *The* SEMI-PELAGIANS *admitted preventing Grace to be necessary to every Action, and their Heresy consisted in this, that the allowed human Will to be endowed with a Power of resisting that Grace, or complying with its Influence.* V. *Whoever says, that* Christ *died, or*

Persecutes the Barberini.

The Five famous Propositions of Jansenius *condemned by* Innocent. Year of Christ 1653.

[s] De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. p. 263.

shed

ſhed his Blood, for all Mankind, is a SEMIPELAGIAN [t]. This Condemnation afforded great Matter of Triumph to the *Jeſuits*. But it did not quite diſhearten the *Janſeniſts*, who by a ſubtile Diſtinction, the Invention of the ingenious *Antony Arnaud*, ſcreened themſelves from it. They diſtinguiſhed the Matter of *Doctrine* from the Matter of *Fact*; that is, they owned the Five Propoſitions to have been juſtly condemned, but maintained, that they weſe not to be found in the Book of *Janſenius* in the Senſe, in which the Pope had condemned them, and conſequently, that they ſtill might hold and defend them in the Senſe in which *Janſenius* had underſtood them [u]. This gave Riſe to the famous Queſtion, whether the Infallibility of the Pope extended to Matters of Fact, or only to Matters of Doctrine; a Queſtion, which *Innocent* was prevented by Death from deciding. He died on the 7th of *January* 1655, having held the See Ten Years and Four Months wanting Eight Days. To a profound Ignorance of all theological Matters this Pope joined the moſt ſhameful Indolence. In the Quarrels of Princes he would neither interpoſe nor ſo much as offer his Mediation, ſaying, that when they were tired with beating one another, they would agree of themſelves. He built a magnificent Palace for his Family, and left them poſſeſſed of immenſe Wealth.

Year of Chriſt 1653.

That Condemnation how eluded by the Janſeniſts.

Innocent *dies.*

Year of Chriſt 1655.

Fabio Chigi, a Native of *Siena*, was preferred to the vacant Chair, on the 8th of *April*, under the Name of *ALEXANDER* VII. The new Pope had ſcarce taken Poſſeſſion of the See, when he ſent an expreſs Command to *Donna Olympia* to leave *Rome* in Three Days, to retire to *Orvieto*, and remain there till further Orders. He intended to have called her to an Account for the Money, that had

ALEXANDER VII. *the* 235*th Biſhop of* Rome.

Baniſhes Donna Olympia *from* Rome.

[t] Bullarium Roman. tom. 3. p. 261.

[u] Du Mas Hiſt. des Cinque Propoſitions, p. 158.

paſſed

Year of Christ 1655. passed through her Hands. But in the mean Time she died of the Plague; and is said to have left Two Millions of Crowns in Money, besides several Estates in Land, a magnificent Palace, and Moveables of inestimable Value. She bequeathed the Whole to Prince *Pamfili*, the late Pope's Nephew, who was left by *Alexander* to enjoy it undisturbed, as he owed his Rise in the Church to his Uncle.----- *Alexander* in the Beginning of his Pontificate declared in very strong Terms against Nepotism. But he soon *became a Man*, according to the ludicrous Phrase of the Time, filled all the best Employments, in the State as well as in the Church, with his Relations and Nephews, and, dismissing his old Friends, suffered himself to be entirely governed by them [w].----At the Request and Instances of this Pope, seconded by those of the *French* King, *Lewis* XIV. the *Jesuits*, who had been banished out of the Territories of *Venice* for observing the Interdict, were restored by a Decree of the Senate, dated the 19th of *January* 1657 [x].-----

Alexander's *Bull against the* Jansenists. Year of Christ 1657. *Alexander* not only confirmed, at the Instance of the *Jesuits*, the Bull of *Innocent*, condemning the Five Propositions, mentioned above, but by a new Bull, declared, that the said Propositions were the Doctrine of *Jansenius*, and were contained in his Book, nay, that they had been condemned in the *obvious Sense*, *and the Sense of the Author*; *in sensu obvio*, *in sensu ab Auctore intento*. This Declaration was immediately opposed by the *Jansenists*, recurring to their usual Distinction, that in *Matters of Fact* the Pope was fallible, and consequently, that they were not bound to believe, that those Propositions were the Tenets of *Jansenius*, or that they had been condemned in the Sense, in which he had understood them. However, some of the more moderate among them offered to condemn the Five

w Memoirs du Cardinal de Retz, tom. 5. Hist. de Louis le Grand, tom. 3.

x Nani

Pro-

Propoſitions *wherever they were found*, and obſerve a profound Silence concerning *the Matter of Fact*. On the other Hand, the *Jeſuits* maintained, that when *Matters of Faith* were connected with, or depended upon *Matters of Fact*, the Infallibility of the Pope extended to both; nay, they procured, by their Influence in Cabinet Councils, a Mandate from *Lewis* XIV. commanding all within his Dominions to receive a *Formulary*, or Confeſſion of Faith, in which the Doctrine, condemned by the Pope, was owned to be the Doctrine contained in the Book of *Janſenius* ſtiled *Auguſtinus*. They, who refuſed to ſign that *Formulary*, were deprived of their Livings, and either caſt into Priſon, or ſent into Exile [a]. Thus Matters continued during the preſent Pontificate.----In 1761 a Quarrel broke out between *Alexander*, and the *French* King, *Lewis* XIV. on Occaſion of an Inſult, offered by the *Corſicans* of the Pope's Guard, to the Duke of *Crequi*, the King's Embaſſador at *Rome*. This Affair is very differently related by different Authors, but in this all agree, that the *Corſicans* fired at the Embaſſador, without any Regard to the Sacredneſs of his Character, as he appeared at the Window of his Palace, on Occaſion of a Quarrel between them and ſome of his Domeſtics, and that a few Days afterwards they fired at his Coach as he and his Lady paſſed by their Guard-Room, and killed one of her Pages. As the Pope delayed to give the required Satisfaction, the King ſeized on the City of *Avignon*, and ordered a Body of Troops to file off for *Italy*. *Alexander*, terrified at theſe Hoſtilities, thought it adviſeable to ſubmit, and implore the Clemency of the incenſed Monarch. Negotiations were ſet on Foot, and in 1664 a Peace was concluded at *Piſa* upon the moſt inglorious and mortifying Conditions

Year of Chriſt 1657.

Who are perſecuted in France.

The French *Embaſſador inſulted at* Rome.

Year of Chriſt 1661.

That Inſult how revenged by the King.

[a] Du Pleſſis d'Argentre Collect. Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus, tom. 3. p. 281------314.

Year of Christ 1661. to the Pope. For the Conditions were, that the Pope ſhould ſend his Nephew to *Paris* with the Character of Legate to give the King Satisfaction; that Cardinal *Imperiali*, who was Governor of *Rome* when the Inſult was offered, ſhould beg Pardon of the King in Perſon; that the Pope ſhould diſcharge his *Corſican* Guards by a public Edict, ſhould erect a Pyramid at *Rome* to preſerve the Memory of ſo notorious a Breach of the Law of Nations, and of the Puniſhment that had attended it; and laſtly, ſhould reſtore *Caſtro* to the Duke of *Parma*, and *Comachio* to the Duke of *Modena*, both which Places he had ſeized, notwithſtanding the Interpoſition of the King in favour of thoſe Princes [b].---*Alexander* died on the 22d of *May* 1667, after a Pontificate of Twelve Years One Month and Fourteen Days. He is repreſented by the contemporary Writers as a Man of a mean Genius, full of Craft and Diſſimulation, and on that Account diſtruſted and deſpiſed by the Chriſtian Princes. However, he was a Lover, of Learning, a generous Encourager of the Learned, took great Delight in reading the *Latin* Poets, and, as he knew moſt of them by Heart, he frequently quoted them, but, perhaps, never more properly than when the Cardinals came to congratulate him upon his Exaltation, anſwering them with the Words of *Virgil*:

His Death, Year of Chriſt 1667.

-------Diem, quem ſemper acerbum
Semper honoratum (ſic vos *voluiſtis) habebo.*

-------It was in the Pontificate of *Alexander* that *Chriſtina*, Queen of *Sweden*, abjured the Proteſtant Faith, and embraced that of *Rome*. But the Life ſhe led after her Converſion, as it was called, did no great Honour to her new Religion [c].

b De Larrey Hiſt. de Louis XIV. tom. 3. Nani, Reincourt Contin. de Mezerai, &c. c See Arckenholtz Memoires de la Reine Chriſtine.

Alexander

Alexander had for his Succeſſor *Giulio Roſpiglioſi*, a Native of *Piſtoia*. He was elected on the 20th of *June*, and took the Name of *CLEMENT* IX. He was no ſooner elected, than harkening to the Remonſtrances of the *Janſeniſts*, who, in the late Pontificate, had refuſed to ſign the above-mentioned Formulary, without proper Explications and Diſtinctions, he declared himſelf ſatisfied with their receiving and ſigning it *ſincerely*, inſtead of *purely and ſimply*, as had been required by his Predeceſſor. This extraordinary Condeſcenſion in the Pope delivered the *Janſeniſts* from all their Scruples, ſince they were thereby allowed to believe, that though the Five Propoſitions were condemned, they might not be the Doctrine of *Janſenius*, nor extracted from his Book. They therefore ſigned the Formulary, and condemned the Five Propoſitions without Heſitation [d]. Thus was the Fury of the *Jeſuits* ſomewhat reſtrained, and Peace, commonly called the Peace of *Clement* IX. reſtored to the Church. But *Clement* died ſoon after he had eſtabliſhed the ſo much wiſhed for Tranquillity. His Death happened on the 9th of *December* 1669, when he had governed the Church Two Years Four Months and Twenty Days. The contemporary Writers ſpeak of him as a Perſon, endowed with every Virtue, becoming the high Station, to which he was raiſed.

Year of Chriſt 1667.

CLEMENT IX. *the* 236*th Biſhop of* Rome.

Suſpends the Perſecution of the Janſeniſts.

His Death.

Year of Chriſt 1669.

After a Conclave, that laſted near Five Months, Cardinal *Æmilius Altieri*, come of a noble *Roman* Family was elected on the 29th of *April* 1670. He aſſumed the Name of *CLEMENT* X. But as he was far advanced in Years, and a Lover of his Eaſe, he neither undertook nor performed any Thing worthy of Notice during the whole Six Years of his Pontificate. He died on the 22d of

CLEMENT X. *the* 237*th Biſhop of* Rome.

Dies.

[d] D'Argentre Collectio Judiciorum, &c. tom. 3. p. 336. Catechiſm Hiſtorique, &c. tom. 1. p. 352.

Year of Christ 1676.

July 1676, when he had preſided in the See Six Years Two Months and Twenty-three Days.

INNOCENT XI. *the 238th Biſhop of* Rome.

The Election of the New Pope was prorogued by the Intrigues of the Cardinals, and foreign Miniſters, till the 10th of *December*, when *Benedict Odeſchalchi*, a Native of *Como* in the Dutchy of *Milan*, was preferred to the See under the Name of *INNOCENT* XI. He was a Man of an irreproachable Character, of uncommon Courage, auſtere in his Morals, and unfeignedly deſirous of reforming the Abuſes, that prevailed in the Church and his Court. He began with aboliſhing Nepotiſm: For when his Nephew came to congratulate him upon his Promotion, he told him, that he muſt not expect to have any Share in the Government, and ſtrictly enjoined him neither to receive, nor return any Viſits as Nephew to the Pope. But at the ſame time, that he might not complain of his having got nothing by the Promotion of his Uncle, he made over to him his whole paternal Eſtate, amounting to Thirty thouſand Crowns of yearly Revenue, ſaying, he could beſtow upon him what was his own, but could not diſpoſe of what was St. *Peter*'s [e]. As the *Franchiſes*, or *Right of Aſylum*, enjoyed by foreign Miniſters reſiding at *Rome*, proved a Sanctuary for the greateſt Criminals, and by ſcreening them from Juſtice, encouraged them in their Crimes, *Innocent* reſolved to ſuppreſs them, the rather, as the Embaſſadors had extended this Immunity to the Streets and Squares, where their Palaces ſtood. The Imperial and *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors, and even Queen *Chriſtina*, readily acquieſced in this Regulation. But the *French* Embaſſador, Marſhal *D' Etrees*, refuſing to agree to it, the Pope allowed him to enjoy his ancient Right, during his Time. This Condeſcenſion in his Holineſs to the *French*

He aboliſhes Nepotiſm.

Suppreſſes the Franchiſes.

Year of Chriſt 1677.

[e] Guarnacci Hiſt. Pontif. a Clement XI. ad Clement X. tom. 1. p. 1. et ſeq.

Embaſſador

Embaſſador was owing to his being unwilling to quarrel with his Maſter *Lewis* XIV. whoſe Arms were become formidable to all *Europe*. However, he could not avoid quarrelling with that powerful Monarch the very next Year. The Subject of their Quarrel was a Right, called in *France* the *Regale*, by which the King claimed the Collation of all Benefices, that became vacant in the Dioceſe of a deceaſed Biſhop till the Nomination of his Succeſſor, and likewiſe the granting of the Inveſtiture to every new Biſhop, and requiring him, on that Occaſion, to ſwear Allegiance to him as his Liege-Lord. Theſe Claims were vigorouſly oppoſed by the Pope, and maintained with no leſs Vigour by the King. The Pope iſſued out Bull after Bull, and the King as many ſevere Edicts againſt all, who ſhould bring into the Kingdom any Bulls, Mandates, or Monitories from *Rome*, or pay any Regard to them. During the Courſe of this long Diſpute, the *French* Biſhops, aſſembling by the King's Order at *Paris* in 1682, confirmed and adopted the Four following Propoſitions, as the ancient Doctrine of the *Gallican* Church. I. *That neither St.* Peter, *nor his Succeſſors, have received from God any Power to intermeddle, directly or indirectly, in civil or temporal Matters; and therefore that Kings and Princes are not liable in temporal Matters to the Eccleſiaſtical Power, nor can they be depoſed by the Power of the Keys, or their Subjects be abſolved from their Fidelity and Obedience to them, or their Oaths of Allegiance.* II. *That the Authority of a General Council is ſuperior to that of the Pope, agreeably to the Fourth and Fifth Decrees of the Council of* Conſtance. III. *That the Rules, Cuſtoms, and Inſtitutions, that have been received in the* Gallican *Church, are to be preſerved inviolable.* IV. *That the Deciſions of the Pope are not infallible without the Conſent and Approbation of the Church.* Theſe Four Propoſitions were ſolemnly adopted by the whole Aſſembly, and propoſed to the whole Body of the Clergy as an inviolable

Year of Chriſt 1677.

Quarrels with the King of France about the Regale.

Year of Chriſt 1678.

Four Propoſitions adopted by the Gallican *Clergy.*

Year of Christ 1682.

rule of Faith. At the ſame time the King iſſued out a Declaration in the Form of an Edict, commanding all his Subjects to receive the ſaid Propoſitions, and the Profeſſors of Divinity and Canon Law to teach them in the Schools, with a ſtrict Prohibition to aſſert or maintain the contrary Doctrine. *Innocent* thought it not adviſeable to proceed to Extremities againſt the whole Body of the *Gallican* Clergy, ſupported and backed by the King, and therefore contented himſelf with declaring all the Tranſactions of their Aſſembly void and null, with reprimanding the Biſhops for abandoning the Cauſe of the Church, and employing Men of Learning to confute the above Propoſitions [f]. But the Doctrine, which thoſe Propoſitions contain, is held to this Day by the *Gallican* Church.---While this Conteſt between the Pope and the King was carried on with great Reſolution and Warmth on both Sides, another unexpectedly broke out, that left no Room to hope for an Accommodation. The Pope had allowed, as has been ſaid, the *French* Embaſſador, Marſhal *D'Etrees*, to enjoy the *Franchiſes* during his Time. He died in 1686, and the following Year the King appointed the Marquis *De Lavardin* to ſucceed him, with poſitive Orders not to give up, but to aſſert, if neceſſary, even by Force, the diſputed Privilege. In Compliance with this Order, the Marquis made his public Entry into *Rome* with Two hundred Gentlemen, and Four hundred of the *French* Marine Guards. This the Pope highly reſented, and when the Embaſſador ſent to demand an Audience, he refuſed to receive him till he publicly renounced the uſurped Immunity, and even interdicted the Church of *St. Lewis*, where the Marquis uſed to aſſiſt at Divine Service. On the other hand the

Conduct of the Pope on that Occaſion.

The Franchiſes a new Subject of Quarrel between the Pope and the King.

Year of Chriſt 1687.

f See Cardinal Norris Iſtoria delle Inveſtiture Eccleſiaſt. p. 547. et Heidegger Hiſt. Papalus Period VII. p. 555.

King,

King, exaſperated beyond Meaſure at the Treatment his Embaſſador met with at *Rome*, arreſted the Pope's Nuncio at *Paris*, Cardinal *Renucci*, cauſed his Parliament to appeal to a General Council againſt any raſh Meaſures the Pope might be induced by the Enemies of *France* to purſue, and ſeized on *Avignon*. But the Pope ſtill continued inflexible, and the Conteſt was carried on with the greateſt Animoſity till the Death of the Pope, which happened on the 12th of *Auguſt* 1689, when he had preſided in the See Twelve Years Six Months and Two Days. He is numbered by all, who ſpeak of him, among the beſt Popes; and very deſervedly, having made it the whole Buſineſs of his Pontificate to aboliſh the Abuſes, which his Predeceſſors had thought it adviſeable to connive at, to reform the Manners of the Clergy, as well as the Laity, and reſtore, by many wiſe and ſalutary Regulations, the ancient Diſcipline of the Church. He carried his Zeal, perhaps, too far in commanding, on Pain of Excommunication, Women of all Ranks and Conditions to cover their Boſoms and Necks up to the Chin, and their Arms down to their Wriſts, with ſome Stuff, that was not tranſparent, and abſolutely prohibiting them the Learning of Muſic. *Innocent* having found, upon examining the Accounts of the Apoſtolic Chamber, that ſince the Pontificate of *Clement* VIII. who died 1603, Nepotiſm had coſt the Holy See Seventeen Millions, he drew up a Bull to ſuppreſs it for ever. But the Cardinals, all to a Man, oppoſed its Publication[s]----It was in the Pope's Time, in the Year 1682, that *Michael de Molinos*, a *Spaniſh* Prieſt, publiſhed at *Rome* his *Spiritual Guide*, a Book, that gave great Offence to many, eſpecially to the *Jeſuits*. For the Whole of Religion was there placed in a perfect *Calm* and *Tranquillity* of Mind, *abſorbed* in the Deity, and in a *pure and*

Year of Chriſt 1687.

Innocent *dies.*

Year of Chriſt 1689.

His Character.

The Riſe of Quietiſm in his Time.

Some Account of that Sect.

[s] Etat du Siege de Rome. Guarnacci Hiſt. Pontif. p. 232.

Year of Christ 1689.

diſintereſted Love of the Supreme Being, that is, a Love exempt from all Views of Intereſt, or Hopes of Reward. From the *Calm* and *Quiet* of Mind, which this Doctrine required, it took the Name of *Quietiſm*, and thoſe, who embraced it, were called *Quietiſts*. As by ſuch Principles all Kinds of external Worſhip were rejected as inſignificant and quite uſeleſs, the Adverſaries of *Molinos*, not ſatisfied with refuting his Doctrine, as contrary to that of the Church, accuſed him to the Inquiſition, as a Heretic, upon his refuſing to retract it. He had many Friends and Diſciples in *Rome* of Rank and Credit, and even ſome Cardinal, nay, and was highly eſteemed by the Pope himſelf: Yet the *Jeſuits*, his moſt bitter Enemies, being powerfully ſupported by the Cardinal *D'Etrees*, prevailed at laſt; and the Pope, in order to gratify them, was obliged, contrary to his own Inclination, to abandon a Man, to whom he had ſhewn particular Marks of his Favour. *Molinos* was taken up by the Inquiſition in 1685, was obliged to own, and publicly renounce the Errors, of which he was accuſed, and was thereupon condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. That *Molinos* and his Followers were guilty of the many ſhocking Obſcenities laid to their Charge; that they maintained that *the Sin of a Man, united to God, is no Sin, ſince God works in him, and with him, whatever he does*, has been aſſerted by ſome, and denied by others [h].

ALEXANDER VIII. *the 239th Biſhop of* Rome.

Upon the Deceaſe of *Innocent*, Cardinal *Peter Ottoboni*, a Native of *Venice*, was preferred to the Chair, on the 6th of *October*, by the Name of *ALEXANDER* VIII. The King of *France* no ſooner heard of the Election of the new Pope, than, being deſirous of terminating the Differences that had ſubſiſted between him and the Holy See, during the late Pontificate, he ordered the Duke *de*

h See Weiſmen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Sec. XVII. p. 555. Colonia Bibliotheque Quietiſt. p. 455----488. D'Argentre Collectio Judicorum, &c. tom. 3. p. 357.

Chaulnes,

Chaulnes, his Embaſſador Extraordinary at *Rome*, to give up all Claim to the Franchiſes, and at the ſame time he reſtored the City and Territory of *Avignon*. But *Alexander* was not yet ſatisfied. He inſiſted upon the *French* Biſhops revoking the Four Propoſitions, received by their Aſſembly in 1682; and upon their ſtill maintaining them, he condemned the ſaid Propoſitions by a Bull, dated the 30th *January* 1691, and threatened the Biſhops, though ſupported by the King, with the Cenſures of the Church [i]. But the riſing Storm was happily laid by the Death of the Pope. He died on the 1ſt of *February* 1691, after a Pontificate of One Year Nine Months and Twenty-ſix Days. The many wiſe and ſalutary Regulations, made by *Innocent*, were tranſgreſſed with Impunity in the Pontificate of *Alexander*, the antient Diſorders were all revived, and Nepotiſm was carried to the moſt ſcandalous Height [k].

Year of Chriſt 1689.

The Franchiſes given up by the French *King.*

The Doctrine of the Gallican *Church condemned by* Alexander.

He dies.

Year of Chriſt 1691.

The next Election was very ſlow, and fell at laſt upon Cardinal *Antony Pignatelli*, a *Neapolitan*, and Archbiſhop of *Naples*. He was elected on the 12th of *July*, and took the Name of *INNOCENT* XII. He undertook, in Imitation of the good Pope *Innocent* XI. the Reformation of the Church and the Court. As Nepotiſm had proved extremely prejudicial both to the Church and the State, he cauſed a Bull to be drawn up, in the very Beginning of his Pontificate, ſuppreſſing it for ever. The Bull was warmly oppoſed by moſt of the Cardinals. But *Innocent* was inflexible, he obliged all the Cardinals, who were then in *Rome*, to ſign it, and thus ſigned it was publiſhed, in Spite of all their Remonſtrances, with unuſual Solemnity [l].--- In 1693 *Innocent* condemned anew the Four Propoſitions concerning the Power and Fallibility of the Pope, which had been adopted by the *Gallican*

INNOCENT XII. *the* 240th *Biſhop of* Rome.

He aboliſhes Nepotiſm.

Year of Chriſt 1692.

Year of Chriſt 1693.

i Larrey Hiſt. de Louis XIV. tom. 5. p. 392. k Etat. du Siege de Rome, tom. 2. p. 84. l Ibid. p. 110. et Bullarium Bulla 19.

Church,

Year of Christ 1693

Church, and condemned by his Two immediate Predeceſſors. On this Occaſion the King abandoned their Protection to the great Surprize of the whole Kingdom; and they were forced to ſubmit, and renounce the Doctrine, which they had ſo ſolemnly eſtabliſhed but a few Years before [m]. At this Time the Pope was mediating a Peace between the King and the Emperor *Leopold*, and it was to gain the Favour and Good-will of his Holineſs, that *Lewis* left the Biſhops at his Mercy.---In 1699 was condemned by *Innocent* the Book, which the famous *de la Mothe Fenelon*, Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, had publiſhed under the Title of *The Maxims of Saints*. In that Piece *pure and diſintereſted Love* was recommended and inculcated as alone becoming the *Saints*. As the Book made a great Noiſe, Recourſe was had to the Pope, who appointed a particular Congregation to examine the Doctrine it contained. The Book was declared *unſound* by the Divines, who compoſed that Congregation: Twenty-three Propoſitions were judged erroneous, and the Pope condemned them by a Bull, dated at *Rome* the 13th of *March* 1699. That excellent Prelate not only acquieſced in the Sentence, but read it to his People in the Pulpit at *Cambray*, exhorted them to ſubmit to it, and would not allow any of his Friends to defend what the Pope had condemned [n].---*Innocent* died on the 27th of *September* 1700, having governed the Church Nine Years Two Months and Fifteen Days. He was univerſally beloved for his eminent Virtues, and is greatly commended by all the contemporary Writers for his zealous Endeavours to reform the Church and the Court, though they were not attended with all the wiſhed-for Succeſs.

He condemns the Four Propoſitions adopted by the Gallican *Clergy.*

And Archbiſhop Fenelon's Divine Love.

Year of Chriſt 1699.

His Death.

Year of Chriſt 1700.

CLEMENT XI. *the* 241*ſt Biſhop of* Rome.

The new Pope *CLEMENT* XI. a Native of *Urbino*, called before his Election *John Francis Alba-*

m Etat. du Siege de Rome, tom. 2. p. 146. n Touſſaints Hiſt. de l'Engliſe de Meaux, l. 5. p. 485, et ſeq. Ramſey vie de Fenelon,

ni,

ni, was unanimouſly choſen on the 3d of *November*, though he was then only in the 51ſt Year of his Age. He declined at firſt the offered Dignity, alleging that he feared his extream Fondneſs for his Nephews, and the Reſt of his Family, would betray him, to the great Diſhonour of the Holy See, into a Tranſgreſſion of the Bull againſt Nepotiſm, which he himſelf had drawn up, and zealouſly promoted. However he yielded the Third Day, to the great Satisfaction of the Cardinals, who entertained the higheſt Opinion of his Abilities, and his Skill in State Affairs. In the War that broke out in the Beginning of his Pontificate, between the Houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon*, about the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion, he reſolved to ſtand neuter, and only act the Part of a Mediator. But his refuſing to acknowlege either of the Two Competitors, *Philip* V. or *Charles* III. or to grant to either the Inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*, diſobliged both, and involved the Eccleſiaſtical State in all the Calamities of a War. But *Clement* was not thereby diverted from attending to the Affairs of the Church. He hearkened to the Accuſations, brought againſt the *Jeſuits* by the *Dominicans* and other Miſſionaries in *China*. The grand Accuſation was, that they tolerated in their Converts the idolatrous Practices of their old Religion, and thus introduced a motley Mixture of Chriſtianity and Paganiſm. The Practices, that they connived at and their Adverſaries branded them with Idolatry, were, I. That they permitted the new Chriſtians to adore the ſame God, whom they adored before under the Name of TIEN, which Word in the *Chineſe* Language ſignifies the *Heavens*. The *Chineſe* Deity was, as the Adverſaries of the *Jeſuits* pretended, either the *material Heavens*, or a Deity infinitely inferior, in Excellence and Perfection, to the God of the Chriſtians. Were that true, the Fathers of the Society would, without all Diſpute, be guilty of the Charge brought againſt them. But they

Year of Chriſt 1700.

Greatly embarraſſed in the War about the Spaniſh *Succeſſion.*

Diſpute between the Jeſuits *and other Miſſionaries about the* Chineſe *Ceremonies.*

Charge brought againſt the Jeſuits.

Year of Christ 1704.

they maintained, that the *Chineſe*, by their TIEN meant, not the *material Heaven*, but the *Lord of Heaven*, an eternal and all-perfect Being the Creator and Governor of the Univerſe, and, in ſhort, the ſame God, whom the Chriſtians adore, with all the Attributes, which they aſcribe to him. The *Chineſe* therefore were no Idolaters, according to the *Jeſuits*, but knew, and worſhipped the true God, and conſequently their Order could not juſtly be accuſed of permitting Idolatry in permitting their Proſelytes to adore the ſame God after their Converſion, as they had adored before it. II. The Rights and Ceremonies, that were performed yearly by the Learned among the *Chineſe* to the Memory of their great Lawgiver *Confucius*, and by every Family in Honour of their Anceſtors, were tolerated by the *Jeſuits*, but condemned by the other Miſſionaries as rank Idolatry. On theſe Occaſions the *Chineſe* proſtrate themſelves before a Kind of Tablet, on which the Names of their Anceſtors, and that of *Confucius* are written in golden Letters, make Offering to them of rich Perfumes, Victuals, Fruits, *&c.* and repeat a great Variety of Prayers, which being ended, the Perſon who officiates, diſmiſſes the Aſſembly with a Bleſſing. Are theſe Ceremonies only Civil Inſtitutions, as was maintained by the *Jeſuits*, or of a Religious Nature, as was aſſerted by the other Miſſionaries? The deciding of this important Queſtion was, at laſt, referred to the *infallible* Heads of the Church; and, ſurely, nothing has ever more plainly ſhewn their total Want of that Prerogative, than their Deciſions concerning it. In 1645 *Innocent* X. highly diſapproved of the Conduct of the *Jeſuits*, and ſtigmatized the Ceremonies, which they tolerated, with the Name of *Chineſe Superſtitions*. In 1656 *Alexander* VII. allowed the *Chineſe* Converts to obſerve ſeveral of the Ceremonies, which *Innocent* had condemned. As the *Jeſuits* had now One *infallible* Pope for them, and One no leſs *infallible* Pope

The Ceremonies in Diſpute.

Deciſions of the Popes concerning them.

Pope againſt them, the ſucceeding Popes avoided, for ſome time, to come to any Determination, ſince they could come to none without contradicting that of One of their Predeceſſors. Thus the Conteſt was carried on with great Warmth in *China*, to the inexpreſſible Prejudice of the Chriſtian Religion, the more ſenſible among the *Chineſe* deſiring the Miſſionaries to ſettle among themſelves what was, and what was not to be believed and practiſed in their Religion, before they recommended it to others. In 1693 a *French* Prieſt, named *Charles Maigrot*, who had been ſent into *China* with the Character of Apoſtolic Vicar, and was afterwards conſecrated titular Biſhop of *Conon*, in that Empire, condemned, by a public Edict, the Opinions and Practices of the *Jeſuits* as abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Principles of the Goſpel and the Purity of the Chriſtian Religion. From this Sentence the *Jeſuits* appealed to the Pope, *Innocent* XII. who, in 1699, appointed a Congregation to examine and finally decide this tedious Controverſy. But *Innocent* dying in the mean time, his Succeſſor, *Clement* XI. forbad, by a ſolemn Decree in 1704, the Uſe of the Ceremonies in Queſtion, and at the ſame time required the General of the *Jeſuits*, by a private Brief, to ſee that this his Edict was punctually complied with by all under his Obedience. The *Jeſuits* did not acquieſce in the Papal Decree, but explaining it, as forbidding theſe Ceremonies in a religious Senſe, and not as political Inſtitutions, in which Light alone, they ſaid, they were conſidered by the *Chineſe*, they ſtill maintained that they might be innocently obſerved by the new Chriſtians, and continued, in ſpite of the Pope's Prohibition, to permit them. Thus was the War renewed between the *Jeſuits* and their Adverſaries, and on both Sides carried on, in *China* and in *Europe*, with more Acrimony than ever. At laſt *Clement*, apprehending the Conſequences of his provoking ſo formidable an Order

Year of Chriſt 1704.

Condemned in China *by the Apoſtolic Vicar.*

Forbidden by Clement XI. Year of Chriſt 1704.

But ſtill tolerated by the Jeſuits.

Clement's *final Deciſion.*

as

Year of Christ 1705.

as that of the *Jesuits*, thought it adviseable to appease their Resentment by a new Decree; and, accordingly, he issued One in 1715, allowing the Missionaries and their *Chinese* Proselytes to use the Word *Tien* to express the *Divine Nature*, provided they added to it the Word TCHU, these Two Words signifying the *Lord of Heaven*, and plainly shewing that they adored not the *material Heaven*, but the *Maker of Heaven*, whom the Christians adored. By the same Decree most of the Ceremonies, which *Innocent* X. had condemned, and *Clement* himself had forbidden, were permitted, upon Condition that they should be considered by those, who performed them, not as Religious but as Civil Institutions, or merely as Marks of Respect to their Ancestors and their Lawgiver. Thus the *Jesuits* triumphed in the End; and they have been suffered, ever since the Publication of this last Decree, to pursue unmolested their own Methods of Conversion.------In the Pontificate of *Clement* was revived the Controversy between the *Jansenists* and *Jesuits*, on Occasion of a Question, probably, proposed with that View, and commonly called *The Case of Conscience*. The Question was, *Whether Absolution could be granted to a Man, who received* PURELY AND SIMPLY *the above-mentioned Formulary, and yet believed, in his Heart, that the Pope and the Church might be mistaken in Matters of Fact?* Or that the *Five Propositions* might not be found in the Book of *Jansenius*, in the Sense in which they had been condemned by the Pope? In Answer to this Question Forty Doctors of the *Sorbonne* gave it under their Hands, that Absolution might be granted to such a Person. As the Pope's Infallibility was thereby denied with respect to *Matters of Fact*, the *Jesuits* and their Friends, applying to his Holiness, procured a Bull, enjoining a Belief of *Matters of Fact*, as well as of *Matters of Doctrine* or Opinion, and at the same time de-

The Controversy between the Jansenists. *and* Jesuits *revived, and upon what Occasion.*

[b] See above, p. 484.

claring,

claring, that a reſpectful Silence was not ſufficient with regard to the former, as was pretended by the *Janſeniſts*, but a poſitive Aſſent was abſolutely neceſſary. This Bull begins with the Words *Vineam Domini*, and is dated the 20th of *October* 1705. It was ſent by the King to the Aſſembly of the Biſhops, then ſitting at *Paris*, to the Parliament, and to the College of the *Sarbonne*, and by all received, for the Sake of Peace, *ſaving the Rights of the Biſhops, the Liberties of the* GALLICAN *Church, and the Prerogatives of the Crown.* Thus was Tranquillity reſtored. But it was ſoon diſturbed anew on the following Occaſion. The famous *Paſquier Quenel*, a Prieſt of the *Oratory*, an intimate Friend of the celebrated *Arnauld*, and after his Death the leading Man of his Party, had publiſhed, in 1671, a Book of *Moral Reflections* upon the Text of the New Teſtament. This Piece he afterwards improved, with many Additions and practical Obſervations, calculated to awaken in the Reader the moſt lively Sentiments of Piety and Religion. It was received with univerſal Applauſe, and highly commended by ſeveral Biſhops, nay, and by the Pope himſelf, *Clement* XI. But the *Jeſuits* diſcovered in it the very Quinteſſence of *Janſeniſm*, which had eſcaped his Holineſs's Infallibility, and was inſenſibly imbibed by thoſe, who peruſed it. They publickly inveighed againſt it, as conveying the Venom of *Janſeniſm* under the ſpecious Appearances of Piety and Devotion. They did not ſtop there, but having extracted from the Book 103 Propoſitions, they prevailed upon the King, by their great Intereſt at Court, to apply to *Rome* for a Bull, condemning the ſaid Propoſitions, and the Book itſelf. *Clement* readily granted the King's Requeſt, and in 1713 iſſued out the famous Bull *Unigenitus*, by which 101 Propoſitions were condemned in *Quenel*'s Book, the very Book, upon which *Clement* himſelf had beſtowed the higheſt Encomiums but a few Years before. It was accepted by Forty Biſhops, and oppoſed by Seven, with Cardinal

Year of Chriſt 1705.

Clement's *Bull* Vineam Domini, &c.

Year of Chriſt 1713.

His Bull Unigenitus *how received in* France.

Year of Christ 1713. Cardinal *Noailles*, Archbiſhop of *Paris*, at their Head. But the Bull being, notwithſtanding their Oppoſition, regiſtered, by the King's expreſs Command, in the College of the *Sarbonne*, and in Parliament, it obtained the Force of a Law. It would be both tedious and foreign to my Purpoſe to relate the Diſturbances that attended the Publication of this Bull in *France*, and the ſevere Treatment they met with from the King, who, inſtead of receiving it, appealed from the Pope to a General Council. I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that *Clement*, by a Paſtoral Letter, dated the 8th of *September* 1718, and beginning with the Words, *Paſtoralis Officii*, ſeparated himſelf from the Communion of all, by what Dignity ſoever diſtinguiſhed, who did not receive his Conſtitution; that thereupon Cardinal *Noailles*, on the 24th of the ſame Month and Year, publiſhed his Appeal, dated the 3d of *April* of the preceding Year, but was, at laſt, in 1728, prevailed upon to withdraw his Appeal, and receive the Conſtitution. Moſt of the Biſhops and their Clergy followed his Example. Thus was the public Tranquillity reſtored. But in that Kingdom many, both of the Clergy and the Laity, ſtill adhere to the Doctrine of *Janſenius*, and wait only for a favourable Opportunity of reviving the Controverſy, and rekindling the Flame, that is covered, but not yet extinguiſhed.----In 1717 *Clement* quarrelled with the new King of *Sicily*, the Duke of *Savoy*, about the *Sicilian Monarchy*, as it is called, and upon the King's refuſing to give it up, he laid the whole Iſland under an Interdict. But the King, paying no Regard to the Interdict, ordered the Clergy to perform Divine Service as uſual, and baniſhed all, who refuſed to comply. Of the *Monarchy* of *Sicily* and its Origin I have ſpoken at length elſewhere [e].----*Clement* had the Misfortune to find himſelf conſtantly, we may ſay, between Two Fires: He could grant no Favour to either of the Pretenders to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy without diſ-

He ſeparates himſelf from the Communion of thoſe who refuſe to accept it. Year of Christ 1718.

Clement *quarrels with the King of* Sicily. Year of Christ 1717.

e See Vol. V. p. 339, 340.

obliging

obliging the other, and was thus looked upon by both, and treated as an Enemy. To gratify *Philip* V. and avoid an open Rupture with the Court of *Spain*, he conferred, much againſt his Will, the Dignity of Cardinal upon the famous *Alberoni*. That Promotion was highly reſented by the Emperor, pretending that the new Cardinal kept up a Correſpondence with the Rebels of *Hungary*, and had ſolicited the *Turk* to join them. The Menaces of the Emperor, and the ſeizing of *Comachio* by the Imperial Forces, obliged the Pope to levy Troops, in order to repel Force by Force. But at the Approach of the Emperor's Army, conſiſting chiefly of *Lutherans*, he was glad to conclude a Peace upon the Terms preſcribed to him. In ſhort, his Pontificate was, from the Beginning to the End, an uninterrupted Series of Troubles and croſs Events; and he was frequently heard to ſay, that he wiſhed he repented as ſincerely of his Sins, as he did of his having ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to accept of the Pontifical Dignity. Death put an End to his Life and his Troubles on the 19th of *November* 1721, after a Pontificate of Twenty Years Four Months and Sixteen Days. He was a Man of an untainted Character, was well ſkilled in State Affairs, and ſurpaſſed, in Sagacity, moſt of the preceding Popes, but was often brought into Difficulties by preferring the Judgment of others to his own. He was well acquainted with Scholaſtic Divinity, and a very elegant *Latin* Writer, as appears from his *Letters*, his *Brevia Selecta*, his *Orationes Conſiſtoriales*, his *Homilies*, and his *Bullarium*, of which a magnificent Edition was publiſhed, after his Death, by his Nephew, Cardinal *Hannibal Albani*. He was not altogether free from Nepotiſm, but he never ſuffered it to lead him into thoſe ſcandalous Exceſſes, that had, in latter Times, ſo diſgraced the Pontificates of moſt of his Predeceſſors. Upon the whole, *Clement* XI. may deſervedly be placed among the good Popes [f].

Year of Chriſt 1718.

Clement *dies.*

Year of Chriſt 1721.

His Character.

f Polidorus de vita et rebus geſtis Clementis XI. Morci Riſtretto della vita de Clemente XI.

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Year of Chriſt 1718.

Clement *dies.*

Year of Chriſt 1721.

His Character.

f Polidorus de vita et rebus geſtis Clementis XI. Morci Riſtretto della vita de Clemente XI.

Year of Chriſt 1721.

INNOCEN XIII *the 242d Biſhop of* Rome.

In the Room of *Clement* was unanimouſly elected, on the 8th of *May*, *Michael Angelo Conti*, of One of the moſt illuſtrious Families of *Rome*, who took the Name of *INNOCENT* XIII. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and of an irreproachable Character, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf, when a Cardinal, above moſt of the Sacred College. But the Infirmities, to which he had been for ſome Years ſubject, prevented him from making any Figure as a Pope. Soon after his Promotion he received a Letter, ſigned by Seven *French* Biſhops, begging his Holineſs would be pleaſed to revoke, or, at leaſt, to modify the Bull *Unigenitus*, as ſurreptitious, and only calculated to keep thoſe diſunited, whom it was incumbent upon him to unite. In that Letter dated the 9th *June* 1721, they urged ſo many Arguments againſt the Bull, that it rather deſerved the Name of a Book than a Letter. *Innocent* referred it to the Inquiſition, and by a Decree of that Tribunal, dated the 29th of *March* 1722, it was condemned as *Schiſmatical*, and *tending to promote Hereſy*, and all were forbidden, on Pain of Excommunication, to publiſh, to peruſe, or to keep it by them.----*Innocent* conſented, at laſt, to inveſt the Emperor, *Charles* VI. with the Kingdom of *Naples*, but ſolemnly proteſted againſt the Inveſtiture of *Parma* and *Piacenza*, granted by that Prince to the Infant *Don Carlos*, pretending thoſe States to be Fiefs of the Church, and not of the Empire. He acquitted the perſecuted Cardinal *Alberoni*, received him into Favour, and died on the 7th of *March* 1724, having governed the Church Two Years and Ten Months. He left moſt of the chief Employments poſſeſſed by the very numerous Tribe of his Nephews and Relations. moſt of them Perſons of the Firſt Rank in *Rome*. The Day before his Death he was prevailed upon by the *French* Embaſſador to ſign a Diſpenſation for the Prince *De Buillon*, eldeſt Son to the Duke of

Maintains and defends the Bull Unigenitus.

Inveſts the Emperor with the Kingdom of Napels.

Dies.

Year of Chriſt 1724.

that

that Name, to marry the Princeſs of *Turenne*, his Brother's Widow[g]. Year of Chriſt 1725.

Upon the Death of *Innocent* Cardinal *Vincenzo Maria Orſini*, a *Dominican* Friar, and Archbiſhop of *Benevento*, was raiſed to the Chair on the 29th of *May*. He was a Native of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the eldeſt Son of the Duke of *Gravina* of that Kingdom, but, being of a religious Turn of Mind, had, from his tender Years, embraced a monaſtic Life in the Order of *St. Dominic*. He was, in Conſideration of his noble Deſcent, and exemplary Life, preferred by *Clement* X. in 1672, to the Dignity of Cardinal, and ſoon afterwards to the Archbiſhopric of *Benevento*. He was, with the utmoſt Difficulty, prevailed upon to accept of the Papal Dignity, alleging, that he was utterly unacquainted with State Affairs, and that it was too late for him to acquaint himſelf with them. But being forced to acquieſce in his Election, he made it the whole Buſineſs of his Pontificate to reduce the Pleaſures and Pomp of his Court, to ſuppreſs Abuſes, and reſtrain the Licentiouſneſs of the Clergy. With that View he held a Provincial Synod in the *Lateran* in 1725. But the *Jeſuits*, of whom Three were, at this Time, Cardinals, highly provoked at his approving the Doctrine of the *Dominicans* concerning *Grace* and *Predeſtination*, found Means to render all his Endeavours ineffectual; nay, they took Occaſion from his Enmity to Perukes, and his ordering the Clergy of all Ranks to wear their own Hair, to expoſe both him and his Council to Contempt and Ridicule. In 1727 *Benedict* publiſhed a Bull, beginning with the Word *Pretioſus*, to confirm the Bull *Unigenitus*. But as he adopted, in his Bull, the Syſtem of the *Dominicans*, the *Jeſuits* pretended, that inſtead of condemning he had approved the Doctrine of *Janſenius*. Indeed the Doctrine of the *Dominicans*, with reſpect to *Grace* and *Predeſtination*, differs very little, if at all, from that of the *Janſeniſts*. But they now

BENEDICT XIII. *the* 243*d Biſhop of* Rome.

Holds a Provincial Synod in the Lateran.

Confirms the Bull Unigenitus. Year of Chriſt 1727.

Confers the Dignity of Cardinal upon his Favourite Coſcia.

[g] Guarnacci vit. Pontif.

Year of Christ 1728.

diſguiſe their real Tenets with Terms and Diſtinctions, evidently borrowed from the Schools of the *Jeſuits*, and have, on that Account, been ſeverely reproached by the *Janſeniſts* with betraying the Cauſe of Truth[h]----*Benedict* would never ſuffer any of his Relations to interfere in the Government. But his extraordinary Kindneſs to the famous *Nicholas Coſcia*, the Confidence he placed in him, and his admitting him, a laſt, though of a very mean Deſcent, into the Sacred College, offended the Cardinals more than the moſt ſcandalous Nepotiſm could have done. They pretended, that the Dignity of Cardinal ought to be the Reward, not of private, but of public Services only; and even compared the promoting of *Coſcia* to ſo high a Station to the Promotion formerly made by *Julius* III. of his Monkey-Keeper to the ſame Station. However, the Favourite was no ſooner veſted with his new Dignity, than the Courtiers all ſtrove, and among them ſome Cardinals, who ſhould be the foremoſt to congratulate him upon his Promotion, and recommend themſelves to his Favour and Protection. From that Time he governed quite uncontrolled, while the good Pope was wholly employed in viſiting Hoſpitals, and in ſuch like Works of Charity, or in forming impracticable Schemes to unite all Chriſtian Sects in One Church and One Faith.----One of the moſt remarkable Events of *Benedict*'s Pontificate was the Submiſſion of the aged Cardinal *Noailles*, who in 1728, conſented, at laſt, to receive, and to ſign the Bull *Unigenitus*, to the inexpreſſible Joy of his Holineſs; and he immediately notified it to the Cardinals in a full Conſiſtory, called for that Purpoſe, requiring them all to write ſeparately to him, and renew the ſo long interrupted Correſpondence between them, and ſo worthy a Member of their College.----*Benedict* died on the 21ſt of *February* 1730, when he had preſided in the See Five Years Eight Months and Twenty-three Days. He had ever led a moſt exemplary

Who governs uncontrolled.

The Bull Unigenitus *received by Cardinal* Noailles.

Year of Christ 1728.

Benedict *dies.*

h Letters Provinciales, Lett. II.

Life, had ever been remarkable for the Auſterity of his Morals, and the Purity of his Manners, was poſſeſſed of every Chriſtian Virtue in a moſt eminent Degree, and in Piety no-ways inferior to any of the Popes of the primitive Times. His Kindneſs to the Poor was quite extraordinary and ſtriking. He uſed to call them his Nephews and Relations, ordered the Gates of the *Vatican* to ſtand ever open to them, admitted to his Preſence all who preſented themſelves, and at all Hours of the Day, heard their Complaints, and never failed to relieve ſuch of them as he found, upon Enquiry, to ſtand in real Need of Relief. In order to be better able to provide for them, without putting the Apoſtolic Chamber to any extraordinary Expences, he fixed the Expence of his own Table at eight *Baiocchi* a Day, ſcarce *Six-pence Engliſh*, drinking no Wine, and living only upon Vegetables. He viſited all the public Hoſpitals in Town, at leaſt, Thrice a Week, frequently adminiſtered to the Sick their Medicines with his own Hand, and, when he found any of them at the Point of Death, he kneeled down by them, and prayed till they expired. He was an utter Enemy to all Pomp and Shew, and would even have diſmiſſed his Guards, ſaying, that ſuch Marks of Sovereignty became not the *Servant of Servants*, the Succeſſors of a poor Fiſherman, but was prevailed upon, not without much Difficulty, to lay aſide that Reſolution. However, he made very little Uſe of his Guards, but walked out in the Duſk of the Evening to viſit his ſick Friends, or went in a Coach, attended by One Servant only. Upon the whole, he was, with reſpect to his private Character, One of the beſt Popes we read of ſince the Foundation of the See of *Rome* to his Time. But if we view him in a public Character, we ſhall, perhaps, find him to have been One of the worſt. He left the Government entirely in the Hands of *Coſcia*, and his other Favourites, and entertained ſo high an Opinion of their Integrity, that he would hearken to

Year of Chriſt 1730.

His Character.

Remarkably kind to the Poor.

An Enemy to all Pomp and Shew.

Year of Christ 1730.

to no Complaints againſt them, though guilty of the moſt enormous and notorious Extortions. It muſt, farther, be owned, that this reſpectable Pope betrayed, in moſt of his Actions, ſome Foible, and that, after all, neither his Prudence nor his Abilities were equal to ſo high a Station [i].

CLEMENT XII. the 244th Biſhop of Rome.

The new Election was protracted by political Intrigues, and the Diſagreement of the different Parties, for the Space of near Five Months, that is, till the 12th of *July*, when the *Albani* Party, conſiſting of the Creatures of *Clement* XI. prevailed at laſt, and, by their Intereſt *Laurence Corſini*, a Native of *Florence*, was raiſed to the Papal Chair, under the Name of *CLEMENT* XII. He began his Pontificate with obliging Cardinal *Coſcia*, and thoſe, whom he had employed, to give an Account of their late Adminiſtration, and anſwer the many Accuſations brought againſt them by Perſons of all Ranks and Conditions. They were tried by a particular Congregation, appointed for that Purpoſe, and it plainly appearing, that they had defrauded the Apoſtolic Chamber of Immenſe Sums, they were ſentenced to make them good, which reduced them almoſt to Beggary. We are told, that a very ſmall Share of the Sums which they were forced to refund, came into the Apoſtolic Chamber, his Holineſs having privately diſpoſed of it to his Nephews and Relations.-----*Clement* refuſed at firſt to confirm the Infant *Don Lewis* in the Archbiſhopric of *Toledo*, but was in the End obliged to yield, and even to diſtinguiſh him, though but Eight Years old, with the Dignity of Cardinal. He quarrelled with moſt of the Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially with the Emperor *Charles*, claiming a Right to diſpoſe of the *Dutchy* of *Parma*, as a Fief of the Empire while his Holineſs obſtinately maintained it to be a Fief of the Church.-*Clement* died on the 6th of *February* 1740, when he had governed the Church Nine Years, Six Months and Twenty-five Days. He was a Man of Learning, and an Encourager of the

Calls Cardinal Coſcia *and his Accomplices, to an Account*

Quarrels with moſt of the Chriſtian Princes.

Dies.

Year of Christ 1740.

[i] Guarnacci vit. Pontif.

Learned,

Learned, but left no Writings behind him beſides ſome Bulls, and among theſe One, allowing the Proteſtants, who ſhould embrace the *Roman* Catholic Religion, to continue in the Poſſeſſion of the Church-lands, which they held before their Converſion. He improved the *Vatican* Library with a noble Collection of very ſcarce and valuable Books. Year of Chriſt 1740. *BENEDICT* XIV. 245*th Biſhop of* Rome.

The College of Cardinals was, at this Time, divided into Two Parties, the One conſiſting of the Creatures of the *Albani*, and the other of thoſe of the *Corſini* Family. As they were pretty equal in Numbers, and neither would yield to the other, the Conteſt laſted Six Months and ſome Days. During that Time, ſeveral Cardinals of both Parties, no longer able to bear their cloſe Confinement in the Height of the Summer Heats, choſe to quit the Field of Battle, and reſerve themſelves for a future Chance. At laſt, the *Albani* Party carried the Day, and by them was elected, on the 17th of *Auguſt*, *Proſper Lambertini*, a Native of *Bologna*, and Archbiſhop of that City, who aſſumed the Name of *BENEDICT* XIV. He was a Man of an untainted Character, of extraordinary Parts, and in every Reſpect worthy of and equal to ſo high a Station. He undertook, in the very Beginning of his Pontificate, the *Herculean* Labour of cleanſing the Church as well as the Court, and extirpating the many crying Abuſes, that had taken deep Root in both. His zealous Endeavours were not quite deſtitute of Succeſs. But his diminiſhing the Number of Feſtivals, his aboliſhing ſome vain and ſenſeleſs Ceremonies, his Diſlike of the groſſer Superſtitions, that prevailed in the Church, and his undiſguiſed Diſapprobation of the many pious, or rather impious Frauds, countenanced, or connived at by his Predeceſſors, gave great Offence to ſome bigotted Cardinals, and procured him the odious Denomination of *the Proteſtant Pope* from the deluded Multitude. He was a generous and munificent Encourager of Learning, and himſelf

His Zeal for a Reformation procures him the Denomination of the Proteſtant Pope.

Year of Chriſt 1740. himſelf a moſt learned Writer. His Works, publiſhed at *Rome*, ſoon after his Death, in 12 Volumes Quarto, will be a laſting Monument of his extenſive Knowledge and profound Erudition. But as the Actions of this Pope, who died on the 2d of *May* 1758, as well as thoſe of the preſent Pope *Clement* XIII. elected in his Room on the 6th of *July* of the ſame Year, are ſufficiently known to the preſent Generation, I ſhall leave thoſe, who may hereafter undertake the Continuation of this Work, to tranſmit them to Poſterity, and cloſe *The Hiſtory of the Popes from the Foundation of the See of* Rome *to the preſent Time*, the Reſult of above Twenty Years Labour.

Benedict *dies.* Year of Chriſt 1758.

It would betray an unpardonable Preſumption in me to imagine, that in ſo voluminous a Work I have fallen into no Miſtakes: But I can ſay, with the ſtricteſt Truth, that I have ſpared no Pains, no Labour, nor Induſtry to avoid even the ſmalleſt. How far my Endeavours may have been attended with Succeſs, I ſhall leave thoſe to judge, who judge with Knowledge, Candor, and Impartiality; but I flatter myſelf, that the Errors, which may occur, are neither numerous, nor important, and conſequently that my Labours may prove, in ſome Degree, ſerviceable to the Proteſtant Cauſe, the Cauſe of Truth. I ſhall therefore conclude with offering the juſt Tribute of my Gratitude to the ALMIGHTY, who has enabled me, in my advanced Years, to purſue and compleat ſo toilſome a Work, notwithſtanding the violent and repeated Efforts of the Enemies of Truth, and their unnatural Allies to divert me from it. May the Detection of the many groſs and prenicious Errors, which I have ſhewn, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, to have been engrafted, from Time to Time, upon the pure Religion brought down from Heaven by *the Author and Finiſher of our Faith*, lead my Readers to reject the *Commandments and Doctrines of Men*; and place their ſole Confidence in his Holy Word.

F I N I S.

AN

ALPHABETICAL CATALOGUE

OF THE

POPES,

FROM THE

Foundation of the See of *Rome* to the preſent Time, marking the Year of each Pope's Election and Death.

	Election	Death	Vol.	Page
Adeodatus	672	676	3	119 - 120
Adrian, *ſee* Hadrian				
Agapetus I.	535	536	2	451 - 473
Agapetus II.	946	956	5	138 - 141
Agatho	678	682	3	125 - 176
Alexander I.	109	119	1	28 - 29
Alexander II.	1061	1073	5	298 - 320
Alexander III.	1159	1181	6	150 - 214
Alexander IV.	1254	1261	6	341 - 353
Alexander V.	1409	1410	7	182 - 192
Alexander VI.	1492	1503	7	462 - 521
Alexander VII.	1655	1667	7	671 - 675
Alexander VIII.	1689	1691	7	680 - 681
Anacletus, *ſee* Cletus				
Anaſtaſius I.	398	402	1	370 - 386
Anaſtaſius II.	496	498	2	314 - 330
Anaſtaſius III.	911	913	5	120 - 122
Anaſtaſius IV.	1153	1154	6	97 - 103
Anicetus	157	168	1	35 - 37
Anterus	235	236	1	62 - 63

Year of Christ 1740

himself a most learned Writer. His Works, published at *Rome*, soon after his Death, in 12 Volumes Quarto, will be a lasting Monument of his extensive Knowledge and profound Erudition. But as the Actions of this Pope, who died on the 2d of *May* 1758, as well as those of the present Pope *Clement* XIII. elected in his Room on the 6th of *July* of the same Year, are sufficiently known to the present Generation, I shall leave those, who may hereafter undertake the Continuation of this Work, to transmit them to Posterity, and close *The History of the Popes from the Foundation of the See of* Rome *to the present Time*, the Result of above Twenty Years Labour.

Benedict *dies.* Year of Christ 1758.

It would betray an unpardonable Presumption in me to imagine, that in so voluminous a Work I have fallen into no Mistakes: But I can say, with the strictest Truth, that I have spared no Pains, no Labour, nor Industry to avoid even the smallest. How far my Endeavours may have been attended with Success, I shall leave those to judge, who judge with Knowledge, Candor, and Impartiality; but I flatter myself, that the Errors, which may occur, are neither numerous, nor important, and consequently that my Labours may prove, in some Degree, serviceable to the Protestant Cause, the Cause of Truth. I shall therefore conclude with offering the just Tribute of my Gratitude to the ALMIGHTY, who has enabled me, in my advanced Years, to pursue and compleat so toilsome a Work, notwithstanding the violent and repeated Efforts of the Enemies of Truth, and their unnatural Allies to divert me from it. May the Detection of the many gross and prenicious Errors, which I have shewn, in the Course of this History, to have been engrafted, from Time to Time, upon the pure Religion brought down from Heaven by *the Author and Finisher of our Faith*, lead my Readers to reject the *Commandments and Doctrines of Men*; and place their sole Confidence in his Holy Word.

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Foundation of the See of *Rome* to the preſent Time, marking the Year of each Pope's Election and Death.

	Election	Death	Vol.	Page
ADeodatus	672	676	3	119 - 120
Adrian, *ſee* Hadrian				
Agapetus I.	535	536	2	451 - 473
Agapetus II.	946	956	5	138 - 141
Agatho	678	682	3	125 - 176
Alexander I.	109	119	1	28 - 29
Alexander II.	1061	1073	5	298 - 320
Alexander III.	1159	1181	6	150 - 214
Alexander IV.	1254	1261	6	341 - 353
Alexander V.	1409	1410	7	182 - 192
Alexander VI.	1492	1503	7	462 - 521
Alexander VII.	1655	1667	7	671 - 675
Alexander VIII.	1689	1691	7	680 - 681
Anacletus, *ſee* Cletus				
Anaſtaſius I.	398	402	1	370 - 386
Anaſtaſius II.	496	498	2	314 - 330
Anaſtaſius III.	911	913	5	120 - 122
Anaſtaſius IV.	1153	1154	6	97 - 103
Anicetus	157	168	1	35 - 37
Anterus	235	236	1	62 - 63

A CATALOGUE OF THE POPES.

	Election		Death	Vol.	Page
Benedict I.	574		578	2	582 - 588
Benedict II.	683		685	3	180 - 185
Benedict III.	855		858	4	349 - 355
Benedict IV.	900		903	5	112 - 116
Benedict V.	964		965	5	114 - 117
Benedict VI.	972		974	5	165 - 166
Benedict VII.	975		984	5	167 - 168
Benedict VIII.	1012		1024	5	195 - 202
Benedict IX.	1033	Sells the Pontificate	1045	5	208 - 212
Benedict X.	1058	depoſed		5	283 - 284
Benedict XI.	1303		1304	6	498 - 504
Benedict XII.	1334		1342	6	596 - 608
Benedict XIII.	1724		1730	7	691 - 694
Benedict XIV.	1740		1758	7	695
Boniface I.	419		422	1	477 - 487
Boniface II.	530		532	2	434 - 440
Boniface III.	607		607	2	721 - 728
Boniface IV.	608		615	3	1 - 5
Boniface V.	619		625	3	7 - 14
Boniface VI.	896		896	5	98 - 99
Boniface VII.	Antipope			5	124
Boniface VIII.	1294		1303	6	461 - 498
Boniface IX.	1389		1404	7	105 - 136
Caius	283		296	1	105 - 106
Callixtus I.	219		223	1	56 - 59
Callixtus II.	1119		1124	6	10 - 25
Callixtus III.	1455		1458	7	401 - 408
Celeſtine I.	422		432	1	488 - 548
Celeſtine II.	1143		1144	6	68 - 69
Celeſtine III.	1191		1198	6	235 - 245
Celeſtine IV.	1241		1241	6	318 - 319
Celeſtine V.	1294		1296	6	451 - 460
Chriſtopher	903		903	5	116 - 117
Clement I.	91		100	1	18 - 27
Clement II.	1046		1047	5	215 - 217

	Election		Death	Vol.	Page
Clement III.	1187		1191	6	230 - 235
Clement IV.	1265		1268	6	361 - 379
Clement V.	1305		1314	6	505 - 548
Clement VI.	1342		1352	6	609 - 642
Clement VII.	1523		1534	7	597 - 620
Clement VIII.	1592		1605	7	661 - 662
Clement IX.	1667		1669	7	675 - 676
Clement X.	1670		1676	7	486
Clement XI.	1700		1721	7	683 - 689
Clement XII.	1730		1740	7	694 - 695
Clement XIII.	1758	ſtill living		7	502
Cletus	78		91	1	15 - 17
Conon	686		687	3	185 - 193
Conſtantine	708		715	3	224 - 242
Cornelius	251		252	1	67 - 80
Damaſus I.	366		384	1	238 - 311
Damaſus II.	1048		1048	5	217 - 218
Deuſdedit	615		618	3	5 - 6
Dionyſius	258		269	1	98 - 104
Donus I.	676		678	3	121 - 125
Donus II.	975		975	5	166 - 167
Eleutherius	176		192	1	39 - 46
Evariſtus	100		109	1	27 - 28
Eugenius I.	655		657	3	89 - 95
Eugenius II.	824		827	4	205 - 219
Eugenius III.	1144		1153	6	73 - 97
Eugenius IV.	1431		1447	7	340 - 401
Eutychianus	275		283	1	104 - 105
Euſebius	310		310	1	114 - 115
Fabianus	236		250	1	63 - 67
Felix I.	269		274	1	104 - 105
Felix II.	483		492	2	257 - 288
Felix III.	526		530	2	423 - 433
Formoſus	891		896	5	91 - 98

Gelaſius

A CATALOGUE OF THE POPES.

	Election		Death	Vol.	Page
Gelafius I.	492		496	2	289 - 314
Gelafius II.	1118		1119	6	1 - 10
Gregory I.	590		604	2	613 - 718
Gregory II.	715		732	3	242 - 390
Gregory III.	732		741	3	390 - 410
Gregory IV.	827		844	4	295 - 312
Gregory V.	996		999	5	179 - 185
Gregory VI.	1046	depoſed	1046	5	212 - 214
Gregory VII.	1073		1085	5	320 - 420
Gregory VIII.	1187		1187	6	228 - 229
Gregory IX.	1227		1241	6	297 - 318
Gregory X.	1271		1276	6	379 - 404
Gregory XI.	1370		1378	7	23 - 48
Gregory XII.	1406	depoſed	1409	7	149 - 181
Gregory XIII.	1572		1585	7	648 - 650
Gregory XIV.	1590		1591	7	659 - 660
Gregory XV.	1621		1623	7	665 - 666
Hadrian I.	772		795	4	49 - 189
Hadrian II.	867		872	5	1 - 50
Hadrian III.	884		885	5	81 - 83
Hadrian IV.	1154		1159	6	103 - 150
Hadrian V.	1276		1276	6	406 - 407
Hadrian VI.	1522		1523	7	536 - 595
Hilarius	461		467	2	189 - 213
Honorius I.	625		638	3	14 - 27
Honorius II.	1124		1130	6	25 - 35
Honorius III.	1216		1227	6	290 - 297
Honorius IV.	1285		1287	6	436 - 443
Hormiſdas	514		523	2	371 - 413
Hyginus	139		142	1	31 - 32
Innocent I.	402		417	1	386 - 438
Innocent II.	1130		1143	6	35 - 68
Innocent III.	1198		1216	6	246 - 290
Innocent IV.	1243		1254	6	320 - 341
Innocent V.	1276		1276	6	404 - 405

A CATLOGUE OF THE POPES.

	Election		Death	Vol.	Page
Innocent VI.	1352		1362	6	643 - 657
Innocent VII.	1404		1406	7	137 - 149
Innocent VIII.	1484		1492	7	447 - 462
Innocent IX.	1591		1591	7	660 - 662
Innocent X.	1644		1655	7	669 - 671
Innocent XI.	1676		1689	7	679 - 680
Innocent XII.	1691		1700	7	681 - 683
Innocent XIII.	1722		1742	7	690 - 691
John I.	523		526	2	414 - 422
John II.	532		535	2	441 - 451
John III.	560		573	2	564 - 581
John IV.	640		642	3	31 - 42
John V.	685		686	3	185 - 189
John VI.	701		705	3	209 - 219
John VII.	705		707	3	220 - 223
John VIII.	872		882	5	50 - 79
John IX.	898		900	5	105 - 112
John X.	914		928.	5	122 - 130
John XI.	931		936	5	131 - 132
John XII.	956		964	5	141 - 151
John XIII.	965		972	5	128 - 165
John XIV.	984		985	5	168 - 170
John XV. *or* XVI.	985		996	5	170 - 179
John XVII.	1003		1003	5	191 - 192
John XVIII.	1003		1009	5	192 - 194
John XIX.	1024		1033	5	202 - 208
John XX. *or* XXI.	1276		1277	6	407 - 412
John XXII.	1316		1334.	6	549 - 596
John XXIII.	1410	deposed	1414	7	195 - 287
Joan. *Suppositious.*				4	330 - 348
Julius I.	337		352	1	153 - 167
Julius II.	1503		1513	7	521 - 560
Julius III.	1549		1555	7	633 - 640
Lando	913		914	5	122 -
Leo I.	440		461	2	9 - 188
Leo II.	682		683	3	176 - 180

A CATALOGUE OF THE POPES.

	Election	Death	Vol.	Page.
Leo III.	795	816	4	189 - 247
Leo IV.	847	855	4	318 - 330
Leo V.	903	903	5	116
Leo VI.	928	929	5	130
Leo VII.	936	939	5	132 - 134
Leo VIII.	963	965	5	151 - 158
Leo IX.	1048	1054	5	219 - 271
Leo X.	1513	1521	7	561 - 586
Leo XI.	1605	1605	7	662
Liberius	352	366	1	168 - 238
Linus	66	78	1	11 - 14
Lucius I.	252	253	1	80 - 81
Lucius II.	1144	1144	6	69 - 73
Lucius III.	1181	1184	6	215 - 223
Marcellinus	296	304	1	106 - 112
Marcellus I.	308	310	1	112 - 114
Marcellus II.	1555	1555	7	640
Mark	336	336	1	152 - 153
Martin	649	655	3	58 - 89
Marinus	882	884	5	79 - 81
Marinus II*d.* or Martinus III*d.*	949	946	5	137 - 138
Martin IV.	1281	1285	6	419 - 437
Martin V.	1417	1431	7	288 - 339
Melchiades	311	314	1	115 - 125
Nicholas I.	858	867	4	355 - 471
Nicholas II.	1058	1061	5	284 - 298
Nicholas III.	1277	1280	6	412 - 418
Nicholas IV.	1288	1292	6	443 - 451
Nicholas V.	1447	1455	7	392 - 401
Paſchal I.	817	824	4	250 - 273
Paſchal II.	1099	1118	5	469 - 544
Paul I.	757	767	4	1 - 18

A CATALOGUE OF THE POPES.

	Election	Death	Vol.	Page
Paul II.	1464	1471	7	296 - 302
Paul III.	1534	1549	7	640 - 602
Paul IV.	1555	1559	7	641 - 643
Paul V.	1605	1621	7	662 - 665
Pelagius I.	555	560	2	553 - 563
Pelagius II.	578	590	2	588 - 612
St. Peter, *no Pope*			1	1 - 11
Pius I.	142	157	1	24 - 25
Pius II.	1458	1464	7	408 - 430
Pius III.	1503	1503	7	519 - 521
Pius IV.	1559	1565	7	643 - 644
Pius V.	1566	1572	7	645 - 648
Pontianus	230	235	1	60 - 62
Romanus	897	898	5	104
Sabinian	604	606	2	718 - 721
Sergius I.	687	701	3	194 - 209
Sergius II.	844	847	4	313 - 318
Sergius III.	904	911	5	117 - 119
Sergius IV.	1009	1012	5	194 - 195
Severinus	638	643	3	27 - 30
Silverius	536	538	2	473 - 483
Silvester I.	314	335	1	125 - 152
Silvester II.	999	1003	5	186 - 191
Simplicius	467	483	2	212 - 257
Syricius	384	398	1	311 370
Sisinnius	708	708	3	223
Sixtus I.	119	128	1	21 - 22
Sixtus II.	257	258	1	96 - 98
Sixtus III.	432	440	2	1 - 9
Sixtus IV.	1741	1484	7	430 - 447
Sixtus V.	1475	1590	7	651 - 659
Soter	168	176	1	38 - 39
Stephen I.	253	257	1	82 - 96
Stephen II. *or* III.	752	757	3	452 - 505
Stephen III. *or* IV	769	772	4	18 - 40
Stephen IV. *or* V.	816	817	4	247 - 250

Stephen

A CATALOGUE OF THE POPES.

	Election	Death	Vol.	Page
Stephen V. *or* VI.	885	891	5	83 - 91
Stephen VI. *or* VII.	896	897	5	99 - 103
Stephen VII. *or* VIII.	929	931	5	130
Stephen VIII. *or* IX.	939	942	5	135 - 137
Stephen IX. *or* X.	1057	1058	5	277 - 282
Symmachus	498	514	2	330 - 370
Teleſphorus	128	139	1	30 - 31
Theodore I.	642	649	3	42 - 57
Theodore II.	898	898	5	105 - 108
Valentine	827	827	4	294 - 295
Victor I.	192	201	1	46 - 52
Victor II.	1055	1057	5	272 - 277
Victor III.	1086	1087	5	420 - 427
Vigilius	537	555	2	483 - 552
Vitalianus	657	672	3	95 - 118
Urban I.	223	230	1	59
Urban II.	1088	1099	5	427 - 469
Urban III.	1184	1187	6	223 - 228
Urban IV.	1261	1264	6	353 - 361
Urban V.	1362	1370	7	1 - 22
Urban VI.	1378	1389	7	49 - 105
Urban VII.	1590	1690	7	659 -
Urban VIII.	1623	1644	7	666 - 669
Zacharias	741	752	3	110 - 152
Zephyrinus	201	218	1	52 - 55
Zoſimus	417	418	1	439 - 477

FINIS.